THE

# Parliamentary Regifter;

OR

# HISTORY

OF THE

## PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

# HOUSE OF COMMONS;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

The moft interefting SPEECHES and MOTIONS; accurate Copies of the moft remarkable LETTERS and PAPERS; of the moft material EVIDENCE, PETITIONS, &c. laid before and offered to the HOUSE,

DURING THE

FIFTH SESSION of the SEVENTEENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

## GREAT BRITAIN.

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TO THE

# DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS

IN THE

# HOUSE OF COMMONS.

## VOLUME XLI.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

In the FIFTH SESSION of the

Seventeenth Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN,

Appointed to be holden at WESTMINSTER,

On THURSDAY, the 25th of NOVEMBER, 1790.

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*Thursday, 26th February.*

MR. WILLIAM DUNDAS rose, he said, to complain of a circumstance, which he thought an infringement on the privileges of that House. He had, on the 16th of January last, moved that a writ should be issued out for a new Commissioner to serve in Parliament for Kircudbright, in the room of Major-general Stewart, deceased, and such writ had not as yet been returned.

The SPEAKER asked the honourable Member whether he knew to whom the writ had been given? and being informed that it had been given by the Clerk of the Crown to the Messenger of the Great Seal, he suggested to the House the propriety of forthwith calling him as to its disposal.

The Messenger being called to the Bar, and interrogated by the Speaker, said, he gave the writ to Mr. Chalmers, on Lord Garlies' receipt for the same.

Mr. CHALMERS was next called, who said, he received the writ from the Messenger of the Great Seal; that he delivered the writ to Lord Garlies, the Sheriff, and took his Lordship's receipt for it; but he understood, that from the great inclemency of the weather, and the roads being for some time rendered impassable in that part of Scotland, the writ was prevented reaching the place of its destination at the proper time.

Mr. W. DUNDAS, willing to give full time for information on this head, postponed the farther consideration of the matter until that day fortnight.

General SMITH adverted to the memorial respecting the officers in India, and which was now before the House, and said, that if he did not find that some measure was taken in the course of the next week, to shew him there was a serious intention to take the case of these men into consideration, he should bring forward a motion upon the subject.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS repeated what he said on a former day upon this subject. He said, that by the King's command he laid the memorial before Lord Cornwallis, who made his report, this report was laid before the Court of Directors, and they did not approve of the report. He admitted that the officers in India laboured under intolerable grievances, and certainly ought to be redressed. What mode of redress was the best was a question which he would not now attempt to discuss. The Court of Directors were now forming a plan—perhaps the officers might not think the plan favourable to them; but he should act with the same sentiments as he had ever acted for these officers; and he was confident that they had not the smallest idea of any thing unfavourable towards them on his part.

Mr. WILBERFORCE began with observing, that as the subject on which he was about to address the House, was one on which it had been necessary for him formerly to occupy so much of their time, and with which they were so fully acquainted, it would not be necessary for him, on the present occasion, to enter into any long discussion. It was, indeed the less necessary, because the motion with which he should conclude was no more than the proper consequence of their own resolution of the year 1792, "that the slave trade should be abolished on the 1st of January, 1796." He would therefore set out with desiring that this resolution might be read by the clerk; and it was read accordingly.

Such was their resolution in the year 1792; without descending into particulars, he would state in general the grounds of that resolution, and the circumstances under which the House had come

to it; after which he would inquire whether any thing had since passed, or now existed, which ought to induce them to change their opinion.

It would be remembered that this great business was first brought before Parliament as long ago as the year 1788. A laborious investigation of the subject in all its parts was prosecuted with great diligence by the Privy Council, whose voluminous Report was afterwards laid on the table of the House, and furnished the grounds of a string of resolutions which he moved in the year 1789, as the basis of his proposed measure of abolition. The parties who conceived themselves interested against the question, desired, however, to be heard at the bar, and accordingly an inquiry was entered into, and carried on at first in a Committee of the whole House, and afterwards, for the sake of dispatch, in a Committee above stairs, which was not closed till the Spring of 1791. He then brought forward his motion for immediate abolition, but was not so fortunate as to find a majority of the House concurring with him in opinion. Again, he submitted the question to them in the following year, when he was more successful, though not to the extent of his own wishes. It was then the House had come to the resolution which had been lately read to them. The grounds on which it rested were a clear and universal conviction, that it had been irrefragably proved that the slave trade was a system of incurable injustice and cruelty; that it was the occasion of frequent and bloody wars amongst the natives of Africa, for the sake of making prisoners, by the sale of whom they might obtain European commodities; that it occasioned innumerable acts of depredation both by blacks and whites; that it armed the Chieftains not only against the neighbouring Chieftains, but against their own people, of whom they were the natural guardians, that the administration of justice was turned into an engine for the procuring of slaves; that it was a system supported throughout by fraud and meanness, to the corruption of every moral principle, and the diffusion of every species of vice and debauchery; that thus it had been the hateful means of barring out from a great continent the blessings of civilization and social improvement, and the light of religious truth, and of keeping it in a state of barbarism and misery; and all this, when there was every reason to believe that the natives of Africa were not, according to the opinion once shamelessly avowed, but now universally exploded, an inferior race of beings, but that they were men like ourselves, by no means second to the Europeans in the faculties of the understanding, or the feelings of the heart. Such, observed Mr. Wilberforce, were the great fundamental propositions established and acted upon in the year

1792, to which he might add the effects of the slave trade on our marine, which, from the muster-rolls produced by his opponents themselves, was proved to lose more seamen in this trade than in all the other trades of the kingdom put together. These propositions, let it be observed, were not crude or hasty opinions; the House had come to them, after long and close inquiry, upon much deliberation, and the fullest discussion; and they who did not agree with him in his conclusions, (he alluded particularly to his right honourable friends, Mr. Dundas and the Speaker) could not but admit the justness of his premises; they called the slave trade the torment of Africa, and ascribed to it all those characters of wickedness and cruelty with which it had been charged by himself.

Against all this, however, it was urged, that it would be in the highest degree injurious to the West-India islands to abolish it immediately; and the reason chiefly insisted on, was, that the number of female slaves was considerably inferior to that of the males, and that therefore the numbers could not be kept up without importations from Africa. He himself had contended, first, that the inequality so stated did not exist; and secondly, if it did, there were abundant proofs from experience, many of which he specified, that the human race had not only kept up, but had increased, its numbers, where the inequality had been as great, and where, in various particulars which he then stated, they had been in far more unfavourable circumstances. On these, and other grounds, he had given it as his decided opinion, that the West Indies were in no want of farther importation from Africa, which was illustrated and confirmed by accounts produced by themselves of their progressive population; and on the whole, that as the abolition was indispensable, on every principle of justice and humanity, so it was powerfully recommended by considerations of the trust policy. This must not be regarded as the prejudice of one who might be naturally supposed partial in a cause he had so much at heart. It was the deliberate and decided judgement of the ablest men in that House, to whose opinions gentlemen were used to bow with the most deference, and who in that sentiment entirely and avowedly concurred. The House, however, could not be brought to yield to their authority; they therefore named the 1st of January, 1796, as the period of abolition, in order that the planters might in the interim supply themselves with such a number a slaves, particularly with females, as might put beyond all doubt the possibility of their keeping up their numbers without importation from Africa.

Such, Mr. Wilberforce said, was the footing on which the business was left in the year 1792, and he now called upon them to

act upon the resolution to which they had then come, and which was to be the substance of the bill which he was now about to move for leave to bring in. This he had a right to require of them, unless it could be shewn that (strange as it might seem) the slave trade was not justly chargeable with those evils which it had been stated to produce in Africa, or unless it could be made out that the arguments on the ground of policy, had become so much stronger from the circumstances of the present times, as that though continuing to be convinced of the reality of those evils, gentlemen were nevertheless to esteem them more than countervailed by these new political considerations. In both these respects, the very reverse would appear to be the fact: the wickedness and cruelty of the slave-trade system had received, if possible, still clearer and stronger confirmation, and no man of common prudence and fairness could deny, that without any thing to be set on the other side, it had now become almost indispensable to the very existence of our West-Indian possessions, to prevent all farther importation of slaves from the continent of Africa.

With regard to the first of these particulars, much valuable information respecting the slave trade had been obtained from some gentlemen in the foremost situations under the Sierra Leone Company in Africa, of whom it was not too much to affirm, that they were men eminent for soundness of understanding, coolness of temper, and strictness of veracity. They reported some things which had fallen within their own observation, others which had come to them on credible testimony; the sum of their intelligence was, that he and his friends had by no means exaggerated in their statement of the dreadful effects of the slave trade on the continent of Africa.—Instances abounded of every species of the enormities he had described; long and bloody wars, for the sake of making slaves, ruined settlements, desolated villages, innumerable acts of individual fraud and violence, both by negroes and Europeans; the forms of justice perverted; crimes fabricated; accusations multiplied; deadly feuds and hereditary revenge perpetuated from generation to generation; that idle tale refuted, by which it had been sometimes attempted to vindicate the slave trade, that the slaves, if not sold to the Europeans, would be put to death rather than employed in labour; but one circumstance, still more striking and decisive, yet remained behind. It was, Mr. Wilberforce observed, a clear and settled axiom, that the sea coast of every country was the first civilized, whence civilization gradually had been found to insinuate itself into the interior country. But two of the principal servants of the Sierra Leone Company, travelling three hundred

miles from the sea coast, where the face of an European had never been seen before, found a state of society advanced (some centuries he had almost said) beyond what they had left it on the coast, where, for three hundred years, they had been in habits of commercial connection and constant intercourse with the European nations.—Was it possible for any thing to prove more decisively what he had affirmed, that it was the effect of this detestable traffic, reversing all the common effects of commerce, to obstruct instead of forwarding the progress of knowledge, and to darken and to barbarize, instead of diffusing the light of truth, and the blessings of moral and social improvement; the European strangers there found a city, containing seven thousand inhabitants; they were also received with the utmost kindness and hospitality; and the great men confessing that wars were carried on for the professed purpose of making slaves, who passing from hand to hand, were sent down to the coast to be exchanged for European commodities, declared, that if they could obtain these commodities by any less destructive and more innocent expedient, they should gladly avail themselves of the opportunity. No one, therefore, could now be hardy enough to deny what, before so plainly proved, had now received additional confirmation, that the slave trade was a system big with wickedness and cruelty.

As to what regarded the expediency of an abolition in the present moment, he need not detain the House long. First, no one could deny, that by the importation of the last four years, the inequality of the sexes was now at least done away, admitting it, for the sake of argument only, to have existed to the full extent of their adversaries' statements; thus the great ground on which the necessity of importations had been rested, was now taken away. But the consideration which weighed by far the most strongly in his mind, was that of the extreme danger, in the present state of our West-India possessions, of increasing in our colonies the numbers of that very description of negroes who were universally allowed to be the most prone to insurrection. Mr. Wilberforce dwelt upon what the French had done in Guadaloupe, an island containing 80,000 slaves, where negroes had been disciplined and trained to the use of arms, and had served with success against a British fort. The policy of the French was not calculated, indeed, to render the islands valuable to themselves, but dreadfully fitted for the purpose of rendering them dangerous possessions to us. Who was there present, who could lay his hand upon his heart, and not confess, that for the safety of the islands, and the happiness of mankind, it would have been well if his motion for immediate abolition had passed in the year 1792, in which case there would have been in all the

islands above 100,000 fewer of those very negroes, who are now most justly the objects of terror and alarm; and when the inequality between the whites and blacks was already so extremely great, what better name did it deserve than downright infatuation, to be so solicitous to increase the disproportion, and bring fresh combustibles where every thing was already prepared for an explosion? Every ship-ful of negroes which came from Africa, either directly added to the force of our enemy, if carried into the French islands, or added to it indirectly, and perhaps still more dangerously, by increasing the number of the disaffected, if brought into our own.— For his own part, he solemnly protested against the farther extension of this system, which threatened to render those populous colonies one universal scene of carnage and desolation; nor was it only as a man interested for the welfare of the West Indies, and the prevention of such accumulated misery, that he was bound to stop, though perhaps too late, the growing progress of this evil. As a Member of the British Parliament, on whom it was peculiarly incumbent to take care that the blood and treasure of this country were not wantonly sacrificed, he was strongly urged to the same line of conduct. It was but too well known how fatal the climate of the West Indies had proved to our soldiery; in proportion as the danger of internal commotions in the islands should increase, it would be requisite to bring over increasing numbers of European troops, to guard alike against the foreign, and the still more formidable internal, enemy. There was no saying to what extent their necessity might increase, and all military men who had ever been in that climate, knew the disadvantages under which our people contended with the negroes, when what was death to the one was no more than moderate exercise to the other. Let us fairly ask ourselves, could or would this country bear this incessant and continually increasing drain? But this was a topic he had rather leave to gentlemen's own sober consideration, than enlarge on it any farther.

He now begged leave to view the matter in another light, and seriously to ask every well-wisher to his country, if this were not a period, when we ought to be particularly on our guard not to disparage and degrade the character of Parliament? What could be more likely to produce this effect, and that too in the case of the most thoughtful and virtuous class of the community, than after solemnly renouncing this scandalous trade, and confessing ourselves fully convinced of its irrevocable wickedness and cruelty, that we should now return to it again, on a plea of interest, a plea, to say the least, so doubtful, that the ablest men in that House were convinced not only that it could not be made out, but that the very reverse had been

fully proved, to the satisfaction of every impartial and intelligent inquirer; nor could he forbear conjuring the House seriously to reflect that this country was now in circumstances of difficulty and danger, in which every man who did not disclaim all notions of religion, must feel solicitous rather to conciliate the favour, than provoke the indignation, of the Supreme Being. If ever there was a national sin, the slave trade surely was of that description; and what could it appear but solemn mockery, to take our share in the solemnities of a general fast day, and almost at the very moment in which we had the language of humiliation and penitence in our mouths, to cling with such earnestness to a system of greater wickedness and cruelty than had ever insulted the forbearance of Heaven. He enlarged somewhat farther on this topic, and concluded with observing, that he scarcely knew how any man of enlarged benevolence durst pray for the prosperity of his own country, if its continuance was at the same time to countenance and establish a system so fatal to the interest and happiness of perhaps a third part of the habitable globe.

Mr. W. SMITH seconded the motion.

Mr. BARHAM said, that as to the object of Mr. Wilberforce's motion, on the grounds of morality and justice, he perfectly coincided in opinion with that honourable gentleman; and certainly should wish to abolish the slave trade, if it could be done consistently with sound policy and the real interests of the country, without hazard or danger. Local considerations, however, induced him to consider the means proposed by the honourable mover as in no degree calculated to produce the desired effect; he should wish the House to consider what were the sentiments of those who were to carry into execution the mode proposed. He very well knew that the West-India planters, who were the persons that of necessity must carry the plan into execution, were generally of opinion, that it involved in it their complete ruin. If, as he was convinced was the case, they did thus conceive that the destruction of their interests was the necessary consequence of the measure, how was it consistent with reason that it could ever be carried into execution? Those very persons, who felt their interest so materially concerned, were the persons, who were not only to be the informers, but the judges and jury of every breach of this law, if it were ever to be passed into a law. The proprietors of plantations, without meaning to cast any reflection on them, could not be supposed to be so much above human nature, since they were men, as to be enabled to act in contradiction to all the propensities and passions of mankind in general: it therefore could not be expected that they would in-

form against themselves; that they would impartially judge and convict themselves in a point wherein they were so much interested. This plan therefore appeared to him to be perfectly nugatory. He very much wished that regulation had been proposed instead of prohibition; and he believed that fact and experience would justify him in saying, that regulation had frequently been of great effect, where absolute prohibition had failed of its end. As to the objection which he had heard in that House on a former occasion, that it was highly improper, in any manner whatever, to attempt to regulate injustice, and legalize murder, he must regard that as a mere flower of eloquence and rhetorical flourish; for if the object of law were practical good, it appeared to him, that if it could be shewn that practical good might be derived from the greatest crimes, even from murder itself, that in such a case, a wise legislator would be justified in regulating that offence, instead of absolutely prohibiting it. As to speculative notions of freedom, he admired freedom as much as any one, but nobody could advance that freedom might not be alienated: it was uniformly the fact that it was so alienated; the day-labourer parted with his liberty for a day—the domestic one, for a year, and others for a longer period, in consideration of an adequate recompence; and he could not see any limitation to the principle, where the right of alienation was once fairly obtained, and therefore could not discover why it might not be for life. On every ground of policy and interest, he disagreed with the honourable mover. He indeed should be obliged to any one who would point out the means of carrying on the plantations without slaves, but he did not see the possibility of it. He disagreed with him on his facts, and the conclusions drawn from them; for nothing, in his opinion, would give so much ground for discontent to the negroes employed in the islands, as depriving them of that day of joy and festivity, the day of the arrival of fresh slaves. The honourable gentleman was proceeding to state the danger of the West Indies at present, when

Mr. WILBERFORCE called him to order. As the guardian of the question, he said, he thought it his duty to interfere when any matter not relevant to it was introduced.

The SPEAKER said, that if Mr. Barham meant to apply his observations to the question, they were relevant.

Mr. BARHAM proceeded to state, that he thought the dangers in the West Indies were much increased by this discussion. The French were instigating the slaves to revolt and rebellion, and the misrepresentations which might be made of what was said in that House on the discussion, were calculated to produce the worst effects on the minds of the negroes. Here he adverted to the con-

duct of certain officers in the West Indies, which, though he himself did not believe to be criminal, he wished that it might be investigated. Another argument which appeared to him a strong one against discussing the question at present, was, that now the slave trade could scarcely be said to exist; for few persons would be found enterprising enough to hazard their property in the trade when our possessions in the islands hung by a very slender thread; therefore, no danger could arise from not passing the act, while many dangers accrued from discussing the question. Liking as he did the object in abstract, but considering the means as hazardous, he was obliged to put his negative on the question, and should move, that the consideration of it should be deferred to this day six months.

Mr. EAST said, that among the various good qualities which were possessed by the honourable mover, his best friends, he believed, were not inclined to give him credit for much discretion. It appeared to him that no motion could be more indiscreet in the present circumstances, than the one brought forward at present. If the French were gaining strength in the West Indies, and were doing all in their power to instigate the slaves to rebellion and revolt, it became the House to act with great caution, lest by the discussion of questions similar to this, they did not increase the effect of the efforts of the French. If the slaves were predisposed to rebel, to whom was the country to look as the authors and causes of that alarming disposition? Was it to the honourable mover, or his opponents? Who was it that had inculcated that the negroes were in a state of grievous oppression? The honourable mover. Who was it that had excited strong jealousies and doubts in their minds, by filling their imaginations with notions of grievances and wrongs? The honourable mover. Every successive discussion of this question had been productive of great uneasiness, both to the planters and the slaves; who had each of them been misled by the inaccurate representation of what had passed in the House. He thought the discussion ought to be deferred to a period when the danger would be over, as at present there did not exist the necessity of interfering, since the condition of the slaves had been materially meliorated. With respect to what had been said on the resolution of the House, in the year 1792, he wished gentlemen to recollect the manner in which it had been passed: it was at a very late hour of the night, after the original motion of the honourable mover had been negatived by a great majority, and after several other intermediate motions for a speedier abolition had also been negatived. Several gentlemen had also been led to give their vote for that resolution by a sort of implied compact, that by doing so, they should avoid the

mischief of having so dangerous a question agitated in the interval; and therefore chose the least of two evils. What, however, had been the conduct of the honourable mover? Instead of fulfilling the engagement, he had brought forward the question every session since that period. He conceived it proper also to wait the decision of the Lords, to whom that resolution had been sent, and from whom no return whatever had been sent on the subject; he could conceive no reason for their conduct, other than the difference between the evidence offered to the one House and the other. In the House of Lords all evidence must be given on oath, which was not consistent with the forms of the House of Commons, and he believed that this made a great alteration in the matter communicated. With respect to the fresh evidence produced, he desired it might be considered what the nature of that evidence was. The book to which they had been referred was published either under the auspices of the honourable gentleman or his friends. Some gentlemen undertake to set up a colony in Africa, and they associate together for the express purpose of abolishing the slave trade. The information was professedly collected by persons sent by gentlemen associated for this very purpose. It was therefore to be expected, from the nature of man, that a deal of prejudice and bias must be mixed with it, and therefore no great credit ought to be given to it.

However highly they might as individuals be respected, and he did not doubt but as individuals they were of the highest character, the book published in these circumstances must evidently appear to pass through a suspicious channel. He allowed, that with respect to the disproportion of sexes, which had been occasioned partly by diseases incident to the climate, so the remedy had been adopted which gradually introduced a system of amelioration. He concluded by agreeing with the proposal made by his honourable friend who spoke last—That the farther consideration of the question should be postponed for six months.

Mr. DENT said, he expected, when the honourable gentleman brought forward his motion that day, that he would have been able to state some new arguments in support of it, but was surprised to find that nothing of that kind had been offered; and therefore his opinion could not possibly be altered on the subject; which had ever been, that the abolition of the Slave Trade was equally unjust and impracticable, and that the question ought not to be agitated at all. He considered the publications of the Sierra Leone Company as assertions, and not proofs; and warned the House from what the knew respecting Captain Kimber's case, not to be led away by assertions. He then distantly alluded to the circumstance

that had taken place in the West Indies during the last campaign, which he seemed to think required some investigation.' He concluded by asking, if this motion were carried, what recompence the Country could expect for the loss of blood and men in gaining the French West India islands? There would, in his opinion, remain no security for property of any kind.

Mr. WHITEBREAD said, he should have been ashamed to trouble the House on this question, which had been so often agitated, and had been supported on the present occasion, as on all others, by such irresistible arguments on the part of his honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce); yet since, contrary to his expectations, the motion had met with opponents on the present occasion, he could not do otherwise than lend his feeble efforts to support so momentous and important a measure. The gentlemen who had opposed the motion had deprecated in the strongest terms the discussion of the question; he was very glad it was not in their power to prevent its being discussed. He was determined, for one, they should never have it in their power to prevent it, excepting by the only way, by putting it to rest for ever in the only manner it ought to be put to rest, by the total abolition of that most abominable and iniquitous traffic. He pledged himself most solemnly, that if no other person would stand forth on the occasion, he himself would every session of Parliament, as long as he had a seat in the House, bring forward the question till the great and glorious end they had in view was accomplished. It was true that the condition of the slaves had been meliorated; and it was equally true that the cause of that melioration had been the discussion of the question in that House. Very far indeed was its agitation from being likely to produce bad consequences; on the contrary, by bringing before the public, enormities which had been excercised on the poor wretched slaves by their merciless task-masters, the planters had been obliged to feel a sort of remorse for their past actions, which they did not experience, while they supposed the knowledge of their crimes had bean confined to a narrow compass; so that, by some regulations consistent with humanity and justice, they had attempted to compensate for the gross violation of those duties, previous to the discussion of the question. It had been asserted, that the measure would be nugatory at present, because the war had nearly annihilated the trade itself; if this were true, as he hoped it was, one natural consideration offered itself instantaniously to the mind. Every person, without distinction of party, during war, looked forward to peace; but how must the joy, which every one would experience in the re-establishment of peace, be damped by the reflection, that by so happy an event all the horrors

in Africa would be renewed; that all the devastation and iniquity, exercised on the unfortunate inhabitants of that devoted country, would again be repeated with accumulated enormity. It should be considered, that the care of the Almighty Disposer of all things was not merely confined to Europe, but that his omnipotence and goodness spread itself equally over Asia and Africa: and that if this country did not wipe away the foul stain of iniquity which had polluted it in this traffic, it was liable to a responsibility unequalled by any which the human mind could picture to itself. It had been recommended to the House to wait till the Lords had made their communications to the House on the subject; he was not surprised that this should be recommended by the friends to the Slave Trade; for if they were to wait till that period (he would not say when, for no period could be assigned at which any reasonable expectations could be formed that the Lords would finish their examination of the business) he was afraid no good end could be answered. He had a statement in his hand, extracted from the Journals of the Lords, by which it appeared, that in three years they had only devoted fourteen days to the examination of this most important subject. The House of Commons, he hoped, were not so lost to all sense of shame as the Lords appeared to be—

[Mr. Whitbread was here called to order.—He repeated his words, and was again called to order.]

If it was disorderly to state it in that manner, he would state it otherwise. He wished it were possible to refute, by facts, the statement he held in his hand, and, consistently with the forms, he must say, that if he should find in the Journals of the Lords, that, in the first year of their consideration on the subject, they had employed only six days, and examined only seven witnesses; and in the third session, had employed three days, and examined two witnesses; he should say that it would in the highest degree be disgraceful to them. There was no way, he said, of forcing the Lords to a decision but by the Commons urging them to do justice, and reminding them they must not slink the business. They House of Lords were afraid of entering into it, because they knew——

[Mr. Whitbread was again called to order.]

The SPEAKER said, he was sure the honourable gentleman would be convinced of the impropriety of such language.

Mr. WHITBREAD apologised; but he declared he felt the conduct of the Lords on this occasion so strongly, as to hurry him perhaps beyond the bounds of moderation. He was very sorry to mention with disapprobation, any branch of the Legislature; and though he should not repeat his words, yet no favourable inference

could be drawn from their conduct. Some charges had been hinted againſt the conduct of ſome gentlemen in the Weſt Indies. He ſhould, in reply to thoſe, ſay, that he knew thoſe charges would be met with eagerneſs, and that when examined, (examination was courted by the perſons alluded to) the whole would turn out to be unfounded calumnies.

Mr. BARHAM explained, that what he had alluded to reſpecting our operations in the Weſt Indies, had ariſen merely from public rumour, and that, as for himſelf, he did not believe the reports with reſpect to Sir C. Grey and Sir John Jarvis.

Mr. Alderman NEWNHAM ſaid, that as this queſtion was to be diſcuſſed every ſeſſion, he felt obliged, as it was not impoſſible he might not be in the Houſe at other times when it would be diſcuſſed, to ſtate, that his opinions were by no means changed, with reſpect to the abſurdity and danger of the motion. So far from thinking that the conduct of the Houſe of Lords ought to be blamed, he thought it did them honour; as they had exerciſed the right veſted in them by the conſtitution, in curbing the pernicious effects of a miſchievous zeal. He wiſhed, however, that they had put a negative on it at once. As to the reſolution paſſed in 1792, he muſt ſay, that he thought the Houſe had choſen the leaſt of what they thought two evils, with an expectation that the good ſenſe of the Aſſembly would be returned by the year 1796. At firſt the immediate abolition was not held out by the moſt ſanguine opponent of the Slave Trade; if it had, he was convinced the good ſenſe of the Houſe would have rejected it. He ſuppoſed the honourable gentleman who moved the queſtion, did it from motives that would gain him merit in another world, for with him he was ſure it would gain none here. He objected to the motion as deſtructive of the commerce and revenue of the country; nay, as inconſiſtent with that very humanity which was the great plea of thoſe who favoured it.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH ſaid, that he had attended with ſome anxiety to what had fallen from every gentleman who had ſpoken, but did not recollect to have heard any one new argument againſt the abolition; and not being deſirous to ſpend the time of the Houſe in endeavouring to refute thoſe whoſe weakneſs had been repeatedly expoſed, he ſhould have remained entirely ſilent, but on account of ſome expreſſions which had dropt from an honourable Alderman who had juſt ſpoken. The honourable Alderman (Newnham) had not indeed dealt much in argument, nor was there any novelty in thoſe he had uſed; but he had made an *aſſertion completely new*, and equally aſtoniſhing: ſo ſtrange, indeed, as to

mark as great a deficiency in memory, as he thought some other parts of his speech did in judgement. He had asserted *immediate abolition* to be a new idea, never till lately avowed even by the honourable mover of the question or his friends. Instead of which, it was impossible that any gentleman in the House, who had paid the smallest attention to the subject, could fail to recollect, that from its very earliest stage *immediate* abolition of the *Slave Trade*, without a moment's unnecessary delay, had ever been their undisguised object. Gross, however, as this mistake was, he imagined he could assign its cause. The enemies of this measure had industriously misrepresented the abolitionists as intending to emancipate the negroes in the West Indies, under the pretence of destroying the Slave Trade; and the honourable Alderman had so long given into this idea, as at last to have confounded, in his own mind, their direct disavowal of an intention which they never entertained, (because they never considered the object as desirable but in a gradual and progressive mode) with a supposed concealment of those their real objects, which, on the contrary, they had always declared with the utmost possible publicity. Mr Smith said, he was rather surprized to observe, that an honourable gentleman (Mr. Barham) had appeared still to mix those two ideas which it had been so often endeavoured to distinguish; for that a very large part of his speech was rather directed against the disclaimed project of emancipation, and therefore, indeed, it would have been the less necessary to reply to his arguments, had they been new. With respect to the ameliorated situation of the slaves in the West Indies, which another honourable gentleman (Mr. East) had mentioned so much to the praise of the colonists, and which his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread) had ascribed to the agitation of the question in England, he must say that, in his opinion, it was to that circumstance alone that they owed every increase of their still so scanty comforts; and this might be almost demonstrated by an inspection of the colonial laws: from thence it appeared, that previously to the year 1787 scarcely a statute for the *protection* of slaves existed. The famous consolidated act of Jamaica, of which full as much had been said as it deserved, passed in 1788. Before this period every island almost had a slave code; but they were little else than barbarous edicts for the security of suspicious tyrants, and afforded to the defenceless servant scarcely the slightest protection against either the rage, the malice, or the capricious and wanton cruelty of his master—hardly against that of any white man whatsoever. Not even the characters of justice, far less of mercy, were to be discovered in them; and less still did they appear to resemble the pro-

ductions of wise and humane legislators, desirous of contributing to the happiness, the safety, and the comfort of the communities, whose interests were entrusted to their attention and care. Mr. Smith concluded with expressing his warmest concurrence in favour of the motion.

Mr. FOX said, that as often as the present subject was agitated, he viewed it as of such importance, that he could not content himself with giving merely a silent vote on a question on which his heart was so much interested, and every feeling of his mind engaged. He had distinctly said from the beginning that there was no regulation of the trade which he could assent to, except with a view to its complete abolition; and it was then he had made use of the expression alluded to in the course of the debate, "Would they consent to regulate injustice and methodize murder?" To confine themselves merely to regulation, appeared to him to be a sort of crooked policy, and a departure from the unalterable principles of morality and justice. The case had been stated, would it not be better, if such an object could be effected, to diminish by regulations the frequency of the crime of murder, even than to prohibit its commission? His answer was, that no speculative advantage from such regulations could outweigh the great moral disadvantage of any legislature affording their countenance to murder. If there was a country in which cannibalism prevailed, ought we to bring men from Africa for the purpose of being devoured, because, by being in our hands, the trade might be attended with fewer victims than would otherwise be sacrificed to the savage appetites of those destroyers of men? Ought the British Legislature to become the agents or protectors of so inhuman a traffic? The greatest evil would be removed if once the Parliament withdrew their sanction from the practice of the Slave Trade. One good, at least, had resulted from the discussion: no one was now found to defend the trade itself.

The honourable gentleman (Mr. Barham) who opposed the original motion, had stated, that he was as great an enemy to the trade, and as anxious for its abolition, as the honourable mover himself. The African trade, he should ever contend, was a system of injustice and cruelty, which degraded every man who practised, and every Legislature which sanctioned it. With respect to the question of the propriety of the time, he could not help adverting to the delay that had taken place in the House of Lords. Their Lordships might, no doubt, have their reasons for the dilatory mode which they had adopted in treating the question: he did not know them, and, till he knew what they were, he was bound to

respect them. But this was the very reason why the House of Commons ought not to let the question alone, but to bring it forward for fresh discussion, till something effectual should be done in the business. The Resolution of the House was sent up to the Peers in the month of April, 1792; during the remainder of that session, their Lordships had allotted six days to the subject, and examined seven witnesses: the next year they had allotted five days, and examined also seven witnesses; but the year following, they had appropriated only three days, and examined not more than two witnesses. It was to be remarked, that during the small remainder of the year 1792, they had done much more than in either of the subsequent years; and if they proceeded in the same way, what day or part of a day they might devote to the subject in the present session, was a matter of nice calculation. An honourable gentleman (Mr. East) had said, that the House had voted their resolution for abolishing the slave-trade in 1796, at a late hour; a circumstance which surely was not by any means unusual in debates on important subjects. He had said also, that it was voted by compromise; the advocates for the abolition had, undoubtedly, as great a right to an equal share of the benefit of that compromise as their opponents. But the House had not only come to this resolution, but had come also to several others, tending to the gradual abolition of the trade; such as putting an end to the foreign trade. But all this the honourable gentleman said that the House had done, trusting that, previous to the year 1796, they might come to their senses. If they were mad in coming to these resolutions, and trusted that, previous to the period when they were to be carried into execution, they would come to their senses, this was the most singular species of insanity of which he had ever heard. But there was another circumstance which deserved attention. At that time the table of the House was covered with petitions from all parts of the country. Was it then only to get rid of the public pressure of the petitions that they had come to these resolutions? If the House did not effectually follow up their resolutions, their conduct would most certainly admit of such an interpretation: nor did he know how he should be able to refute it. It was a serious thing, that a body, subsisting upon public opinion, which he contended to be particularly the case with the House of Commons, should preserve the consistency of their character, and the respect of their proceedings. Had any thing been stated by the opponents of the abolition to prove that the former calculation of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) with respect to the possibility of keeping up the supply of slaves without any additional importation

were fallacious, or to show that they were not as solid as they appeared to be persuasive and convincing? Another argument had been drawn from the existence of the war, and the danger apprehended from the slaves. Do you wish then, said Mr. Fox, to increase the number of those whom you dread? The most dangerous slaves had always been described to be those who were newly imported. When the importation was abolished, the condition of the existing slaves would be rendered better, and the ground of their discontent removed. But an honourable gentleman had said, that they would be dissatisfied if the importation from Africa was abolished; that the day of the arrival of the new slaves was to the others a day of joy and of triumph. He did not know the fact, nor was he disposed to envy the pleasures of any description of men; but he could not, upon any principle, account for such an infernal joy, such a detestable jubilee, as the honourable gentleman had described. In proportion as their numbers were few, it was natural to suppose that they would be more likely to be bettter treated. If, however, they were so extremely ignorant, so extremely short-sighted, as to feel any satisfaction from the arrival of other slaves, their infatuation and blindness were no grounds why the House should not decide by putting an end to the slave trade, that the days of their jubilee, arising from the accession of companions in wretchedness, should be for ever terminated. But it had been stated, that, during the war, the trade had been suspended. If such was the case, it was only necessary to pass a bill in order to prevent its renewal. The effect of such a bill, it was contended, would only be to revive the trade: but this was pushing the argument to a pitch of extravagance to which he could not assent. It was indeed saying, that even if the bill was passed, it would not prevent the importation of slaves. He was aware how exceedingly difficult it was to carry into execution any measures that militated against the private interests of individuals. But the same thing applied to all prohibitory and revenue bills; such as those which imposed restrictions on smuggling, &c. If they took so much pains for the object of revenue, ought they not to do as much in a cause on which the honour and reputation, and if the honour and reputation, the existence, of the country depended? Much had been said by the honourable mover which had received no answer. If the French should succeed in their plan of training, disciplining, and arming the negroes, might it not be necessary for us to oppose them by the same means? In such a situation, we would surely have much more to hope from having treated the negroes with kindness and confidence, than from having adopted the con-

trary system. If we continued to bring new slaves from Africa, we were in fact importing not so much wealth and strength, but so much weakness, discontent, and rebellion. Mr. Long mentioned, that the newly-imported slaves were the most dangerous. In proportion then as we increased the importation, we increased the danger. If all sense of humanity was extinguished, if justice had lost its empire, the House ought to pass a bill prohibiting the importation, in order to remove the danger. Much had lately been urged of the danger arising from the importation of French principles. The importation of men smarting with a sense of recent wrongs and injuries, and not taught to expect any milder treatment than that which they had already experienced, was more dangerous than the importation of any French principles whatever. Every fresh importation of slaves from Africa was a new ground of hope to the French, and of danger to the British possessions. With respect to what had been urged of the situation of the slaves being much better than that of the lower orders in this country, he did not carry his philanthropy quite so far as to be prepared to vindicate the continuance of the trade upon this reasoning. Why did not we send our own countrymen to share in the blessings of a situation which was stated to be so much better than their own? Why should we go so far as Africa to force the poor negroes from their native soil, in order to place them in a situation preferable to that of the subjects of this country? Why should we be so wild in our beneficence, as to tear them from contented misery, and obtrude upon them a happiness which they disliked? In short, he had heard no argument against the abolition, that was founded on fair and ingenuous principles. He had heard one argument, that the means now proposed were not the most proper means to bring about an abolition. To this he had only to answer, that when they had an important object in view, it was natural for them to take the most plain and obvious means of arriving at their end. He thought that, even if they should not succeed in the object of effecting a complete abolition, it was material to do away the greatest of all evils, that of a British Parliament giving countenance to the existence of a crime the most atrocious in the records of history. No moral evil could be greater than that those who argued for injustice, violence, robbery and murder, when they could not avail themselves of reasoning, should be able to urge on their side the authority of Parliament. On this ground he considered as highly meritorious the declarations of the honourable mover, and of his honourable friend, that they would not let the subject sleep, but revive it by fresh discussions, till they should succeed in effecting

their object of a complete abolition of this infamous and disgraceful traffic.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that when this question was first agitated, he felt it impossible to agree with either the one side or the other, because the gentlemen on both sides were equally far from that medium which he conceived good policy should lead the House to adopt. On the one side it was contended, that an immediate, absolute, unqualified abolition of the trade should take place, and that no measure short of that ought to be adopted. On the other side it was argued with equal vehemence, that an abolition of this trade would not only be the total ruin of our West-India islands, but that it would in fact be detrimental to the cause of humanity. He had the good or ill fortune, he would not determine which, to dissent from each of these arguments, and to adopt a middle line between them both. It appeared to him consistent both with policy and humanity, that the slave trade should be abolished; but he thought it was not a measure that ought to be instantly carried into execution; it required time in order to effect it completely, and without injury to those persons whose property was embarked to a vast amount in this concern. He found it a difficult matter to fix the precise time at which it should entirely cease; but he was extremely concerned to find, that the House had resolved that the abolition should take place in 1796. This resolution appeared to him not to give a sufficient time for the merchants and planters to arrange their affairs, so as not to be injured by the event; and therefore it seemed to him to be equal in point of effect to an immediate abolition. With that impression in his mind, he had not attended particularly to any of the subsequent discussions which took place upon this subject. He was very ready to confess the motives of this part of his conduct: he entertained a hope, that although in the House of Commons a resolution for an immediate abolition, or, what was the same thing, an abolition in the year 1796, had been passed, yet that in another place the impolicy of such a measure would be apparent, and that means would be taken to render that resolution of the Commons ineffectual.

If the honourable gentleman who was the mover of this question had not stated, that it was his intention to have brought in a bill for the immediate abolition of the trade, he (Mr. Dundas) might not have opposed the motion, under the idea that the bill was not to fix any definite period for the cessation of the trade. But the honourable gentleman had very candidly stated, that he had nothing less in view than an immediate abolition; and therefore he felt himself bound in conscience to give it every opposition in his power.

The Resolution which the House came to in the year 1792 was, "that the trade to Africa should be wholly abolished in the year 1796;" according, therefore, to the letter of the resolution, the abolition ought to take place within a few months of the time in which He was speaking; but however such an abolition might be consonant to the letter of the resolution, he was sure it was not consonant to its spirit: the reason, as he had before stated, why this time had been allowed was, that the planters might have time to make such regulations as the circumstances required among their slaves in the islands, and to enable them to import into the islands such a number of slaves as would be necessary for their future population. The question then for the House to consider was, whether this object had been obtained, and if that appeared not to be the case, then it would be proper to determine, whether that was owing to any intentional neglect on the part of the planters, or to any unforeseen circumstance. In point of fact, so far from the planters having been able to import such a number of slaves as would be necessary, supposing the trade to be entirely abolished in 1796, that the importation was comparatively small; and he believed that the trade did not exist at all, owing to the war. Upon this view of the subject the House would see, that, even upon the resolution of 1792, the trade ought not to be abolished in 1796.

He was ready to confess to the House, that, upon every view he was able to take of this important subject, he had not the courage to come at once to agree to the abolition. All the correspondence between this country and the West Indies proved, that the latter were in a situation that required great caution at home, and every danger was to be apprehended from an enemy who were anxious to take every means of distressing us, though they did not, at the same time, acquire any advantage themselves. The honourable gentleman who brought forward this motion, had not stated it as his intention to propose any plan for ameliorating the situation of the slaves in the islands; perhaps he had good reasons for not proposing any such regulation.

Mr. Dundas said, he should have liked the plan better if it contained a scheme, if any could be devised, for rendering the situation of the slaves more comfortable. But he was much afraid that this discussion, even though it should be negatived, would be attended with bad consequences; he was afraid it would give an opportunity to the French (who were ready to seize every way of injuring us by any means) a plausible pretext for using this argument—"You see the Legislature of Great Britain pretend to take up the cause of justice and humanity; they seem very willing to

commiferate the people in Africa, but they have quite neglected you." This argument, weak as it was, might have great weight with unenlightened minds. He wifhed not to enter at length into this fubject. There were fome arguments, relative to the Weft Indies, which he wifhed rather to infinuate than to prefs openly; but he was fure the good fenfe of the Houfe would fuggeft to them many points which he did not think proper to ftate. It had been faid during the debate, that to import flaves now, was to import danger. He agreed with that propofition, and fhould be very happy if it was poffible to prevent the farther importation of flaves during the war. What he had ftated to the Houfe was merely upon the queftion of abolifhing the trade immediately: he ftill retained the opinion which he had expreffed to the Houfe three years ago; he ftill thought, that policy, as well as juftice, required that the trade fhould be abolifhed. Every event which had occurred fince that period ferved more and more to convince him of the truth of that opinion. Every event had convinced him how very dangerous fuch weapons muft be in the hands of fuch an enemy as the French.

Gentlemen, in fpeaking upon this fubject, had enlarged much upon the omnipotence of the Parliamen of Great Britain. No man was more anxious for the prefervation of the power of Parliament than he was; but he thought it very bad policy to put that omnipotence to the ftretch upon trifling occafions. It was very eafy to make an act of Parliament here; but it fhould be recollected, that it was to be carried into execution in the Weft Indies; and therefore, in order to have its object effectually attained, the opinions of the Weft India planters themfelves fhould go along with Parliament. But he wifhed to addrefs himfelf to the merchants and the planters. It was faid that they were forming combinations in order to prevent, at any time, the abolition of this trade. Such policy would not only be injurious to the Colonies, but muft be fatal to the planters themfelves. He trufted they would fee their own intereft, and, guided, by a liberal policy, give their fupport to the caufe of juftice and humanity. The propriety of abolifhing the flave trade he thought no man could doubt; and he thought it equally clear, that this was not the period for its abolition. He did not mean to mention the exact time in which it ought to be abolifhed; but he thought it fhould be done gradually, and with fuch an allowance of time as would not make it felt very feverely.

An honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread) had, in the courfe of his fpeech, made fome obfervations upon the Houfe of Peers, which appeared to him highly improper. He wifhed to afk that

honourable gentleman and the House, how they would feel if such language was used against them in the House of Lords? He was sure it would set the Committee in a flame, and therefore, gentlemen ought to consider what effect such language must have upon the House of Lords. The honourable gentleman had, he supposed, used these expressions in the warmth of his argument, but he was sure disapproved of them upon cooler consideration.

That honourable gentleman had talked of forcing the Lords to come to some determination upon this subject. He wished to know how the Lords were to be forced? The Commons might pass a bill, but were the Lords under more obligations to pass that bill than they were to agree to the resolutions formerly sent up?—certainly not.—The Lords seemed, upon this subject, to entertain an opinion similar to his own; they thought this a question of a very important nature, and also that a final decision upon it now, would be not only improper, but dangerous, therefore they wisely put off the subject. Upon the whole, he declared himself entirely of opinion, that an abolition of the trade was absolutely necessary, but that it ought not to be hurried on with precipitation; on the contrary, in order to make the abolition effectual, it should be gradually carried into effect.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that though he differed in many particulars from his right honourable friend who had spoken last, and though he should vote in opposition to the side of the question which he had espoused, yet he rejoiced in one declaration which he had made, that it was necessary for the safety of the islands that the slave trade should ultimately be abolished, and with the solemn appeal which he addressed to the planters, adjuring them to turn their attention to that object. It was impossible for him, while he agreed in that principle, not to regret that many of those who would support the same side of the question as that espoused by his right honourable friend, would not come to the same declaration. For his own part he entertained the firm and clear opinion that the most speedy abolition of the slave trade would present at once the most immediate relief and the most effectual security to the islands, and would be the measure most highly conducive to the public prosperity and the interests of individuals. His right honourable friend had taken three grounds, the first of which was, that the resolution passed in 1792, appointed too early a period for the abolition. This remark had no reference to the peculiar circumstances of the present time. No gentleman had endeavoured to controvert the grounds of expediency, propriety and justice on which the House had then come to that resolution, and for his own part he felt himself confirmed in

all these particulars. Secondly, he had urged that the grounds which had induced them to defer the abolition till 1796, ought to induce them, under the present circumstances, to postpone it to a longer period. On what ground had the House formed the idea of allowing four years to elapse before they took any measures for the abolition, but because, from the best calculations, they supposed that period would be sufficient to enable the planters to procure the necessary supply of slaves. On inspecting the accounts, it appeared that already a greater number of slaves had been imported than had been stated in any of the calculations. In the year 1792, the number imported exceeded any average of former years. In the two years of war, the trade had been carried on to a great extent; except from some recent events, nothing indeed had occurred to block up the ports in the West Indies, or prevent a free passage to Africa — Even upon his own principle, his right honourable friend ought to have voted for the proposition of the honourable mover, "To bring in a bill at a day to be limited," allowing afterwards, when the blanks came to be filled up, as much time as he deemed necessary for the planters in order to complete the supply for cultivating their estates. The third point was one, on which he felt considerable anxiety, the danger of taking any steps towards an immediate abolition at the present time. He could not deny that the state of the colonies was peculiarly tender and vulnerable. At the same time he could not help reflecting, from what source proceeded that very state of peril, which some gentlemen were afraid to discuss, and of which they scarcely even dared to think. The danger would not have arisen if the claims of justice and humanity had been sooner attended to; in order to remove the evil, it became necessary then to abandon the policy which had hitherto been pursued. He would suppose, for instance, a mischievous enemy intent to accomplish the worst ends by the worst means. To what could they turn with greater hopes of success their views, than to all those bad passions engendered by negro slavery? He was told that the danger arose from the existing slaves. The only danger that could be apprehended from them might be traced to the use that was made of the engine of misrepresentation. On this subject, said Mr. Pitt, I am not so much afraid of false arguments, as of numerous recruits. An armed troop of barbarians appear to me much more formidable than the most atrocious series of misrepresentations. In a bad cause I fear force more than argument. The effect, however, continued he, of the proposed measure would be to destroy even this source of pretended danger by doing away all misrepresentation. Would giving up the exportation at all tend to increase the hardships at pre-

sent endured by the slaves? Did not, on the contrary, the fresh ...tions of slaves come to share the labours of those who had preceded them, without in the smallest degree contributing to diminish their sufferings? If they were indeed anxious to calm the fears and to provide for the interests of the planters, whether would the plan of an immediate or a more remote abolition be most effectual for that purpose? But it was contended that they ought to wait till the return of peace. He, on the contrary, contended, that the immediate application of the measure was the best way of guarding against the danger. He was most decidedly of opinion that they ought not to lose one moment in putting an end to the trade. He wished much that an end could be put to it this year, and in order to meet the idea of his right honourable friend, that it should also be the last year of the war. At all events they ought to do that which no pledge forbade them, to exert themselves that it might not last after 1796.

There were only one or two points to which he should advert. All the propositions to abolish the slave trade had been said either to arise from fanaticism, or to be connected with French principles. Enthusiasm was apt to mingle in the most meritorious exertions, and to push these by whom it was felt too far, even in a good cause; sometimes to subject them to be misled by those who were actuated with mischievous views. This was a circumstance common to every undertaking in which men might engage. But with what propriety could they brand with the epithet of fanaticism, the opposition to a trade which was hostile to the principles of religion, to the maxims of justice, and the feelings of humanity. But opposition to the slave trade was said to be connected with the support of Jacobin principles. The charge, he believed, was found in the circumstance of the French having declared themselves, at an early period of their revolution, enemies to all slavery, though they had contrived to introduce something so exceedingly like it into their own Government. But it was not less incumbent upon a British Legislature to shew, by its conduct, the contrast between the wild, spurious and imaginary tenets of the Rights of Man, and the genuine principles of practical justice and rational liberty. It was incumbent upon that House to take the speediest measures to heal the wounds which humanity had suffered from the prosecution of the slave trade, and thus disarm the Jacobins of their most dangerous engine of attack, and provide for the country the surest and most effectual means of safety.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG said, that the principal danger arose from the free blacks in the West India islands. The slaves in general were most affectionate and loyal, even when arms were put

into their hands, as he had found from their conduct upon his own estates.

Mr. GREY, in very animated terms, said, the question before the House was a question of appeal to the justice and the feelings of every man who had a vote to give upon it. Allusions had been made to the conduct of men, upon whose characters, before their command in the West Indies, the breath of slander had never dared to touch. On this subject an inquiry ought to be instituted. Nothing was more eagerly desired by the persons whose characters were attacked. He could not move the inquiry; but if any other Member of the House would move it, he would pledge himself that it should not be eluded as other inquiries had been.

Mr. BARHAM said, that what he had mentioned was not matter that came within his own knowledge, but matter that every body had heard of. He wished it to be inquired into, that the French might not have the pretext of our example for acting as it was said our Commanders had done in the West Indies.

Mr. WILBERFORCE shortly commented on the manner in which he had been opposed, declaring, that after what the House had heard from other gentlemen, it was altogether superfluous for him to reply particularly to the arguments which had been urged against him; he must state, however, in express contradiction to his right honourable friend's (Mr. Dundas) assertion, that since the vote of the House, in the year 1792, a greater than the average number of slaves had been brought into the West-India islands, and consequently that they were bound not by the letter only, but by the spirit, of that resolution, to stop all farther importations.

The House divided on the question, that the farther consideration of Mr. Wilberforce's motion be postponed for six months.

Ayes 78; Noes 61

Adjourned at half an hour past nine o'clock.

*Friday, 27th February.*

The ATTORNEY GENERAL moved for leave to bring in a bill for the purpose of enabling His Majesty's Post-masters General, to open and return all letters addressed to the United Provinces, and made up in the Mails of the 13th, 16th, and 20th of last month. Agreed to.

The bill for preventing the vexatious removal of poor persons, was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on the 21st of April.

Mr. ROSE gave notice, that he should move in the Committee on Monday, that a certain sum of money should be granted, to

Majesty for the purpose of funding a certain quantity of navy bills. He also wished, as some conversation might arise on the subject, that the consideration of the sums of money to be granted to the Landgrave of Hesse, and to the Executors of Mr. Oswald, should be deferred to Monday.

*Monday, 2d March.*

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY moved a resolution, the substance of which was to suspend the operations of all the Committees, and to stop all private business, on the days appointed for a ballot for a Committee on an Election petition, for the purpose of enforcing the attendance of Members to form such ballot, in conformity to the true spirit of the late Mr. Grenville's bill upon that subject.— This resolution, after a few words from Mr. Chancellor Pitt and the Master of the Rolls, was put and carried.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE intimated, that in the course of the present session, he should have some farther regulations upon this subject, which, he trusted, would be thought worthy of the House.

Mr. Chancellor PITT having adverted to what he had said on the opening of the Budget, relative to the Navy and Victualling bills, and to funding part of the navy debt, in the five per cents.; that was, to allow at the rate of 108l. for every 100l. capital, moved, "That provision be made for enabling His Majesty to satisfy certain navy bills, &c. outstanding in September 1793, and that 1,863,000l. be voted for that purpose," which was agreed to.

He then proposed that 20,000l. be voted to be employed to repair settlements, &c. on the coast of Africa, which was agreed to.

He then observed, that some arrears were due to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. That subject, he said, had undergone, he had no doubt, an accurate investigation. The arrears were due on account of services in the late war. It was, he presumed, unnecessary for him now to enter into any detail upon this subject, and therefore he moved, "That the sum of 68,850l. 12s. 0¾d. be voted to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel for arrears due for services in the late war with America, &c."

Mr. HUSSEY said, he apprehended that this business had been before Parliament already, but he had not read the accounts.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he apprehended the accounts to be very clear, and the question to lie in a very narrow compass.

The vote was then put and carried.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the next subject for the consideration of the Committee, was the balance that was due to the

representatives of the late Mr. Oswald. Upon this he must observe, that the claim had undergone great investigation, and had been admitted in a Report of the Commissioners and Auditors of Public Accounts. Some difference of opinion, with respect to the precise sum to be granted, had occasioned a delay in the settlement. The balance now was made clear; and therefore he moved, "That the sum of 41,688l. be allowed to the executors of Mr. Oswald," &c.

Mr. HUSSEY said, he had read the Reports upon this claim; some of them said, that a certain sum ought to be allowed, and some that it ought not to be allowed, and others again, that it ought to be considered. He should like to have it explained how that difference arose.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that of the service and the vouchers there was no doubt; but whenever a party had, in the opinion of some of the Auditors and Commissioners, departed from the usual strict form, they stated an objection to it, merely for the purpose of calling the attention of the Treasury to the subject. That attention had been given, and the claim had been found to be well founded, and it was upon that ground the allowance had been made.

General SMITH was of opinion, that when the Executive Power came to demand sums of money in this manner, account ought to be given of the service, and time allowed to investigate the business in that House.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY said, he had many years ago read all the papers relative to this business. He thought Mr. Oswald had been much injured by the Treasury. He applied to him on the occasion, and his advice to Mr. Oswald was, to go to law with the Treasury. He had laid out money from his own pocket, which was contrary to the practice of Contractors, who in general keep a good deal of the money of the Public in their hands, and do not deliver it up until they are compelled to do so. The Lords of the Treasury, perhaps, thought it extraordinary that a contractor should have a claim on the Public, instead of being a debtor to the Public, and that might be the reason why his accounts were not sooner settled.

Mr. Chancellor PITT admitted that something of that sort might have been the reason. It was clearly established that the debt was due. He had not the smallest objection that all the papers should be laid before the House, but where there was a balance against the Public, it was as proper it should be settled as when the balance was in the public favour. With regard to the investigation of particular and minute accounts, he did not think the House of

Commons so well adapted to investigate them, as a Board of Accounts.

Mr. HUSSEY was of the same opinion; but he could wish, that when accounts were settled by auditors, they should not be afterwards referred to the Treasury. He said nothing against the Members of the Treasury Board, but he should like that accounts should be only settled by public auditors.

After a few words from General Smith, Mr. Maurice Robinson, and Mr. Chancellor Pitt, the vote was put and carried, and the report of all the Resolutions ordered to be received to-morrow.

*Tuesday, 3d March.*

The Wine bill was read a second time.

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON said, he held in his hand a petition from the wine merchants of the city of London, against the regulation of this bill, that the duty should commence from the 23d of February. He stated, that it never was usual that a duty should be laid on any article till such time as the bill empowering it to be granted had received the assent, and passed in regular form.

On the motion, that the petition do lie upon the table,

The SPEAKER said, that it was not customary that any petition should be received by the House against the taxes of the current year. He was not, however, certain, that no such petition had in any instance been received; but he should to-morrow inquire into the precedents on the subject, and report accordingly to the House.

Mr. ROSE said, that a regulation that a duty should take place from the period it was proposed to the House, was no novel practice. The wine merchants had received full notice of what was intended, not only when their stock was taken, but some weeks previous to bringing forward the Budget.

Mr. GREY said, that as the petition was not against the principle of the bill, but only against the particular regulation, he hoped it would be received upon the Speaker making his report. He understood that there had been no regularity observed with respect to taking stock; some had been taken on one day, and some on another. The tax upon tea was not to commence till the next sale, why then should the wine merchants be saddled with this tax previous to the period at which they could with propriety charge it to their customers? These topics would, however, be more suitably discussed in the Committee.

The motion for receiving the petition was withdrawn, till the Speaker should make his report.

The following are the names of the gentlemen appointed as the Committee to try the queſtion of the right of election for the city of Carliſle:

| | |
|---|---|
| R. Burdon, | W. Holbeach, |
| The Marquis of Titchfield, | E. Gregor, |
| Hon. E. J. Elliot, | M. Robinſon, |
| John Pitt, | Lord Morpeth, |
| R. Glover, | J. Elliot, |
| J. H. Addington, | C. Pierrepoint. |
| J. Oſborn, | |

J. Anſtruther, W. Baldwin, } Nominees.

*Wedneſday, 4th March.*

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON again preſented the petition of the wine merchants and wine dealers relative to the additional duty to be impoſed on wine, previouſly to the bill now before the Houſe obtaining the Royal aſſent.

The SPEAKER informed the honourable Member, that, agreeably to what he expreſſed yeſterday, he had ſearched for precedents on that head, and that he found, ſince the year 1711 it had been the uniform practice of the Houſe not to receive any petitions that were againſt the ſupply of the current year. In the year 1760 a petition, ſimilar in principle to that now introduced, was preſented from the maltſters, and negatived *nem. con.*

The queſtion was then put, that the petition be received, which was negatived without a diviſion.

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON hoped, notwithſtanding the rejection of the petition, that the prayer of it might be attended to when the Wine-tax bill ſhould come into a Committee.

*Thurſday, 5th March.*

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG moved the order of the day, that the bill to amend ſo much of the 9th of George the Firſt, as prevented paupers from being relieved at their houſes, in certain circumſtances, and in certain caſes, be now read a ſecond time.

Sir William ſaid, as the Houſe already acceded to the principle of the bill, he conceived it would be only neceſſary for him to ſay a few words on the proviſions, that gentlemen, in the interval between the ſecond reading, if the Houſe ſhould agree to it, and the commitment, might turn them in their mind; as he wiſhed to court every aſſiſtance on a ſubject that would be found to be really

worth the attention of the House. The honourable Baronet then stated the inconveniences which had arisen out of such clauses of the 9th of George the First, with respect to the poor; the advantages that the poor would receive, if the clauses he proposed should pass into a law, by vesting that power legally in the Justices of the Peace, which they would often have exercised discretionally, if the act he had just alluded to had not prevented them. He also stated the circumstances upon which he conceived the poor ought to be relieved at their own homes.

Mr. JOLLIFFE disapproved of the provisions.

Lord SHEFFIELD said, the principle contended for by the bill was in direct opposition to the original principles of the poor laws; that the great object of those laws was, to maintain the poor by employing them, and to encourage the erection of work-houses; that the present bill tended to discourage work-houses, and in the end would make such establishments a great expence to a parish, without answering the purposes of that parish. He objected strongly to the taking out of the hands of the Vestry, or Parish, the control of their own expenditure, and giving it so entirely to a Magistrate, often living at ten or twenty miles distance, not at all interested in a good and proper management of the parish money, but who might indulge a party-spirit, a spirit of patronage, or ill-meaning popularity, or a desire to influence, at the expence of the farmer, or the industrious manufacturer;—that, for his part, he did not wish to have such power given to him as a Magistrate; that he very often recommended it to Parish Officers to relieve the poor at their houses, in certain cases, and that he never experienced a refusal. He added, that this was not a time to increase the poor tax; that it now amounted to near three millions sterling, and that by far the greater part of it fell upon agriculture, and he considered all encouragement to the poor to throw themselves upon the parish, as highly pernicious, and it certainly would not promote a provident attention to their families, and consequently an exertion of industry, at all times.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG explained, and insisted that the bill was in exact conformity with the spirit of the poor laws. The power with which he wished to invest the Magistrates, was already in the hands of the Overseers of the Poor; and if Magistrates acted illegally, an appeal was to lie.

Mr. CURWEN was of opinion that the bill in question was not in conformity with the spirit of the poor laws, and that, if carried into a law, it would tend to increase the poor rates, which already

amounted to upwards of two millions a year; he should, on that ground, oppose the commitment of the bill.

Mr. POWYS thought the principle of the bill a good one, and if gentlemen objected to the provisions, they might be modified in the Committee.

Mr. I. H. BROWNE said, he conceived the spirit of the laws to be, that the poor should be relieved, when they were rendered incapable of relieving themselves; and as he considered the bill to have that object in view, he should certainly vote for the commitment of it.

Mr. EAST was surprised that any gentleman should oppose the principle of the bill, which was in exact conformity with the spirit of the poor laws. The 9th of George the First was actually a disgrace to our statute books. If gentlemen objected to the provisions, the proper stage to urge these objections would be in the Committee. As to the power intended to be vested in Magistrates by the bill, he was persuaded that it could not be placed in safer hands; some persons of exceptionable characters, he was ready to admit, might have crept into the commission of the peace; but in general there was no class of men, perhaps, to whom this country was more indebted than the Justices of the Peace.

Sir RICHARD HILL spoke in favour of the bill, and thought the worthy Baronet who brought it in, was entitled to the thanks of the House.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL spoke also in favour of the bill.

On the question being put, that the bill be now read a second time, the House divided,

For the motion, 95; Against it, 2. Majority, 93.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, that the House do now resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, on the bill for laying an additional duty on foreign Wines.

The House accordingly resolved itself into the said Committee; Mr. Serjeant Watson in the chair.

Mr. Chancellor PITT supposed, that the only clause in which a difference of opinion might arise, would be with respect to the time which he proposed the duty should attach. He should propose to fill up that blank with the twenty-third of February last, and that wine imported, but on which the duty had not however been paid, should fall under the same date. If gentlemen would reflect for a moment, they would see that there was nothing unrea-

fonable in it; for as foon as the refolution of the [illegible] relative to the duty on wine, the retail dealer charged the [illegible] price on the confumers. The queftion then was reduced to [illegible] point, would the Committee confent that the individual confumer fhould bear the additional duty, even for any portion of time, which would find its way into the pockets of the wholefale and retail wine dealers, without any advantage to the public? The quantity of ftock already on hand bore a great proportion to the confumption of the year; he could not ftate the precife proportion; but gentlemen would be aware that it was very confiderable.

Mr. HOWARD faid, that two veffels laden with wine had been prevented from coming up the Severn in confequence of the fe- verity of the weather; they had paid the duty on the 24th of Fe- bruary laft; he wifhed to know in what fituation they would ftand with regard to the additional tax. The honourable member con- ceived that all law ought to be profpective, and not retrofpective.

Mr. Chancellor PITT infifted that he had ftated the queftion fairly, and that the public would not profit by the duty for the pre- fent year if a later day fhould be named in the bill. With refpect to importation, the only argument urged on that head, he fuppofed, would be, that it was an article of mercantile fpeculation; but he could not fee it in that point of view. The wine imported into this country was moftly confumed in it, fo that it might be claffed with other articles of home confumption.

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON faid, if the right honourable gen- tleman (Mr. Pitt) fhould perfift in filling up the blank with the 23d of February laft, it would materially affect his conftituents. Stock was taken on different days in the city, fome on the 23d, and fome on the 26th and 27th of February. Now if the excife officers had informed thofe whofe ftock they had taken on the 23d, that the additional duty would take place on that day, if they did not lay that additional duty on the confumer, the lofs would undoubtedly be their own: but if this information was not given to others till the 27th, it would be hard indeed to expect that they fhould pay the duty till they had received that information, becaufe in the in- terval they might have entered into contracts, received the money, and made out the bill of parcels. As the right honourable gentle- man had always made juftice and equity the bafis of his conduct, he trufted that he would not depart from it on that occafion. He fhould therefore move an amendment, that the duty do not attach till the bill paffed into a law.

Mr. GREY obferved, that it was neceffary when an additional duty was impofed upon any clafs of individuals, that equity and [illegible]

tice should be consulted in the distribution of that burthen, which, in his opinion, was not the case at present. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) carries a resolution in that House, excise officers are ordered to take stock, and to inform the wine merchant of the minister's intention, that the additional duty should attach from the day on which that resolution passed—was this notice one of that nature to induce the House of Commons to act upon it? Or if it even should be admitted that the notice was sufficient, was it certain that those officers obeyed that command, and that they actually did give that notice? He was persuaded if this matter was enquired into, it would be found they had not. The worthy magistrate had stated, that stock was taken in the city on different days; some on the 23d, and some so late as the 27th of February last—now, it was not only possible, but, he was persuaded, it really was the case, that contracts had been made, the money paid, and receipts taken, in that interval. If the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had proposed to act on the principles of equity and justice, in what manner did he propose to reconcile those differences? What was the case with respect to tea, on which likewise a duty was to take place, but was not to commence in its operation till after the next sale at the India House? Mr. Grey condemned the novelty of the proceeding, he should, therefore, vote for the worthy Alderman's (Anderson) amendment.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that the practice was not novel, that it would be found to have obtained in many cases in the revenue laws. If a tax was imposed, it was fair that the public should have the full benefit of it, which would not be the case if the suggestions he had just heard were adopted, because the wine merchant and retail dealer would have it, without any advantage to the individual consumer. As to the notice by the excise officers, he thought it sufficient, and he was induced to believe it was generally given, with only a few exceptions, on the 23d of February last. With respect to contracts, it was his intention to introduce a clause to lay the additional duty on the consumer, besides, the difference of a few days with respect to the taking of the stock was not material, because the duty would be laid on the stock in hand only at the time it was taken. The Committee would also recollect, that when the duty on wine was lowered, a reduction was at the same time allowed to the wine merchant, &c. on the stock in hand.

Mr. ROSE conceived that the best way would be to fill up the blank with the 23d of February last, and he was persuaded that it would not be difficult to reconcile the subordinate regulations. With respect to tea, it was difficult to impose the new duty on that

article till the next India sale took place; and as to coffee, the new duty was to take place on it as soon as it should be taken out of the warehouse. With respect to spirits, it was intended to tax that article in the manufactory.

Several Members stated, that their constituents in the country had received no notice of the tax till the 28th, that there were even merchants in town, who, when their stock was taken, were ignorant what was the object in view, and who, upon applying to the excisemen, had not been able to obtain any satisfactory information, and that a quantity of wine which had been ordered to be sent on the 22d of February, had not been sent out till next day, on account of the impossibility of procuring a sufficient number of permits, and that there were gentlemen attending in the lobby who were ready to prove all these particulars on oath.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that however he might regret the hardship on individuals, these cases were very few indeed, and that according to the present plan, the duty must attach on the stock taken on the 23d February, or immediately subsequent to that day.

Mr. FOX said, that the circumstance of the duty being laid upon the first stock taken on the 23d February, or immediately after, went considerably to obviate any objections to the measure. What he had chiefly to state was with respect to the country; even though the stock was taken at Lynn and Bristol on the 23d, they could not on that day receive any authentic notice of such a tax having been proposed, it was hard, therefore, that they should be saddled with a duty of which they had received no fair intimation. It was stated, that the advance would fall upon the consumers; but, in opposition to this statement, he had found none so strongly impressed with the injustice of the tax as the wholesale merchants, who supplied the other dealers. These gentlemen said, that if they had received notice to stop sending out wine till the tax should commence, they would readily have complied, but as the permits were given out as usual, they were not aware that the duty was intended to take place at so early a period. It would be exceedingly difficult for them to recover the advance from those who had paid them at the old price, without a tedious and disagreeable law process, rather than submit to which many would prefer to sacrifice a number of small sums. It was undoubtedly hard that the public should lose a sum of such magnitude as the right honourable gentleman had seemed to insinuate, but it was better that the sum, whatever might be its extent, should be at once sacrificed, if it could not in the present instance be gained to the public, without injustice to indivi-

duals. He concluded with proposing, as a modification, for the sake of the country, that the tax should not commence till the 24th of February, or some subsequent day, as might be deemed most equitable.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that as the stock had been directed to be taken on the 23d of February, if this modification were adopted, the whole of what had since been sold would escape the duty.

Mr. W. SMITH thought that great inconvenience would arise in cases where contracts were actually entered into, in confidence that this act would have a prospective and not a retrospective operation. He was aware, he said, that gentlemen who intended to vote in opposition to the amendment, would lay great stress on the facility of recovering by an action at law; but he would ask, was it fair, or consistent with the principles or practice of a legislative body, to frame laws which shall attach on individuals to transactions which had taken place previous to the existence of such laws? Besides, there was a considerable hardship in obliging persons to resort to the law for the recovery of money. Daily experience taught us that it happened not unfrequently, that a plaintiff had better relinquish his claim than trust to the event of an action. Another difficulty must necessarily arise if the act took effect on the day proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the two days prior to the 23d, so great was the demand for wine, that the clerks at the different offices could not serve a sufficient number of permits, which obliged the dealers to postpone the delivery of wine till after that day, although it had been purchased without any allowance for the additional duty. This could not be imputed as a fault to either the purchaser or the dealer, for as they were supposed to have their information from the votes of the House only, they could not have the duty in contemplation, much less could they be charged with any intention of evading it. It was therefore, in his opinion, unjust that they should suffer any inconvenience from what they could neither foresee nor prevent.

The House divided on Mr. Alderman Anderson's amendment, that, instead of the blank being filled up with the "twenty-third" of February, the words "until the bill shall receive the royal assent," should be inserted.

For the amendment, 30; against it, 70. Majority, 40.

The bill went through the Committee. On the resumption of the House the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

The SECRETARY AT WAR, after a few introductory remarks, concluded by moving, that a Committee be appointed to

prepare the estimate of an additional allowance to subaltern officers in the militia in time of peace.

General TARLTON said, he did not rise to oppose this proposition, for no man wished officers to be more handsomely provided for than he did; but sorry he was to find a measure brought forward which had a manifest tendency not only to assimilate, but even to put the militia officers on a better footing than the regulars, who were liable to be called upon foreign service, and who constantly bore the heat and labour of the day. This preference was not his only objection. To him the measure appeared calculated to extend the influence and patronage of the Minister, and to establish a military government in this country, which might eventually subvert the liberties of the people.

A Committee was appointed agreeably to the motion.

The House resolved itself into a Committee on the bill for more effectually manning his Majesty's navy, by raising men in proportion to the tonnage of every outward-bound vessel.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he had availed himself of the interval allowed him by the House to enquire into the most effectual, and, at the same time, the most convenient, mode of carrying into execution the plan (the outlines of which he had, on a former occasion, laid before the House), for obtaining an additional number of seamen for the service of the royal navy. It was extremely flattering to him to inform the House, that the result of his communications from the ship-owners and merchants in the different sea ports throughout the kingdom, manifested their zeal and alacrity to co-operate with the Executive Government, and to furnish resources adequate to the pressure of existing circumstances. Gentlemen, he said, would recollect, that an embargo had been laid on all shipping, which was to continue till the number of men should be completed. It was then deemed proper, that the embargo should be general throughout the kingdom. It was now, however, judged more equitable and convenient for the purposes of trade, to relax this regulation, by making the embargo partial. This would encourage competition, and operate as a stimulus to activity and industry. It was therefore proposed, that when a port had furnished a number of men proportionate to its trade and other local circumstances, the embargo should be taken off, and the vessels suffered to proceed on their respective voyages. It was impossible to particularize the nature of all the exemptions; but, as no partiality would be shown, and as these exemptions went to relax his Majesty's proclamation relative to the embargo, it was fit that the Council should have the power of deciding on the subject.

Sir P. BURRELL doubted whether this was not such a deviation from the original plan as to require longer time to take it into consideration.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, it was no proposition of his: it originated in the ship-owners themselves, and had the approbation of a great majority of ports throughout the kingdom. They thought it a more desirable mode than the other, for the reasons he had already assigned.

Lord HOOD addressed the Committee in nearly the following terms.—I beg leave to obtrude myself upon the House for a few minutes, in consequence of what fell from an honourable baronet the other night respecting our seamen, prisoners in France. From my feelings, my Lord, for the situation of those unhappy men, and from a strong desire to alleviate their misfortune as far as I could, I ventured to take upon me, when I sent the Bastia garrison to Toulon, to propose an exchange of prisoners, man for man, and officer for officer, according to their respective ranks. My proposal was sent to the Convention at Paris, and I am sorry to say, a direct and positive refusal was given it. A few months after, my Lord, upon the surrender of Calvi, Casabianca, the commandant of the French troops of that garrison, came with a proposal to me, that if I would consent to allow the crew of three or four boats, which were captured in attempting to throw in succours, to return to France with him, he pledged himself in the most solemn manner, not only to return an equal number of British seamen immediately, but would endeavour, and trusted he should be able to succeed, to procure a general exchange. To obtain an object, with which my mind was very forcibly impressed, I did not hesitate, my Lord, to send him the French prisoners he asked; but alas! not one British subject was ever returned by him: and after the seven transports, which carried the Calvi garrison to Toulon, had been detained three months, they were sent back with this indecent, and I think I may add, insolent and savage declaration, that if any other cartels were sent, they should be burned immediately, and the crews imprisoned. I thought it very much my duty to put the House in possession of these facts, and shall decline making, my Lord, any comment upon the glaring proof I experienced of a total want of humanity, justice, or honour in the French.

A desultory conversation ensued on the different clauses of the bill, a variety of amendments were made, and the House being resumed, the report was ordered to be read to-morrow.

*Friday, 6th March.*

Mr. C. LONG presented the bill for limiting the privilege of franking, which he moved should be read a first time.

General SMITH regretted the absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at a time he had any observations to offer on the bill; but when he considered the paucity of the sum to be raised by the regulations of franking, in comparison with the amazing aggregate amount of the other taxes, he could not help wishing that some other resource could be suggested and substituted for it. The sum of 40,000l. to the Exchequer, he deemed inadequate to the infringement on the privileges of the House, and the great inconveniences to which the Members would be subjected. For his own part, he was very old and infirm, and should not probably occupy a seat there after the present session; but he was nevertheless tenacious of the few privileges which had hitherto been allowed the Members, although he might not long enjoy them. The inconveniences to which he feared the Members would be subjected by this bill, would arise very frequently from the uncertainty and almost impossibility of ascertaining whether or not the Member was really within the district at the time of delivery; as thus, he might be confined to his bed by indisposition, and the postman, either for some pique against the servants, or dissatisfaction with his Christmas-box, or the insolence of office, might demand to see him, or refuse to leave the letters. Upon these considerations he objected to the bill, and should oppose it in every stage.

Mr. C. LONG said, the honourable General was totally mistaken, in applying the objection he had stated to the present bill; there was no one clause in it which altered, in any degree, the law as it now stood, respecting the delivery of letters. The provisions of the bill were, that no Member should send or receive any letter, free from duty, which weighed more than one ounce; that he should not be permitted to send more than ten letters, or receive more than fifteen, free from duty, in any one day; that if more were sent or received, the duty would attach upon those on which the amount of postage was the lowest. There was likewise a provision which required the Member to be actually at the place from whence letters were sent, or they would be liable to be charged.—These, he said, were the provisions of the bill; and he was sure the honourable gentleman would have the candour to admit, that his objection did not apply to them: the object of the bill was, to separate the fair exercise of the privilege of Members of Parliament from what he must consider as the abuse of it: to this he

thought no person could object; and as to the particular limitations of the bill, he thought they would be more properly discussed in the Committee.

General SMITH expressed his satisfaction at the candid statement of the honourable gentleman, and the gentlemanlike manner in which it was delivered. He was only anxious that gentlemen should not be put to the inconvenience which he thought would have ensued, if the bill had been framed conformable to the Resolutions which had passed on a former night.

Mr. CAWTHORNE and Mr. Alderman CURTIS each said a few words.

Mr. BUXTON lamented that gentlemen should be so tenacious of what they deemed a privilege, in a time of such urgency as the present, when, instead of any qualified regulation, they ought rather to declare their resolution for an abolition of franking.

The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday next.

Mr. FOX gave notice, that on Monday se'ennight, the 16th of March, he should move for the House to go into a Committee upon the state of the nation; when, if that motion should be negatived, which, in such cases was not very usual, he should make another motion for the House to consider of the same.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and Means for granting a supply to his Majesty; Mr. Hobart in the chair.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he should propose upon the plan of last year, that all persons possessing navy or victualling bills, which are made out on or before the 1st of May, 1795, and which shall be carried to be marked and certified in a particular manner, shall for every 100l. be entitled to 108l. 5 per cent. annuities, with interest from the 5th of January last, which was the time at which the bargain was made. But, notwithstanding, gentlemen were to recollect, that the annuities were at that time at 92½ average; so that the bargain was still to be considered in our favour.

The resolution was then put and carried, as was a resolution for raising two millions, and one million and a half, upon exchequer bills. To be reported on Monday.

In a Committee on the Wine Duty bill,

Mr. Chancellor PITT proposed two amendments. First, That a clause be introduced to prevent any charge upon the dealers before the gauge or stock was taken, on or since the 23d of February; and secondly, To enable the dealers to recover the additional duty of the consumers, where any contract was made before the first re-

ſolution of the Committee, and no delivery had taken place till after the 23d of February.—Agreed to.

Mr. HOBART then reported the bill, which was read a firſt and ſecond time, and ordered to be ingroſſed and read a third time on Monday.

In a Committee on the Tea Duty Bill,

Mr. HUSSEY hoped that the right honourable gentleman had made ſome calculations upon the black teas, which are chiefly conſumed by the loweſt and pooreſt claſs of people, charged them accordingly.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that it was not poſſible to make any calculation without the returns from the India Houſe of the importation and the ſale. The duty of 7l. 10s. was but a twelfth part, he obſerved, and conſequently upon an article of ſuch ſmall price could be ſcarcely felt, for although the conſumer ultimately pays the tax, the greateſt burden falls on the firſt purchaſe. For his own part, in a moment of ſuch great neceſſity, he could not perceive why thoſe perſons the honourable gentleman alluded to ſhould not ſubſcribe their quota, when in the aggregate it could be ſo uſeful, and individually of ſuch trifling inconvenience. He commended however the laudable principle upon which the honourable gentleman acted, although he thought him miſtaken in this inſtance.

General SMITH conceived that, although the tax was but a twelfth, the ſum of 3d. additional duty on a pound of 3s. tea was, to a poor perſon, of ſome conſideration.

The duty was voted, and the bill ordered to be reported on Monday.

General SMITH gave notice, that on Tueſday he ſhould make a motion relative to the officers in India. Adjourned to

*Monday, 9th March.*

The order of the day was read for the third reading of the Wine Bill.

General TARLETON ſaid, that he had received a letter from Liverpool, ſtating, that the merchants there had purchaſed a conſiderable quantity of wine before the preſent bill was in agitation, which they had intended to have ſent to different parts of the country, but were prevented in conſequence of the canals being frozen; and if the regulations now propoſed were carried into effect, the conſequence would be to produce a very diſagreeable altercation between them and their cuſtomers, whom they had agreed to ſupply at the old price. He had many objections, both to the principle of the preſent duty, and to the manner of laying it on. He remarked the

hardſhip on ſubaltern officers of the army, who were in the habit of drinking port wine, and thought, that on conſideration of the ſcantineſs of their incomes, ſome proviſion ought to be made in their favour. A conſiderable hardſhip would alſo fall on gentlemen in town, who kept their wine in licenced cellars. He concluded with moving, that inſtead of the 23d of February, there ſhould be inſerted in the bill, the 23d of March, as the period at which the duty ſhould commence.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, the ſubject had already been debated, and he was not aware of any new argument.

Sir WILLIAM MILNER ſaid, that his conſtituents were in the ſame ſituation as thoſe of General Tarleton.

The motion was put and negatived without a diviſion, and the bill read a third time, and paſſed.

The SPEAKER ſtated, that he had received a letter from Lord Viſcount Garlies, March 4, 1795, which he deſired the Clerk to read to the Houſe. The letter ſtated, that he had been prevented from putting in execution the writ for the election of a Member to ſerve in Parliament, for Kirkcudbright, in conſequence of the communication having been ſtopt for four weeks between Edinburgh and Dumfries, which place he had only been able to reach the day before. He had not ſent the writ to the Deputy Sheriff, becauſe as there were ſeveral candidates, he conceived that all the electors, in different parts of the kingdom, would be deſirous to attend, which they could not have done, from the impaſſable ſtate of the roads.

Mr. WILLIAM DUNDAS ſtated, that it was three months ſince the writ in queſtion had been iſſued, and moved that Lord Garlies ſhould attend at the bar of the Houſe, to give an account of the cauſes of the delay in executing it.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS ſaid, that on Thurſday next, he ſhould move for leave to bring in a bill, as had been done in former inſtances, enabling ſeamen to continue an allowance to their families for a time to be limited.

General SMITH moved, that there ſhould be laid before the Houſe, a copy of the memorial of officers on the Bengal eſtabliſhment, &c.—Ordered.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſtated, that two ſuggeſtions had occurred in order to render more effectual the proviſions of the act for raiſing men from the counties, for which he propoſed to bring in a ſeparate bill. The firſt was in order to obviate the inconvenience that might ariſe from a change of Churchwardens, before the number of men was completed, to enable Churchwardens to continue in office,

for the sole purpose of fulfilling the provisions of the bill; and the second was, as there might be some delay in getting in the additional rates, to enable the Commissioners of the Land Tax to advance such sums to the Churchwardens as might be required for bounty. Leave was given to bring in the bill.

The bill imposing additional duties on certain articles of customs, went into a Committee; the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought up a clause to exempt from its operation all deals not exceeding ten inches square, being the part of timber usually employed in building cottages, and all timber employed in mines; the clause, after a few remarks, was agreed to, and the Report ordered to be received to-morrow.

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON brought up a clause to be inserted in the bill for raising men from the ship owners, that no rendezvous should be opened in the City of London, which was likewise agreed to, after a short conversation, and the bill read a third time and passed.

On the question that the Franking bill should be read a second time, a desultory conversation took place.

Mr. WILBRAHAM suggested as a measure which would tend greatly to increase the revenue, and be attended with scarcely any additional expence, that Sunday should be a post-day in London, as it already was in most parts of the country. The sum arising from the postage of letters would be thus considerably enhanced, as well as the stamp-duty on newspapers, which, if the measure was adopted, would continue to be printed on Sunday.

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that it was impossible that he should have made up his mind on the proposition of the honourable gentleman, but at any rate, it did not belong to the present discussion, as it was a matter of executive regulation.

A variety of remarks were made by Sir Benjamin Hammet, Mr. East, Sir Francis Baring, Lord Sheffield, &c.; but as none of them stated any objection to the principle of the bill, it was suggested by the speaker that they would come with more propriety to be discussed in the Committee.

The bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Thursday.

Sir WATKIN LEWES brought up a bill to amend the City Militia act of last session.

The bill to render more effectual the provisions of the act for raising men from the counties, was read a first time.

*Tueſday, 10th March.*

General SMITH roſe to make the motion, of which he had given notice, in favour of the officers in the Eaſt-India ſervice. The queſtion he was offering to the conſideration of the Houſe, he ſaid, in his opinion, was of a very ſerious and important nature, and well deſerved the attention of the Legiſlature. It involved the intereſts of a large body of very gallant men, amounting in number to 1600. He thought ſo highly of the merits of the officers ſerving in India, and of the many and important ſervices they had done to the country, that he felt it a matter of duty to render them all the ſervice in his power, by ſtating their grievances, and calling upon the Houſe to redreſs them. The grievances under which they laboured, appeared to him to be great and undeſerved. In the firſt place, they complained, that, after long ſervices, when they had attained that age in which the greateſt confidence ſhould be placed, that ſuch confidence was withdrawn from them. They were not admitted to that rank, to which they were entitled, by their age, and the length of their ſervice.—It was a ſingular circumſtance, that while in this country there exiſted a little army of Generals, amounting to the number of 280, there was not even one General Officer in the army in India conſiſting of [illegible]5,000 effective men. Seven years ſince, His Majeſty had been pleaſed to adopt a meaſure which he conſidered as wiſe and politic, he had been graciouſly pleaſed to permit that the officers on the Eaſt India eſtabliſhment ſhould be raiſed to an equality of rank with thoſe ſerving in his own troops. This wiſe and politic meaſure had, however, been fruſtrated by a regulation of the Court of Directors, for which he could not diſcover one good or plauſible reaſon. They had come to a reſolution, that no one in their ſervice ſhould be raiſed to the rank of General. This he conſidered as extremely abſurd; and the more ſo, becauſe the Eaſt-India Company had no other mode of remunerating their officers for their zeal and ſervices, whereas His Majeſty could beſtow various honours and rewards on his officers, beſides the reward of rank. The General here read a paper, containing the ſentiments of the officers themſelves on thoſe cauſes of complaint; in which was ſtated the great length of time which the Colonels, Majors, and other officers had ſerved. Upon this paper, the General obſerved, that if the preſent eſtabliſhment ſhould continue, all the zeal and ardour of thoſe brave and gallant officers muſt give way to a hopeleſs deſpondency, and the more eſpecially becauſe it frequently happened that they were commanded by officers of His Majeſty's forces, who had not ſerved one-third of the

time with themselves, a circumstance peculiarly galling to veteran and experienced officers. Another very great and serious grievance was, the impossibility of the officers returning to their own country, to enjoy in tranquillity and repose the rewards of their fatigues and hardships. These grievances attaching upon a body of men who had always conducted themselves with loyalty, fidelity, and zeal for the interests of their country, called loudly for redress. He did not wish to discuss the mode of that redress, because he understood a negociation was carrying on between His Majesty's Ministers and the East-India Company for that purpose, but he was desirous of suggesting some measure to be immediately adopted to satisfy the claims of those meritorous men; claims not only founded on justice and equity, but also upon sound policy. It was well known that the French were turning their eyes towards that part of the world; it would therefore be highly politic to eradicate even the slightest symptom of discontent from the minds of those who were to defend our possessions. Besides, the Company's officers, disgusted by the neglect and hardships which they experienced, might be induced to enter into the service of the native Princes. It might be asked, why he brought forward this motion, after what had been said by the right honourable Secretary of State a few days since? The reason was, because there existed a difference of opinion between Ministers and the East-India Company, with whom they were negociating; he hoped he should do away that difference. He had felt some difficulty, anxious as he was for the interest of the Officers, in framing his motion. He should move three resolutions:

1st, "That it is the opinion of this House, that the Officers in the East-India service have laboured under great and serious grievances.

2d. "That it is the opinion of this House, that those Officers have deserved well of their country by their services.

3d. "That this House will take their grievances into consideration, and give them ample redress."

Colonel WOOD said, that he rose not by any means to controvert, but would, on the contrary, fully confirm, the very affecting picture which had just been drawn by the honourable General, of the meritorious services, as well as of the hardships, which had been so long imposed on the Officers in the service of the East-India Company—hardships of the severest nature, to which military men could have been subjected, and to which they had submitted with that degree of temper and moderation, so highly honourable to themselves, as well as the strongest proof of their zeal and attachment to

their native country; he begged leave, at the ſame time, to obſerve, that he had entertained ſome expectations that what he had the honour to repreſent to the honourable General, at the time that he gave notice to the Houſe of his intentions to bring forward ſome motion relative to the Officers of India, (the purport of which he declined to communicate) would have induced him to have deferred moving in this buſineſs, until there might be a probability of his doing ſo with greater effect than there appeared to him to be at that time, in ſupport of the cauſe of that very reſpectable and meritorious body of Officers, whoſe intereſts, he had no doubt, but that the honourable General had moſt ſincerely at heart.

Since, however, the honourable gentleman ſeemed determined to follow his own opinions upon this ſubject, he ſhould, therefore, take the liberty, as briefly as poſſible, of ſubmitting for the conſideration and judgement of the Houſe, thoſe reaſons which induced him to think, that unleſs, either upon the part of His Majeſty's Miniſters, or on that of the Court of Eaſt-India Directors, there ſhall appear to have been apparent neglect, or unneceſſary procraſtination and delay, it would neither be juſt nor wiſe in this Houſe to interfere at preſent with thoſe whoſe proper duty it is to arrange, and to bring this buſineſs before them.

At the time of the late renewal of the charter of the Eaſt-India Company, it will be recollected, that the reaſon aſſigned for not completing an arrangement for the military ſervice of India, was the confidence which not only the India Miniſter, but the nation, repoſed in the noble Lord who at that time governed India, and a deſire, that in the formation of a plan of ſo much importance to the welfare of this country, the Public ſhould have the full benefit of the local knowledge and experience of that noble Lord, that the detention of that noble Lord in India two years longer than what was expected, in conſequence of the Myſore war, and the buſy ſcenes which neceſſarily engaged his attention; during the proſecution of that war, (the termination of which was ſo highly honourable to himſelf, as well as advantageous to this country,) will ſatisfactorily account to this Houſe for the unavoidable delay which retarded the completion of the plan of that noble Lord for the Indian army, until after his arrival in this country. That ſome time about the 10th of laſt December, the Miniſter tranſmitted the plan of the Marquis Cornwallis to the Court of Eaſt-India Directors for their information, and, as he underſtood, at the ſame time acquainted them, that ſo ſoon as he could be favoured with their ſentiments upon this very important ſubject, he truſted that he ſhould then be enabled finally to arrange and to bring forward a plan for the India

army, which would not only effectually remedy the present grievances of which the military servants of the East-India Company so justly complained, but place the army in future upon that respectable, uniform, and permanent footing, so necessary for the security of our Eastern empire.

Some time towards the 20th of January last, he understood that the honourable Court of East-India Directors had taken into consideration the plan of the noble Marquis, and by their resolutions appeared to differ with him very essentially in regard to the principles of this plan, which went to an incorporation of the Indian army with that of His Majesty, but under certain restrictions and regulations, which were to have been fixed by Parliament. This the Court of Directors regarded as an infringement of the rights and privileges of the East-India Company, and therefore under that persuasion it appeared to be their duty to contend for them; but however much that honourable Court may have differed in opinion with that noble Lord, in regard to either the policy or principles of his plan, I am confident that not only that Court, but the Public, will give that noble Lord full credit for the purity of his intentions, and be satisfied, that in the recommendation of any particular plan, he could have had no wish, but that of best promoting what he believed to be for the welfare of his country. That since that time, he understood that the Court of Directors had been busily employed in the formation of a plan for their army, more consistent with the rights of the East-India Company; and although the completion of this plan had been delayed, by circumstances unavoidable on the part of the Court of Directors, yet he was happy to understand that it was now in that state of forwardness, to be expected to be ready for transmission to the India Minister in the course of a few days.

In the final arrangement of a plan of this very important nature, which involves such a variety of interests—a plan, on the wisdom and policy of which depended not only the security of our Eastern possessions, but intimately connected therewith the prosperity of this country, he trusted that the House would unite with him in judging that it will be highly expedient. The India Minister should have a reasonable time allowed, after he shall have received the plan of the Court of Directors; and that until such time as that period shall have elapsed, it would be highly improper for this House to interfere. He observed, that the right honourable gentleman who presides over the affairs of India, some little time ago, stated in this House, and he firmly believed stated most truly, so far from his ever having been desirous to procrastinate an arrangement of the claims of the India Officers, he had been most solici-

tous to give that very important business every dispatch in his power; and so well convinced of this are the friends of those Officers who act for them in this country, as well as of the friendly dispositions of that right honourable gentleman, that they rely with implicit confidence upon his firm support and exertions; and have a most grateful acknowledgement of the very fair, liberal, and easy communication, which has been afforded to them by that right honourable gentleman upon every occasion, for bringing the claims of the India Officers before him. The cause of the Officers of India rests upon too just and solid a foundation, to require the aid of party to support it; and however much the conduct of those Officers may, in some instances, have been misrepresented, to answer the purposes of artful and designing men, yet he was confident that His Majesty had not in any part of his dominions subjects more loyal, more zealous, or more firmly attached to the support of his Crown and Government. Connected as he was with many of those Officers by the warmest attachments of friendship; feeling as he did for the unmerited situation in which they are now placed, and as one of their friends in this country, specially intrusted with the guardianship of their interests, the honourable General might have been satisfied, that had he considered it for the advantage of those Officers to agitate their pretensions before this House, he would not have so long remained silent, but convinced as he was, that ever since the receipt of the plan of the Marquis Cornwallis, (previous to which, for the reasons of which this House are well informed, it would have been premature to have brought forward the business) there had been no delay which could have been avoided. He judged, therefore, that to have troubled this House, could only tend to teaze and harrass His Majesty's Ministers, and to have encouraged ill-grounded jealousies and suspicions abroad, without answering any good purpose at home.

The Officers of the Indian army, in particular those of Bengal, have a most grateful acknowledgement for the zeal and exertions which the honourable General has ever shewn in their behalf, whenever their interests have come under the discussion of this House; and he also felt the obligation which, on that account, he individually owed to that honourable gentleman. He had no doubt, but that the same very laudable zeal had prompted the honourable gentleman, as well upon this as upon other occasions, to press the cause of the Officers of India upon the attention of the House; but as he had every confidence not only on the right honourable gentleman who presided over India, but also in the Court of Directors, that no time will be lost in bringing this very important business to a final

arrangement. He confessed, that under that persuasion, he would judge it both impolitic and unjust in the House to interfere with those whose duty it more properly was to bring the subject before them.

Colonel MAITLAND said, he thought the question before the House a very serious and important one, but he confessed he was curious to learn, when he came down to the House, what motive the honourable General could have for bringing on his motion at the present period. The motive which had been assigned, appeared to him extremely singular. the General had said, his reason was, because a negociation was pending between Ministers and the Court of Directors, and a difference of opinion existed between them. The House, for this singular reason, was called upon to decide on *ex parte* evidence. He should have thought it more proper to have left the matter, for the present, in the hands of those who had undertaken it, who were more competent to decide, as having all the documents necessary to investigate the subject. If, after their determination, the redress granted should be thought insufficient, then it would be in the power of the honourable General to propose any farther redress which should appear to him necessary. At present, the motion could produce no one good effect, but might tend to make the officers suppose that their claims would be granted to an extent which might not be consistent with the interest of the country. He considered it as a matter of great difficulty and intricacy to adjust the claims of the officers consistently with the interest of the country. He perfectly agreed with the General as to the merits of the officers, but there were many serious and important questions involved in the subject besides the narrow and contracted one which the General had considered. There were some circumstances, though not those of rank and title, which appeared to give a compensation for the fatigues and dangers of the service. The Colonels in that service had incomes of 10,000l. per ann. which he believed more acceptable to men of their age than any title or rank. It was certainly a great hardship to be precluded from returning to their country: this, he sincerely hoped, would be remedied by the proposed arrangements. One material point had been forgotten by General Smith, viz. the difficulty attending the bestowing this rank. If the King were to have this put into his hands, it would be granting him an unconstitutional authority to so immense an extent, as he considered as dangerous to liberty. On these accounts, he considered the motion as of a dangerous tendency, and should therefore have wished it to have been deferred. He hoped that a final arrangement would soon take place, but not such an arrangement as that of a few years since, which should render it necessary

for the officers to apply to the Legislature again, after a short period. He trusted it would be such a one as would lay the question asleep for ever. He thought the discussion of the question highly improper, and should therefore move, that the House adjourn.

Colonel Maitland's motion was carried, and the House accordingly adjourned.

*Wednesday, 11th March.*

On the question that the bill for imposing an additional duty on Tea, Coffee, and Cocoa, be read a third time,

Mr. LECHMERE rose to oppose the same. The duty on Tea he particularly objected to, because it would fall with great weight upon the lower and poorer classes of the people. It was now, he said, become almost one of the first and greatest necessaries of life amongst them, and since every species of victuals were become so dear, thousands of people lived altogether on bread and tea. He did not mean, however, to object to one tax without proposing another; and therefore he would suggest that a licence, to the amount of two guineas, should be purchased by those who drive one-man carts, commonly called *skuttles*. He was informed that one man could draw six hundred weight in one of these skuttles, and that there were not fewer than twenty thousand of them used in London and its environs. He had no doubt that such a tax would be exceedingly productive, at the same time, that it would not be oppressive on the poorer orders of the people. He had been, he said, on every occasion, and from its commencement, a determined enemy to the war, but if a fair and honourable peace could not be obtained, as the hands of Government must be strengthened to enable it to carry on the war, it became the peculiar duty of the House to take care that in imposing taxes they should fix upon such as would bear with the least weight on the lower orders. The tax on tea would prove very heavy and oppressive on that numerous but useful body of subjects, whereas the substitute he had proposed for it, would fall chiefly on merchants, shopkeepers, and other opulent tradesmen, who were very well able to bear it. For these reasons he would move, and he hoped the motion would be seconded—that the third reading of this bill be postponed to this day six months. The motion, however, not being seconded, the question was not put upon it.

The bill was then read a third time and passed, and ordered to be carried to the Lords by the Solicitor General.

Mr. DENT said, that he was extremely sorry to find that a charge against the whole of the Members of the House, which consisted of 558, seemed to be implied by the bill for curtailing

the privilege of franking enjoyed by that House, of having abused the privilege vested in them originally, he believed, for the purpose only of corresponding with, and receiving letters from their constituents—out of five hundred and fifty-eight, however, he did not believe more than eight had actually abused the privilege, and this, from all the information he could collect, only to the amount of from 1500l. to 2000l. a year each. In order to distinguish those, and to clear all the others from the imputation, he moved, "That there be laid before the House an account of the number of letters, and their postage, directed to and from the Members of the House, for the last two years, distinguishing the names of each Member.

Mr. LONG said, it would not be possible to furnish such an account. The motion was negatived.

Mr. DENT then said, that as after this bill should pass, the Commissioners, Clerks, &c. of Public Offices, would possess a privilege of franking paramount to the Members of that House. He would therefore move, "That an account be laid before the House of the number of letters franked to and from the Clerks in the different Public Offices."—Agreed to.

*Thursday, 12th March, to Saturday, 14th March,* inclusive.

There not being, on any of those days, a sufficient number of Members present at four o'clock, to ballot for a Committee on the petition relative to the right of election for the City of Westminster, the House, of consequence, adjourned.

*Monday, 16th March.*

The following is a list of the Committee, balloted to try the question of the right of election, for the City and Liberty of Westminster.

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|---|---|
| Tho. Eastcourt, Esq. | G. Porter, Esq. |
| Hon. H. Hobart, | J. R. Birch, Esq. |
| J. Walwyn, Esq. | Lord Porchester, |
| H. Howard, Esq. | Sir W. Heathcote, |
| D. North, Esq. | R. Wood, Esq. |
| Sir T. Gascoyne, Bart. | Charles Dundas, Esq. |
| F. Dickins, Esq. | R. J. Buxton, Esq. |
| Hon. J. T. Townshend. | |

Mr. FOX observed, that owing to the circumstance of there not having been a House formed for some days, he had not had an opportunity of postponing his motion, if he had been so disposed. I as doubtful whether the House would have been full to-day, an

therefore he had come to a determination not to bring it forward at present, and as some farther notice was necessary, he begged to be understood as intending to bring it forward to-morrow se'nnight.

General SMITH moved, that the memorial relative to the officers in India, now on the table of the House, be printed.—Ordered.

The House having, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resolved itself into a Committee of Supply,

The SECRETARY AT WAR moved a resolution, the substance of which was, That an allowance be made to subaltern officers, in certain cases, in time of peace: —Agreed to the Report to be received to-morrow.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS observed, that he had some time since given notice he should have a motion to bring forward relative to the payment of the wages of seamen, and allowing them more power than they had at present to appropriate part of their pay to their relatives. It was unnecessary for him to enter into the detail of the subject now, because there would be other opportunities for discussing it, if necessary. He believed there was no difference of opinion on the principle of the bill which he intended to move for leave to bring in. The first and great foundation of the measure arose out of the power that was proper to be given to a seaman in allowing a part of his wages to his relatives in his absence. By Mr. Grenville's bill, which had passed some years ago, a seaman, having been in the service for twelve months, was allowed to give six months of his wages to his wife. Since that time this principle had been extended, and had been followed by very beneficial effects; and he was of opinion there should be a farther extension still. One reason, in particular, which rendered such a plan as this necessary, was the report made by the different persons in the sea-port towns, in which it was stated, it would be the greatest encouragement to seamen to enter into the service, if a provision was to be made for their families. He had revolved the subject in his mind for a considerable time, and considered the different objections that had been made to it, and the result of his deliberation was, that the business could be done without any inconvenience whatever. In consequence of this determination, he had formed the bill which he meant to bring forward; the great object of which was, that every seaman could have a power of attorney to transmit money not only to his wife, but to his mother or children, if his wife should happen to be dead. This would answer every purpose, and possess every convenience which was wanting in the former bill. A similar bill would be brought in in the Parliament of Ireland, to

that ſeamen, who were natives of that country, might ſend reli to their relations there. He would therefore move, That leave be given to bring in a bill to enable petty officers in the navy, non-commiſſioned officers in the marines, ſerving on board ſhips, and all others ſerving under them on board ſhips, to allot a certain portion of their pay for the relief of their wives and families.

Captain BERKELEY adverted to a petition which had been preſented ſome time ago on behalf of the inn-keepers. He wiſhed to be informed what ſtage it was in at preſent. He was led to do this in conſequence of an advertiſement which he ſaw in a newſpaper, by which he learnt that the inn-keepers had met at the Globe Tavern, and had come to a reſolution to raiſe the price of poſt-horſes in the kingdom. This he thought improper while their petition was before that Houſe, and he wiſhed to know whether there could not be a regulation of charges for poſt-horſes.

Mr. MAINWARING ſaid, he had been called upon to preſent a petition from ſeveral publicans, praying to be relieved from the hardſhip of having ſoldiers billeted on them. That petition was referred to a Committee, who made their report upon it; but nothing farther was done upon the ſubject. He had aſked the Secretary at War whether any thing was to be done, who told him that he ſhould conſult the gentlemen who had ſat on the Committee, and take meaſures accordingly; the reſult of which he could not tell.

Mr. DUNDAS obſerved, that the raiſing the price of poſt-horſes had no connection with the petition in queſtion.

Mr. HUSSEY ſaid, that all ranks of inn-keepers had ſuffered by the billeting of ſoldiers. With reſpect to the advance in the price of poſt-horſes, he believed no perſon would feel it more than himſelf, for he travelled a good deal; he could not, however, think of ſanctioning the idea of regulating the price of the poſtage of horſes in that Houſe. Could the Houſe think of countenancing ſuch a principle as that of interfering with the price of a marketable article? If they did they would deſtroy the ſpring on which ſuch buſineſs was carried on, namely, competition. Matters of this kind ſhould be always left to find their own level. If inn-keepers charged too high a price for their poſt-horſes, travellers would find out ſome other mode of travelling. At the ſame time, he thought the Houſe ought not to interfere in the buſineſs; that would be deſtroying all competition. The rate of poſtage ſhould be ſettled by the people themſelves, who had as much right to do ſo as any man had to fix a price on his labour or his commodity.

Captain BERKELEY ſaid that the rates of the moſt convenient

modes of conveyance had been fixed by Parliament; namely, hackney coaches, and watermen's fares.

The SPEAKER put a ſtop to this converſation, as there was no queſtion before the Houſe.

*Tueſday, 17th March.*

A petition was preſented from the provoſt and corporation of Dundee, expreſſing their diſapprobation of all petitions for an immediate peace, and their determination to ſupport Government in the vigorous proſecution of the war.

Sir JOHN FREDERICK, after a few remarks, moved for leave to bring in a bill for more effectually preventing the carrying off dead bodies from church-yards, and other burying places.

Mr. MAINWARING remarked, that the offence was already puniſhable by fine, impriſonment and whipping, which he conceived to ſuperſede the neceſſity of any new regulations.

The motion was ſupported by Mr. Wilberforce, Sir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Alderman Curtis.

Lord WILLIAM RUSSEL ſaid, that he muſt oppoſe the motion, becauſe he conceived that it only tended to agitate the public mind, and to ſtrengthen vulgar prejudices, which were already but too violent on the ſubject.

Leave was given to bring in the bill.

The Report was brought up of the reſolution of the Committee to grant a certain allowance to officers in the militia.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid that he would not trouble the Houſe in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs, but that he ſhould certainly take a future opportunity to give it his moſt decided oppoſition.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL moved for leave to bring in a bill to renew the act which paſſed laſt ſeſſion with reſpect to Aliens. A bill exactly the ſame as the Alien bill of laſt ſeſſion was brought up and read a firſt time.

The SECRETARY AT WAR gave notice that to-morrow, in the Committee of Supply, he ſhould move the vote for granting a certain allowance to officers in the militia.

The bill for rendering more effectual the proviſions of an act to raiſe a certain number of men from the counties, and the bill for raiſing a certain ſum of money by loans and Exchequer bills, for the ſervice of the year 1795, both went through a Committee, received ſeveral amendments, and were ordered to be reported to-morrow.

The bill for granting a duty to His Majeſty, on certificates for uſing hair powder, was brought up and read a firſt time. The bill

ſtated that all thoſe who were in the habit of wearing hair powder, ſhould enter their names with the Clerk of the Peace of the counties, or the Commiſſioners of the Diſtricts, in which they reſided, &c.

*Wedneſday, 18th March.*

Proceeded on the bills before the Houſe, without any debate.

*Thurſday, 19th March.*

Mr. HOBART, from the Select Committee, who were appointed to try and determine the merits of the petition of the ſeveral perſons, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, Electors of Members to ſerve in Parliament for the City and Liberty of Weſtminſter; and alſo, of the petition of ſeveral Inhabitants, Houſeholders of the City and Liberty of Weſtminſter, paying ſcot and lot, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, being Electors of Members to repreſent the ſaid City and Liberty in Parliament, on behalf of themſelves and many other Electors of the ſaid City and Liberty, reſpecting the Right of Election for the ſaid City and Liberty, informed the Houſe,

That the ſaid Select Committee, having duly conſidered the ſaid ſtatements, and the evidence adduced before them touching the Right of Election for the ſaid City and Liberty of Weſtminſter, have determined,

"That the Right of Election for the City and Liberty of Weſt-"minſter is in the Inhabitants Houſeholders, paying ſcot and lot, "of the united pariſhes of Saint Margaret and Saint John, and of "the ſeveral pariſhes of Saint Paul Covent Garden, Saint Ann, "Saint James, Saint George Hanover Square, Saint Martin in the "Fields, Saint Clement Danes, and Saint Mary le Strand (in-"cluding ſo much and ſuch parts of the ſaid pariſhes of Saint "Martin in the Fields, Saint Clement Danes, and Saint Mary le "Strand, as are within the liberties, diſtrict, limits, or juriſdiction "of the Dutchy of Lancaſter) and of the liberty or diſtrict of Saint "Martin le Grand in the County of Middleſex, and of the Pre-"cinct of the Savoy."

Mr. GREY preſented a petition in behalf of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and other Inhabitants of Dundee, ſtating the profeſſed purpoſe for which this war was entered into, and carried on, to be evidently unattainable; and praying that the Houſe ſhould take ſuch meaſures as to its wiſdom ſhould ſeem meet for the purpoſe of obtaining peace.—Ordered to be laid on the table.

Colonel LOWTHER preſented a petition directly to the contrary, from the Inhabitants of Whitehaven, ſtating their full con-

fidence in the wisdom and virtue of the great Council of the nation, and also of his Majesty's present Ministers, and that they would procure the blessings of peace when it could be obtained consistently with the establishment of order and religion, as well as the security and the honour of this nation.—Ordered to be laid on the table.

Sir WILLIAM DOLBEN moved, that the Act of Parliament for the better observance of the Lord's Day be read, which being done, he moved, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to explain and render more effectual the said Act.

Mr. JOLLIFFE objected to the motion.

Mr. TAYLOR said it had been usual, when a motion was made for leave to bring in a Bill, to assign some reason for it. He was at a loss to conceive the ground of the motion of the worthy Baronet.

Sir WILLIAM DOLBEN said, that the Act of Parliament for keeping the Sabbath Day could not, at present, be inforced in the manner it was intended to operate when it was passed into a law, and the Bill which he proposed to bring forward would only be a clause to render that Act effectual, without such a measure, the Act was of no use.

Mr. TAYLOR adverted to the Bill which passed last year to prevent baking on Sunday, except under certain regulations. He wished to know whether clauses had not been proposed in that very Bill of a similar nature to that which was now proposed, and had been rejected by the House.

Sir RICHARD HILL thought that the penalty, which is 5s. for baking on Sunday, contrary to the regulations of the Act, was too small. He approved of the motion now before the House.

Mr. I. H. BROWNE said, that the motion before the House was not for any new law, but to enforce an old one. He was clearly of opinion that mankind should not be permitted to follow worldly occupations on the Lord's Day, and therefore he heartily concurred in the motion.

Mr. YORKE and Mr. BUXTON said each a few words, and the question being put, leave was given to bring in the Bill.

The LORD ADVOCATE OF SCOTLAND, after stating the difference of the situation of the counties of Scotland from those of England, and making a few observations on the necessity of forming a plan in Scotland for raising men for the Navy, different from that which had passed for the counties in England, moved for leave to bring in a Bill to that effect. It was seconded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and agreed to.

The Report of the Committee of Ways and Means was brought up and read. The resolution for the paying and cloathing of the Militia was agreed to. On reading the resolution "That provision be made for Subaltern Officers of the Militia in certain cases in time of peace,"

The SECRETARY AT WAR said, he was at a loss to know what the objections were which were intended to be made to the resolution which had been just now read. He should very shortly state the grounds of the resolution. In the first place it came from an authority which the House would certainly respect and pay attention to. He meant the body of Field Officers. It had already received their general approbation. The measure stood in need of no comment from him. But, as he had been given to understand it was to be opposed, he should make a few observations. The first that struck him to be a proper question to be answered upon this case was this, Are the militia destitute of a sufficient number of officers to serve in subaltern situations? If they were, then he would ask another question: Is it fit that the militia should remain in that situation? If it was not fit, then he would ask, Is there a prospect that the deficiency will be supplied, if some measure be not taken for that purpose by Parliament? Having determined on these questions, the House would then, in his opinion, know all that was necessary for determining on the present measure. The rest would be matter of detail, and consequently of discussion in a future stage of the business. He therefore should have had nothing further to say now upon this subject, if it were not necessary for him to anticipate some objections, and perhaps to obviate them. For this purpose he should first proceed negatively, and, instead of stating what the measure now before the House was, he should state what it was not—namely, It was not an encouragement to officers by way of half-pay; it was the reverse of that. It would confine the allowance to subaltern officers, so as to connect it with the performance of the service. It was to grant additional pay in time of peace to those who had served in time of war. But this was to be subject to various conditions, which might be discussed hereafter. The principle of the measure was, that none of these officers should have this additional allowance in time of peace, who had not served in time of war. He should not have thought it necessary to say so much, if he had not been told there were some objections to this measure.

General TARLETON objected to this measure as an unconstitutional and an unfair one. The militia of this country were the constitutional force of it. The standing army was the right arm of

the Crown. Thus the two forces differed essentially in their nature; they had different services to perform; they ought to be kept as distinct as possible. This measure tended to assimilate them, and was therefore unconstitutional. He had nothing to say against the militia, on the contrary, he congratulated the country on the appearance of the militia. In them he saw the true *John Bull*.—He wished he could say as much of the recruits—but among them there were too many Mr. *Slenders*. The measure was unfair, because the standing army, going through the fatigues of a German campaign, or exposed to the alternate damps and heats of the West Indies, were not to be included in it. It was unwise, because it would tend to excite the jealousy of the standing army. If the service of the militia was deficient, some other step ought to be taken to supply it; but he saw no good from agitating this matter between the two services, and therefore it was improper at this moment. With regard, however, to the deficiency of the militia, he knew many of them better provided for than the army. He concluded with observing, that all those who would overleap all the bounds of the constitution, who wished to unite the militia and the army, and to make this country subject to a military government, would vote for the measure. But all those who wished to keep the two services separate, and to preserve the true spirit of the constitution, would agree with him, and oppose it.

Mr. STANLEY was of opinion, that the subalterns of the militia were not to be put on the same footing as those of the army on half pay. He approved of this measure highly.

Mr. BASTARD wished gentlemen had suffered this measure to be brought forward without opposition—if they had, they would have found it to be perfectly constitutional. He was of opinion, that the pay of subaltern officers in the militia was very inadequate to their expences. That being the case, the principle of this measure was right. What would be the proper remedy, was a question that might be discussed hereafter.

Colonel SLOANE said, that the militia were very deficient in subaltern officers. The surgeon, the surgeon's mate, and the quarter master, who had the rank of officers in the militia, contrary to the practice of the army, would, in case of actual service, be obliged to take off their red coats, in order to perform the duties of their respective situations, so that, in fact, they were only nominal officers; and even, if the number of subalterns was complete, in the event of the threatened invasion, there would still be a deficiency of these three. He approved, however, of the resolution before the House.

Mr. YORKE saw no objection to adopting the resolution of the Committee, and bringing in the bill; the provisions of the bill might be afterwards discussed.

Mr. M. ROBINSON thought there should be a distinct ground of necessity laid down before that House should think of altering the land-marks of the constitution. This measure would make that alteration. He had not heard a sufficient reason for it, and therefore he should vote against the resolution.

Mr. FOX said, he felt as much gratitude to the militia for the services they had rendered to this country as any man in it, but he must say that to his mind the militia, even as it stood at present, was too much like the standing army, and therefore he could not be expected to agree to any measure that tended to increase that similarity, and to a certain degree this measure had that tendency. This was pretty evident from the pains the right honourable gentleman who opened the business took to state that this was not in the nature of half-pay, but a provision for officers in the militia in time of peace. What was the difference, he would ask, in point of substance, between half-pay, and a provision in time of peace, for services in time of war? Were they not the same substantially? Certainly they were. It had been said that the cases of the subalterns in the militia were hard, possibly they might; he dared say they were. But if the question was to be considered separately and distinctly, then he would say, that a time of peace was the proper time for considering that question. For here was an inducement in time of war, upon the principle of half-pay, although not strictly to be so called, to officers in the militia, as if they were to be officers in the army: upon that great ground all the objections that had been urged against this measure, applied in their full force. He had no doubt there was a considerable difficulty with respect to raising officers in the militia, as he had heard stated, but he feared that was not peculiar to the militia; the same difficulty had occurred in the navy, the army, and all the branches of the public force; that difficulty arose out of a bad system which had been adopted in the whole course of our late armament. Ministers, instead of a broad comprehensive system, embracing at once all the objects of public concern, had proceeded upon a narrow plan and defective policy. Was there any thing wanting in the army, they flew immediately to provide a remedy for that particular thing, without looking around them, and taking care to adopt no measure that might be injurious to the navy. So in all the other branches of public affairs, they provided some partial expedient, as necessity pointed out, without making a survey of the whole, and taking [illegible] the

in providing for one branch they should not injure another. A difficulty had arisen with respect to the militia; was the Secretary at War able to state to the House that the same difficulty might not occur with regard to the army; and was he sure that this very measure might not tend to create it? He objected to this measure, as he had before said, on account of assimilating the militia to the army, and as had been mentioned by his honourable friend (General Tarleton), the militia of this country stood upon a principle different entirely from that which governed the army. In the militia, men did not enter for the purpose, and with a prospect of making a fortune. They had nothing to do even in time of war, but on the event of the country itself being in danger. This measure was contrary to the very principle on which the militia was formed, contrary to the very principle on which they are embodied and called out, for it was assimilating them to a standing army, and therefore the House ought to have considerable hesitation at least in entertaining it. If any of the provisions of the bill should be such as to do away any of his objections, he should be glad of it; that would be matter of detail, and he should give his opinion on it at a proper time, possibly he might take the sense of the House in another stage of the business. He was ready to say, however, that if the sense of the House was taken now, he saw enough of the measure to compel him to vote against it.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he could not help hoping that gentlemen would not take the sense of the House on the present stage of the question, till they had allowed themselves to consider the specific nature and tendency of the provision to be brought forward. But as so much had been said on the subject, he could not refrain from shortly stating, why he should not only support the present proposition, but why also he was friendly to the whole of the business. If there was a great deficiency of subalterns at a time when they were wanted, and if in the opinion of several respectable persons there would be a great difficulty in procuring them at a period when the necessity might be greatest, surely some means ought to be taken to provide against the inconvenience. The right honourable gentleman had said, that he would rather postpone the discussion to a time of peace. It was rather singular, that, thinking a measure proper to be discussed during peace, he should not be disposed to take the benefit that might collaterally result from its adoption in a time of war. He had further stated, that it was unconstitutional to apply to the militia the same inducements which were held out to the army. If this argument was to be admitted in its utmost extent, no inducements at all ought to be held out to

officers in the militia, nor ought they to receive any pay during the period of their actual service. As the militia now stood, the great security for the service was, that all persons serving as Captains were obliged to be possessed of certain qualifications, it was necessary that they should have property to such an amount as gave them a considerable stake in the country. It was wished, in the first instance, to extend this qualification likewise to the subalterns; but, from experience, such a regulation was found not to be practicable. He contended, that the provision now proposed to be made was very different from the half-pay granted to officers in the army, with which, however, in the course of the debate, it had been so often confounded. In the first place, it was some difference at least, that the proportion was by no means to be the same. In the second place, a more material distinction was, that whereas half-pay was retained by officers who had quitted their corps, this provision was only to be granted to officers who still continued to serve in the militia in time of peace. The duty which they would have to perform would be proportionably light, but still they were ready at a call, and it was of consequence to the country that the militia should be provided with experienced officers in a case of emergency. Beside the objections which the right honourable gentleman had urged to the present proposition, he had entered into a more general view of the state of the service, into which he should not now follow him. He had contended, that the services had been so conducted as to interfere with one another. In opposition, however, to this statement, he could assume, that all the services had been carried to the greatest extent, and to a degree unexampled at any former period, a presumption, at least, that no great detriment had resulted from the alledged interference of one service with another. But if even the services had been conducted as had been supposed by the right honourable gentleman, it served only as an argument against himself. For if there was so little temptation for subalterns to enter into the army, and still it was found that the deficiency of subalterns in the militia was so considerable, this was the strongest reason that could be urged why additional encouragement should be held out, in order, if possible, to remedy that deficiency.

Mr. COX said, that by extending the proposed provision only to the Ensigns, and a small proportion of the Lieutenants, probably the object in view might be gained, and at the same time all objections obviated. If the provision was to be granted to all the Ensigns and Lieutenants, gentlemen of property would thus be precluded from taking, in the first instance, the rank of Lieutenants,

and the farther inconvenience would be incurred, that as they would at once ſtep into the rank of Captains, the command of the company would devolve upon thoſe officers who had the leaſt experience.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, that he did not mean now to enter fully into the buſineſs; he ſhould wait till he ſaw the nature of that proviſion which was propoſed to be brought forward. He certainly, however, conſidered the preſent meaſure as a ſtep towards deſtroying the great conſtitutional diſtinction which ſubſiſted between the militia and the army. He ſtated the pay given to officers in the militia to be not in the nature of a remuneration for their ſervices, but as a compenſation for the expence of their attendance. He took notice of the argument urged by the honourable gentleman who had ſpoken laſt, that the propoſed proviſion would prevent ſpirited young men of property from taking, in the firſt inſtance, the rank of Lieutenants, all the Captains would be to be ſelected from the gentlemen of the county of a certain deſcription of property, and thoſe who were placed in that rank would thus be precluded from the benefit of any previous experience or knowledge of the ſervice. He poſtponed any further remarks, till he had an opportunity to diſcuſs the particular proviſion intended to be made. He had only one obſervation to add, it was rather an unfortunate ſymptom with reſpect to the diſpoſitions of the nation, that in a war which had ſo often been repreſented as calling for the zeal, the ſpirit, the exertions and ſacrifices of the people in a greater degree than any former conteſt, it ſhould be found neceſſary to hold out additional inducements to engage men to enter into a ſervice, where their aſſiſtance was only required for the defence of the country.

Mr. WILBERFORCE expreſſed his approbation of the meaſure in its fulleſt extent. Adverſe as he was to the war, as well as the honourable gentleman who had ſpoken laſt, he could not allow that his concluding argument was by any means fair, which made the deficiency of ſubalterns in the militia apply particularly to the preſent war. The ſame deficiency had been experienced in former wars, and as it was now wiſhed to put the militia upon a reſpectable footing, in order to ſuit the emergency of the occaſion, it was neceſſary that ſome means ſhould be adopted in order to remedy the inconvenience. He approved of the principle of conſtitutional jealouſy; he wiſhed as much as any man to be actuated by that principle on every proper occaſion: but the queſtion was not, as had been inſinuated, to aſſimilate the militia to the army, it only went to introduce a certain reſemblance for a particular object, and that

in so slight a degree, as appeared to him to afford no just ground for the exercise of jealousy in the present instance. With respect to officers in the militia, the case stood thus: those who had the rank of Captains were gentlemen of property, who were subjected to no inconvenience by that situation, but continued to move in their natural sphere: the subalterns, however, who were in different circumstances, were, by their rank as officers, and the habit of associating with persons of superior fortune, drawn into expences which might not, in every instance, be suitable to their private income. It was equitable, therefore, that they should receive some compensation for the inconvenience to which they were necessarily subjected in the public service. It was customary to grant such a compensation in all similar cases. He concluded with saying, that he the more chearfully supported the measure, because he was persuaded that there was no body of men to whom the country owed more gratitude, or for whom it was bound to feel more respect, than those who were the objects of the present discussion, the Officers in the militia.

General SMITH supported the measure. He said, that it was well known to military men, that the best troops in the world would be but of small value for service, unless they were properly officered. So far, then, from having an objection to put the militia on the same footing as the army, with respect to officers, he rather considered it as a recommendation to the measure. He hoped, however, that by this allowance, it was not intended to subject troops serving in the militia to the articles of war, except when they were actually under arms.

The resolutions were agreed to, and a bill ordered to be brought in on the first resolution.

The bill to render more effectual the provisions of an act passed in the present session, for raising men from the counties, was read a third time and passed.

On the question that the bill to amend the London militia act should be read a second time,

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that he certainly could not oppose the principle of a bill to amend this act, since that might seem to imply that the act itself wanted no alteration or amendment. So far was this from being the case, that he thought the shortest way would have been to have repealed the act altogether, and that, as it now stood, it would be very difficult to introduce into it any amendments which would have the effect to render it consistent either with the chartered rights of the citizens of London, or the defence of the city. When it came into the Committee, he should

try how far he could introduce such amendment; and till he had made that experiment, he should wave all idea of opposition to the bill itself.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed for Monday.

*Friday, 20th March.*

Mr. LONG moved, that the House do resolve itself into a Committee on the franking bill.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY said, he had several objections to make to the bill, but as he understood it was going into a Committee merely to have the blanks filled up, he should postpone his observations till the report was brought up.

Mr. CAWTHORNE said, that as the bill was framed at present, he could not give his assent to it. It appeared to him highly improper, that the clerks in the various public offices should retain the privilege of franking, and yet that the Members of Parliament should, in a great degree, be deprived of it. He was very far from wishing that any abuses which might exist with respect to franking should not be redressed, but he thought it hard that the Members in general should suffer for the faults of a few. Those who had abused the privilege ought to have their names made public—at least for one he should have no objection to such a measure. With respect to the general principle of the bill, he did not think that the revenue was injured by franking, and should therefore oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Sir BENJAMIN HAMMET said, it had happened to him to frank a great many letters, but he considered it his duty as a Member of Parliament, not to suffer his individual interest to come in competition with the public good; therefore as this bill was supposed likely to increase the revenue, he should not give it any opposition. He then alluded to the country banks, and to the conveyance of five guinea notes, and contended, that as these notes paid a stamp-duty to government, their circulation ought not to be stopped, as it would be, in a great measure, by this bill.

Mr. LONG, in reply to the observation respecting the clerks in the offices who enjoyed the privilege of franking, said, that this bill gave them no additional power of franking, but merely left them that which, for the convenience of public business, they had hitherto enjoyed. The number of clerks thus authorised to frank letters were about one hundred, and the amount of the postage for letters franked by them was about 30,000l. per annum. The number of bankers possessing that privilege from being Members

was about forty, and yet they franked letters nearly to the same amount as the hundred clerks. With respect to what had fallen from the honourable gentleman who spoke last, he would only say, that the question for the House to determine was, Whether this privilege ought to be applied by Members to commercial purposes or not?

Mr. CAWTHORNE explained.

Mr. PORTER observed, that in the bill then under consideration, they were making regulations to bind the other House of Parliament. He agreed with an honourable Member (Mr. Cawthorne) in his observation respecting clerks in office, and thought it peculiarly hard that they should be more favoured than Members of Parliament. It did not appear to him that the bill would produce the revenue proposed, or any thing near it. He concluded with observing, that if the bill passed in its present state, it would be worth the while of bankers to employ some of those privileged clerks to frank their letters for them.

Major HENNIKER spoke of the antiquity of the privilege of franking, and thought it ought not to be resigned lightly.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he was at a loss to conceive upon what ground gentlemen had altered their sentiments so completely upon the measure proposed; but all the observations he had heard, though they might with propriety be urged in the Committee against particular clauses, yet did not apply at all to the question—Whether the bill should go into the Committee? The only argument he had heard strongly pressed was, that the clerks in the public offices were to be left in the possession of their privilege of franking, while Members of Parliament were to be abridged; and this was conceived to be so strong an objection, as to induce some gentlemen to oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair. If that clause was wrong in its principle, it was no reason why the bill should not be committed; for it was in the power of the Committee to alter, amend, or wholly to leave out that clause, if it was disapproved of. But he was surprised that gentlemen should entertain an idea, that clerks in office were more favoured by this bill than Members of Parliament. The privilege given to the clerks was not a personal privilege, but given merely to facilitate public business. The first question to consider upon this subject was, Whether those clerks abused the privilege vested in them? He had heard no charge of that kind whatever advanced. The next question was, What better mode could be adopted than the present? It did not occur to him that any other regulation would be more effectual. All this, however,

was matter of consideration for the Committee; therefore he should give his vote for the Speaker leaving the chair.

Mr. MARTIN hoped, that Members would not be permitted to receive free any letters but such as came from the places which they represent. With regard to the honour of the privilege, he thought no privilege an honour that was at the public expence: he had been glad, before he was a Member, and should be glad still, to pay for the advantage of correspondence all over the country, especially as it could be had at so cheap a rate as that of postage.

Lord SHEFFIELD objected to the Speaker leaving the chair.

The question being put, the House resolved itself into a Committee on the bill, and a short conversation took place on the clause for confining the weight of a frank to one ounce.

Lord SHEFFIELD proposed that the weight should be two ounces. The House divided,

For one ounce, 96. For two ounces, 12.

Mr. BUXTON said, that he conceived it to be unworthy of that House to retain any privilege which did not render them respectable in the eyes of the people, and on this ground he was of opinion, that the privilege of franking ought to be altogether abolished.

Mr. DENT said, he had never heard a debate more scandalous than the present: they had voted away, without hesitation, millions of the public money, but when the question was to give up a miserable petty privilege, there was as much altercation and debate, as if it was a point of the greatest consequence.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY thought this was not a time to give up any of their privileges, or risque the consequences of innovation: the surrender of the privilege of franking might tend to lessen their consequence in the eyes of the people.

Mr. WINDHAM professed himself entirely averse to giving up any part of the privilege: it gave to members a very desirable power of conferring favours on their constituents, and tended to keep up those reciprocations of civility and endearment, which greatly sweetened the intercourse of private life.

Mr. COURTENAY remarked on the amiable sensibility of the last right honourable speaker, who seemed to have employed his privilege of franking, as the poet expresses, to

> "Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,
> And waft a sigh from Indies to the Pole."

He did not, however, conceive that any point of the public service ought to give way to this accommodating temper of the right ho-

nourable gentleman. As to the power of conferring favours, the privilege of franking might be desirable to him who had no other means of bestowing them except what he derived from that privilege; but surely the right honourable gentleman, from his high situation in office, had an opportunity of rendering much more substantial services to those whom he wished to oblige.

With respect to letters to be sent free of postage each day by a Member, the blank was filled up with the number 10, which, after some conversation, was agreed to. The number of letters to be received by each Member was proposed to be 15. On this clause a long and desultory conversation took place, in which almost every Member present repeatedly delivered his sentiments. It was stated that a smaller number would be sufficient to cover all the correspondence which a Member might receive relative to the business of the House, and that to allow letters to be received to the extent of 15, would only afford a partial advantage to Members engaged in mercantile and banking pursuits, and so operate to the continuance of that abuse which it was the object of the bill to remedy. Mr. BUXTON moved, that the number of letters to be received daily by each Member should be reduced to 10, on which a division took place,

Ayes, 31. Noes, 34.

On the clause allowing Public Offices to exercise the privilege of franking as formerly, a long conversation took place, with respect to the abuses practised in those offices, in consequence of which, the annual amount of franks, which was in 1784 6000l. had increased to 30,000l.

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that this clause might be left out without affecting the object of the Bill, which extended only to Members of Parliament.

It was proposed by several Members, that some other clause should be substituted, to check the abuse which had been stated, but was objected to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the ground that they were not yet possessed of sufficient information for that purpose.

Mr. CAWTHORNE said, that in order that the matter might stand over for further consideration, he should move that the Chairman do now report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

The Committee divided on this motion of adjournment,

Ayes, 13. Noes, 36.

The Bill being gone through with several amendments, the House was resumed, and the Report ordered to be received on Wednesday next.

*Monday, 23d March.*

A petition was received from Colchester, in support of the vigorous prosecution of the war.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he had an alteration to propose with respect to the mode of levying the duty on Scotch spirits, in order to put it more on a footing with the duty on English spirits. This alteration would be attended with a double advantage; it would prevent the excessive cheapness of spirits, and would produce a considerable addition to the revenue, not less, he had calculated for the present year, than 90,000l. a sum which would be sufficient to cover any incidental deficiency in another quarter. And from information he had received, such were the hopes he entertained from this article of revenue, that except a considerable falling off took place in the consumption of Scotch spirits, he trusted that next year they would be able to bear an additional duty, and produce a still larger sum to the country. He concluded with moving, that an additional annual duty of 9l. per gallon be laid on the stills, &c.—Agreed to by the Committee.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then moved, that every piece of parchment granting insurance on ships, should pay half a crown for every hundred pound, and two shillings for any sum less than a hundred, &c. which resolution was also agreed to.

The House resolved itself into a Committee on the Bill for raising a certain annual sum on certificates for wearing hair powder.

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that it was at present only his intention to fill up the blanks. He should, however, state the exceptions which he had to make from the operation of the tax, and for which he proposed to bring up distinct clauses on the Report. The first exception that naturally suggested itself was with respect to all those engaged in the military service of the country, that is to say, the army and the navy, he proposed that the exception should extend to all subaltern officers, and to all officers in the navy, under the rank of master and commander. He proposed likewise, that all curates and clergymen, who had not a benefice or estate to the amount of 100l. a year should be excepted from the operation of the tax. As to the mode of collecting it, what had first been suggested was, that the certificates should be taken out from the clerks of peace for the county, but as these were sometimes at a distance, it appeared more eligible that they should be taken out from the sub-distributors of stamps. There would likewise be a clause requiring

the masters of families to give to the collectors of assessed taxes an account, to the best of their knowledge, of all those residing in their houses, who had used powder during the year.

Colonel MACLEOD suggested, that in the family of a private gentleman of small fortune, where there were six or seven daughters, it would be a hard case that they should all be obliged to pay for the privilege of wearing powder; it would be more equitable that in a family of such a description, the tax should be restricted to two or three. He asked whether lawyers were to be excepted from the tax?

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that he had nothing to say with respect to the lawyers, but that the other case put by the honourble gentleman had struck him in exactly the same light. He thought that in such a family it would be highly proper that the tax should be restricted to two or three, and he should consider of bringing in a clause for that purpose.

Colonel CAWTHORNE urged an exception in favour of half-pay officers.

Mr. Chancellor PITT saw no principle upon which the exception could apply to them more than to any other of his Majesty's subjects. It was evident why officers in actual service were excepted, because they were obliged to wear hair-powder.

General SMITH thought that the tax might be rendered more productive by allowing masters of families to compound for the number of individuals under their roof. He asked at what period the tax was to commence with respect to young ladies.

Mr. Chancellor PITT considered the proposition of the honourable gentleman as entirely militating against the principle of the bill. If masters of families were to be allowed to compound, persons in the highest class of societies, on whom the tax was chiefly intended to fall, would take advantage of the permission to get off for a much less sum than they would be obliged to pay under the present regulations. As to the question when the tax was to commence with respect to young ladies, it would commence as soon after the passing of the bill, as they, or their friends, should decide that it was proper for them to wear hair-powder.

Mr. COURTENAY enforced the case of half-pay officers, who were accustomed to appear as gentlemen, and who out of their scanty income of thirty or forty pounds, could but ill afford to pay a guinea for the privilege of wearing hair-powder. With respect to young ladies he could talk from experience. He stated the case where a gentleman of small fortune has a wife and three daughters, and is obliged to pay five guineas, the longer they remain unmar-

ried, said he, which is a double misfortune, the longer will he be burthened with the tax. He contended, therefore, that in the present instance something should be adopted similar to the *jus trium liberorum* among the Romans, and that a clause should be inserted in the bill, admitting as a fair case of exception the *jus trium puellarum*. As to the age at which young ladies began to wear hair-powder, commonly about the age of fifteen or sixteen, they were seized with this *fashionable instinctive propensity*.

Mr. DENT wished that a bill had been brought in, which would have amounted to a total prohibition of hair-powder. The number of soldiers in the country amounted to about 150,000 men, each of whom used not less than a pound of flour a-week, making upward of two million during the year, add to this the quantity of wheat employed by the starch-makers, which amounted to about nine million more. Servants stole for the use of their hair the flour intended for culinary purposes. Was it proper that such an immense waste should take place, when at this moment he understood there was the greatest danger of a scarcity, as there was not corn in the country to last longer than till June or July, at which time a large supply was expected? If enquiry was made from the Church-wardens, it would be found that the distress of the poor in different parts of the country was greater than could well be imagined. He wished that the effect of the prohibition of hair-powder had been tried for one year, as our supplies were now so uncertain, both from the circumstance of having lost Holland, and from the competition which we had to encounter with the French at every foreign market.

Mr. Chancellor PITT reprobated this sort of discussion as very disorderly, and as calculated to do no good, while it might be attended with a deal of mischief. He lamented the present high price of corn, but he had no information which gave him reason to apprehend the threatened scarcity intimated by the honourable gentleman, nor if he had, would he state an evil to so great an extent, while he had only to propose so trivial and inadequate a remedy, as could be derived from a prohibition of hair powder.

Mr. DENT said, that one fact could not be controverted, that in consequence of the late severe weather, the crops of next harvest could not be expected to turn out so favourably.

Lord SHEFFIELD said, that he had taken the greatest pains to inform himself upon the subject; there was not the smallest danger of a scarcity, and even in those places where there was at present most apparent scarcity, there were still great quantities of grain deposited.

Mr. COURTENAY said, that wearing powder would be a service of danger, if an idea went abroad, that it had a tendency to produce a famine, and that every man who came under the description of the poll-tax, would not only smart in his pockets, but run the farther risque of being knocked on the head.

Sir MAT. W. RIDLEY mentioned the case of those who had the misfortune to have seven or eight servants, and thought that they should only pay half a-guinea for each.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said that if it was equitable that the individual should pay for the gratification of his own vanity in wearing powder, it was much more just that he should pay for the gratification of that vanity which he indulged through the medium of others; those who had the misfortune of keeping seven or eight servants appeared to him to be the last objects of compassion on the present occasion.

General SMITH enforced the argument of the honourable Baronet, he mentioned the pleasure which a man feels in being attended at table by a spruce powdered footman, and thought it hard that he should be obliged to pay so severely for the gratification of so innocent a vanity.

Mr. COURTENAY thought no man more capable of arguing philosophically on the nature of vanity than the honourable General. But surely he conceived that a glass of Tokay or Madeira would relish equally well, whether the head of him who presented it, was red, brown, or white. He had met with no description of the species of vanity described by the honourable General in the writings of Smith, Hume, or Aristotle, though the latter, in his Treatise of Ethics, had expressly written a chapter on the subject of vanity. If the tax induced those who had seven or eight servants to dismiss only one of the number, it would be a considerable saving to them, and an advantage to His Majesty's service, which at present stood in need of men. To have a number of servants, he reckoned indeed a misfortune, though not perhaps in the sense in which it was understood by the honourable Baronet. The hardship was on those who were obliged to keep a single servant for necessary purposes. It was proper that those who kept a numerous train should pay to the full amount, in order that it might be shewn that the present was a tax on luxury, and those who contributed most largely, might turn their vanity to a good account, from the consoling reflection, that they were serving their country.

Mr. MARTIN said that he could not help thinking that a country gentleman derived no additional dignity from the number of his servants. [The hair of this honest and truly patriotic Member, be-

ing divested of every particle of hair-powder, had at his rising occasioned a considerable degree of laughter.] He would not compare himself to a picture of Vandyke, but surely the heads painted by that famous artist were not less graceful or venerable, because they wanted the suppositious ornament, which had been adopted by the meretricious taste of later times. He himself had discarded the use of hair-powder, because he was not fond of unnecessarily contributing to the support of a war, which in itself he believed to be neither just nor necessary, and because he would not in a moment of real or apprehended distress steal one morsel from the necessities of the poor to gratify the silly vanity of appearance. He would support the tax, however, so far as it might have a tendency to diminish the use of hair powder, but on no other ground did it meet with his approbation.

Colonel MACLEOD remarked with some severity on the expression of an honourable Baronet, with regard to the misfortune of having seven or eight servants, at a moment when the poor were in want of bread, and obliged to pay nine pence half-penny for the loaf which they had formerly at six pence; and almost every necessary of life in the same proportion.

The blanks being filled up, the House was resumed, and the Report ordered to be received to-morrow.

*Tuesday, 24th March.*

The bill for continuing the provisions of the Alien bill, was read a third time, and passed.

The bills for imposing an additional duty on receipts, and a duty on insurances, were severally read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

A petition was presented from Lord Garlies, setting forth the circumstances which had prevented him from sooner delivering the writ for the election of a Member to serve in Parliament for the Stewarty of Kirkcudbright, and that nothing was farther from his intention than doing any thing which might offend the House of Commons.

Mr. W. DUNDAS said, that having brought the matter before the House, without any personal knowledge of the noble Lord, or interest in the Stewarty, merely to check a practice which was but too prevalent with respect to Scotland, viz. that of detaining writs for the accommodation of particular election interests, his object was now effected. He should therefore move to discharge the order for the attendance of the noble Lord at the bar of the House.

General MACLEOD hoped the honourable gentleman would

bring in a bill to regulate the mode of delivering writs from the Hanapar Office, and of fixing the day of election for shires and districts of burghs in Scotland, where it was common to keep back both for the accommodation of particular interests.

The order for the attendance of Lord Garlies was discharged.

The SPEAKER said, he hoped every returning Officer would take notice, that what had passed on this occasion would be no excuse for any delay in the execution of his duty. He took the opportunity of submitting to the House the propriety of some legislative proceeding, to regulate the mode of issuing writs, and forwarding them to the proper Officer.

The bill for granting certain additional allowances to subaltern officers of the militia, when disembodied, was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday next.

The Report of the Committee on the Hair-powder Duty bill was brought up

A clause was added, excepting volunteer corps, so far as regarded wearing hair-powder when exercising or on duty, a clause exempting persons having more than two daughters for paying for more than two, and a clause, laying the proof of a right to any of the exemptions in the bill upon the persons pleading exemption.

Mr. FOX rose, and addressed himself to the House to the following effect:

Mr. Speaker, In pursuance of the notice I gave on a former day, I now rise to make a motion, that this House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the state of the nation. Such a motion has been often made in this House, and I believe has scarcely in any instance been unsuccessful. I admit some grounds ought always on such an occasion to be laid before the House, and unless some matter is brought forward to induce you to take such a step, unless the state and circumstances of the country call on you to enter on this inquiry, I do not expect they will agree to my motion.

If, in the course of what I shall have to state there may be many things in which I shall not have the good fortune to have the concurrence of the whole House, I am confident I shall be able to state one thing, on which there will not be one dissentient voice. In whatever light men may consider the present state of Europe, however much they may differ about the mode of conducting the present war, in whatever way they may view the situation of the public mind in every part of the civilized world—whatever may be their sentiments on these different topics, they will all agree in one conclusion with respect to this country, namely, that this is a time of

all others, in which it is most material and most important, what indeed is always material and important, that this House should stand high in the opinion of its constituents, and that it should be entitled to their confidence and respect, by shewing that it is really concerned for their dearest and most valuable interests. If I had nothing else to state on this business, I should think all those who are impressed with that opinion, and, who seriously observing the critical situation of mankind, are convinced that the practical importance of this House depends on its being respected by its constituents abroad, would, without any additional argument, be disposed to admit, that in order to entitle us to that respect, which we all wish to possess, which it is our duty to maintain, but which we cannot hope to enjoy unless we deserve it, it is incumbent on this House to enter into a detailed and serious examination of the state of the nation. No man will deny, that the dangers that surround the country in the present crisis are many and alarming; and therefore it must follow, that the House of Commons cannot be said to do its duty, to do it faithfully and conscientiously, if, in a time of the greatest and most imminent danger, it gives blind and implicit confidence to any executive government, without grounding that confidence on a thorough, serious, complete, and detailed investigation of the past.

I stated that this motion has been made at different times in the history of this country, to which it is unnecessary to advert. I myself had the honour of making a similar motion in this House in the year 1777 *, a time most undoubtedly of great peril and danger. But whoever looks back to the events of that period, and takes into the account even the most unfortunate of them—the surrender of an army at Saratoga, &c.—calamitous as they were, I say, there is no man that looks back to that period and compares it with this, who will not see that the dangers which then threatened this nation were trifling and insignificant, that the losses then sustained were of no consequence when compared to those we have suffered at this moment; and the contrast will be still greater when we compare the consequences of the dangers and disasters of that period, with the effects of those recent misfortunes which now affect every part of the British empire. In the year 1777, however, I thought it necessary to state the grounds which then occurred to me for going into a consideration of the state of the nation. And although the majority of the House, with whom I had not the good fortune to concur, ultimately negatived the different questions which were

* See Debrett's Parliamentary Register for 1777.

brought forward, they thought the crisis to be such, that it was not becoming the dignity or consistent with the character of the House of Commons, at such an awful and momentous period, to decline the proposed inquiry into the state of the nation: for momentous and awful it undoubtedly was, and must always be so considered in itself, though it wears an aspect totally different when compared with the moment at which I am now speaking.

Sir, there are many in this House who think that disaffection to the Constitution of the country has spread much wider among His Majesty's subjects than I believe it has; many have been more afraid of the progress of new and French principles than I have been, because they have thought them much more considerable in their influence than I have been able to persuade myself they really are. At the same time I will not deceive the House nor myself so far as not to admit, that, if there has been any danger from the progress of French principles and French opinions, the late events have not a little tended to heighten and increase that danger. And not merely all the events abroad but all the measures which have been adopted at home have more particularly contributed to render the prospect imminent and alarming.

I am one of those who think, not only that a majority of the people (for that would ill express my opinion,) but that the great and almost unanimous body of the nation, are full of loyalty to His Majesty, and of affection to the Constitution of the country: however, I am also of opinion, that there are some now, as there have been at all times, who are actuated by different sentiments and different views. I am very much afraid such men have been encouraged to a certain degree by the progress of the French arms on the Continent, though in a much higher degree by the conduct of Ministers at home. The consequence has certainly been, that these principles and opinions have rather gained than lost credit in this country, and this danger, which is daily and hourly increasing, has arisen not from plots and conspiracies, the existence of which I have never thought well proved, but from a general opinion that the House of Commons are not the representatives of the people of England; by which I do not mean that they are not returned by the people, but that they are not even virtually their representatives; that they do not sincerely feel for the calamities of the people of England; and that they do not take that lively concern in their comfort and happiness which their situation calls on them to take. If such an opinion has gone forth, and if there is too much reason to suspect that it has made a considerable impression on the public mind, what argument can be so strong in support of such an opinion

is to afford those who have adopted it an opportunity to say, Can you believe that the Constitution of Great Britain is what you have been taught to esteem, and that the House of Commons is what you boast it to be, when at a time of the most critical importance, of the most alarming danger, and when the conduct of the Executive Government, whether culpable or laudable, has been attended with the greatest calamities, the House of Commons can sit still without inquiry, without even knowing the state of the country, and without calling to an account (I do not mean for punishment) the Executive Government, for the most marked failure of measures that ever happened to any Executive Government at any period of our history? I say, this argument is of great weight. If it should appear, at a moment when the opinion of the country seems to be materially changed; if at a period when many are for negociation, when many who were formerly convinced of the justice and necessity of the war, though still adhering to their original sentiments, yet have so far altered their views as to think there ought to be an immediate attempt at negociation, and are willing at present to consider as no obstacles of treaty, many of those circumstances which they formerly thought incompatible with the security, the dignity, and the honour of Great Britain:—if at such a period as this, I say, we should find that the House of Commons still continue the same blind and implicit confidence, and do not appear to be actuated in any degree by the common opinion of the public, but persevere in laying burdens on their constituents, and taking measures which will render indispensably necessary still heavier burdens; if the House do all this, without even inquiring how far the money they have hitherto voted away has been spent for the advantage, the honour, and security of Great Britain; without regarding how many oceans of blood have been made to flow, and how many millions of money have been expended, I say, if all this is so, I wish to know what I am to answer to the enemies of the British Constitution I wish the King's Ministers to furnish me with arguments to combat in favour of such a conduct; I wish them to tell me, how I am to contend that the British Constitution is the most perfect of all Constitutions, and the British House of Commons the best security for the rights and liberties of the subject. The obvious argument in the mouth of the enemies of our Constitution is this, How can that be good which produces effects so bad? And how can that Government and that Constitution be good, which can suffer such failures in its administration to pass without punishment, and not only without punishment, but without inquiry? When this House can sit as indifferent and unconcerned spectators in the midst of a situation admitted on all hands

to be the most important and most critical that ever existed in the annals of the country, I ask what I am to say to this House, and to my constituents in vindication of this House, if they continue to testify the same supineness which they hitherto have done? If I have nothing to say, if I have no answer to make, how can we resist the conclusion, that that system cannot be good which in practice is bad, and where the failures are even greater than in those Governments that are more arbitrary? The defence of the British Constitution which I have always used, has been a practical defence; that the British Constitution, though not tallying with the theories of this man, or the notions of that man, has produced substantial happiness to the people. Such I consider to be the true defence of the British Constitution: take away that, and I am at a loss on what ground to stand, and how I am to answer those who desire me to look at the practice of the present moment. An Executive Government, I question not now whether good or bad—an Executive Government above two years has proceeded on a plan, whether originally just or not, I am not now deciding—has incurred an expence beyond the example of all former times, has occasioned an effusion of human blood beyond all former periods, has recommended a system to be adopted for the attainment of certain objects: that system has been pursued, confidence has been placed in them, and now, at the end of more than two years, we are confessedly farther from every object that was held out to us, than when we first engaged in this war. Every plan has failed, and has turned against us; and this is the system I am to defend on the ground of the practical good it has produced. I ask, what would be the case of a Constitution practically bad? Would it not be precisely and exactly the same? Is it not one of the most powerful arguments against the Government of any country, that, provided the Prince is satisfied, no failures will be called in question, and the Administration may with impunity be conducted upon principles the most hostile to the interests of the people? If that be one of the charges brought against arbitrary Governments, which perhaps is not universally true, for the most despotic Princes have sometimes been obliged to dismiss their Ministers when, in consequence of their gross misconduct, they have roused the indignation of the Public; if such a charge be applied to Great Britain, and if it is possible for an Administration, whether from misconduct or otherwise, to produce such a series of disgraces, disasters, and calamities as we have experienced since the commencement of the present war; if we are to have persons at the head of affairs under whose management calamity follows calamity; if such an Administration can be suffered to exist in this country, except

after a solemn and diligent inquiry, which may prove their case to be an exception to the common rule, then one of the most serious accusations against arbitrary Governments is applicable to that Constitution under which we live; I mean so far as regards the present Administration, and not the personal liberty of the subject, which is not now under consideration.

I should think, therefore, if I did nothing but state to the House, what it is not necessary that the House should hear from me, namely, that we have been upwards of two years engaged in war, that all our plans have failed, that all hope is lost, and that, in point of fact, the enemy against whom we thought we were acting conjointly with all Europe, are stronger in credit and reputation than they were at the beginning of the war, and have at this moment gained more than the wildest imaginations of those who drove us into it ever ascribed either to their ambition or to their principles—more than ever entered even into the minds of the most ambitious of the French monarchs in former days to attempt; I say, I should think this quite ground enough to induce the House to enter into a consideration of the state of the nation. But I will not confine myself to this general argument. The state of the nation divides itself undoubtedly into many different branches; and I am perfectly sure, if I were to tire your patience and exhaust my own strength, as far as it is possible for me to do, I should still be compelled to omit many circumstances which are closely connected with this subject. I shall endeavour, therefore, to state some few, which I deem to be most material; and if the House duly consider them, I cannot conceive that any man in this House can go out of it, and say, "I have done my duty, I have discharged my trust faithfully and conscientiously to my constituents and my country," and at the same time reject an inquiry into the present state of the nation. The state of the nation, as I have just said, is most undoubtedly to be considered in various lights. First of all, as to our own resources with respect to men, with respect to money, and with respect to the using of those men and that money for the purposes of the war in which we are now engaged. But these resources of men and money, and the manner in which they are to be used, are not only to be considered by themselves, but we are likewise to consider from whence those resources flow—the state of population, manufactures and commerce, and general prosperity of the country. When we have done this, we must go next into a consideration of our connections abroad. We must take a survey of our allies, the dependence that may be placed on them; the situation of those

allies, and the probability both in respect to their will and their power to act, and to serve the common cause.

Sir, in my opinion, even when these points are considered, there are others of equal importance which remain to be discussed: I mean with respect to the principles on which we have hitherto carried on this war, and on which we are likely to continue to carry it on. It is material, when we are engaged in a war, particularly of this kind, which has been qualified by so many different epithets, and on which the eyes of mankind are so peculiarly fixed; it is material, I say, that in such a war we should invariably maintain the character of moderation, humanity and justice, without which it is impossible that we should also support the character of vigour and exertion, of wisdom and prudence. These are part, and not the least important, of the resources of a country. They are important in another view, because it is essential to consider whether we have carried on the war with justice and vigour, with wisdom and prudence: and though I hope and believe the contrary will turn out to be the case; yet if it appear that the war was not only just in its origin (which for the sake of argument I shall suppose for a moment), but that we have acted in the prosecution of it vigorously and wisely, then I am afraid the result will be complete despair. If our conduct in the management of the present war has been marked with vigour and wisdom, and we have been more than two years exhausting our resources ineffectually; I wish to know, if neither from a change of measures nor a change of councils I have any reason to look for better success in the future operations of this war (which I hope and trust will not turn out to be true); I wish to know, I say, what other inference I can draw but that of absolute irremediable despair? If that be the case, the result of an inquiry into the state of the nation will be, that confidence ought to be given to the King's Ministers. For however calamitous the present state of the country may be, if it was brought about without any fault of theirs, undoubtedly confidence ought not to be withdrawn from them. But even in this case an inquiry will be material, because it will lead to a discovery of the true causes of our failures, and of the present distresses of the country, and prove the necessity of abandoning the pursuit of an object which, experience has taught us, cannot be obtained. The inquiry will be even advantageous to Ministers, by shewing that they have acted with justice, wisdom and vigour, in the steps which they have taken, though they have been unfortunate in the result. But if it turns out, as I suspect it will, that Ministers have not acted according to any of the principles I have now stated; if

they have neither acted with justice and humanity, nor with wisdom and vigour, then it is possible that the object may still be obtained, though the means must be varied. But, as I have already said, if Ministers have acted with justice and vigour, then the result must be perfect despair, and it belongs to this House to force Ministers, if they are unwilling, to abandon for ever an object, which a period of upwards of two years has proved to be unattainable. For that object, which experience has shewn cannot be accomplished by ordinary means, must be bad, and ought to be no longer pursued.

' Now, Sir, with respect to the first branch, I have premised, that it is impossible for me to state with accuracy to the House the loss of men in this contest; and if the House goes into a Committee, I should certainly wish to have laid before the House a complete and accurate return of the loss of men since the commencement of the present war.

First, with respect to the loss of the British, as the most important part of the subject, we have had a paper * laid before us this session, which, from what appears on the face of it, cannot possibly be correct. I have compared it with other accounts, on which I admit I have not the highest reliance, those detailed in the London Gazette; and I find a considerable difference between the loss of men as stated in the Gazette, and that in the paper which now lies on your table. The paper upon your table, by giving a return of the privates only, and by omitting to give any return of the officers, serjeants, drummers, &c. diminishes our loss in appearance, at least one tenth. There are also losses mentioned, although perhaps not specified, in the Gazette, of which no return is to be found in this paper. There is one general item to which I wish to advert, an account of a considerable loss about the 9th of May, and of which no notice whatever is taken in the paper upon your table. I have heard there was some loss of British at Nieuport: British standards were taken at Valenciennes and Conde; and therefore there must have been loss of British troops also in that quarter. The loss at Bergem op-Zoom is not enumerated in this account. I mention these circumstances to shew, that if any gentlemen wish to console themselves with the idea, that there was no loss of men during the last campaign, except what appears from the paper on the table, they deceive themselves most grossly; and there is but too much reason to suppose, Ministers have concerted among themselves to make the loss of British appear less consider-

* See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 161 of the Appendix.

able than it really is. I have seen returns, which I believe to be authentic, which make the number of British in the month of September last 26,000 men. Now are there any hopes, when that army shall come home (and the sooner it comes home the better,) that the loss out of that number will not be much greater than we have been taught to believe? Are there any hopes that half of that number will return? A list of the wounded, killed and missing, will not be sufficient, because undoubtedly in every army there is much mortality not included under what is generally called the loss of men; therefore, instead of calculating the loss from the number of killed, wounded and missing, we must examine the general state of the army. We must compare its numbers at different periods, and include mortality of every kind. We must not only look to the army in Flanders, but we must look to our army wherever it is stationed, whether in Flanders, in the East or West Indies, or on the Continent. We must also attend to the number of recruits that have been enlisted since the commencement of the present war, and, by comparing the number of these and the general state of the army at different times, judge from a view of the whole circumstances what has been the real loss of men. If you follow this method, which I take to be the only just mode of calculation, then I believe you will find that the loss of men sustained in this war has been such as will make every thinking man, who knows any thing of the population of this country, reflect very seriously whether we can afford to substitute new armies for the old.

But we ought to ascertain not only the loss of men in the British army and navy, but also the loss of all troops in British pay. When that article comes to be stated, I believe you will find the loss to be even greater than that of the British. That loss it is evident must likewise be taken into the account. But this is not all. If you consider that this is a war in which we cannot act but through the medium of great continental alliances, it becomes a most material part of this consideration to state also the loss of our allies. Is it or is not true, that, in the course of the last campaign only, there surrendered prisoners of war to the French republic more than 60,000 men? If this be true, ought it not to induce a British House of Commons to go into this inquiry before we proceed further in a war which has brought so many calamities upon all who have had any share in carrying it on, and which has exhausted so much blood and treasure? Ought we not to go into a Committee of Inquiry, to satisfy ourselves of the real extent of British population, and to ascertain whether the country is able to bear such drains of men for the purposes of war? If we go into this inquiry, I will

venture to assert, that I speak far below the truth when I say, that, during the last campaign only, more than 60,000 men of all descriptions have surrendered to the republic of France. We all know that it is supposed, and I hope it is true, that this country has of late years increased very much in population. That increase, however, has not been in proportion to its increase of wealth and prosperity. I beg leave to have recourse to some documents, which have been laid before the House to give us information with respect to the plan lately adopted for manning his Majesty's navy. From these documents (upon which I suppose we may rely) we have an account of facts which, to many persons, may appear, as undoubtedly they appear to me, somewhat surprising. From the account contained in these papers, we find that the whole number of houses in Great Britain now paying taxes to government does not materially differ from the number of houses paying taxes to government in 1777, a period of eighteen years, during which we are supposed to have advanced so much in point of wealth and splendor. I know that many persons reject this account, and say it cannot be true, because it is contrary to general observation. Now, with respect to houses paying taxes, it most certainly is correct; and it may be asked, whether the great increase of houses of late is of such as pay taxes, or of cottages of the lower sort which are exempted? I have another observation to make on this paper. I immediately turned my eye to those places where I conceived that the population had most increased. I looked at Middlesex and Lancaster, and I found, according to this paper, that the increase there has been considerable, and likewise in some other places; but that in other counties of Great Britain this increase seems to be balanced by a general decrease; and therefore the paper on the table, though not wholly to be relied on, is not wholly to be rejected. The increase in the two counties of Middlesex and Lancaster, which I have just mentioned, confirms the accuracy of the statement. The result then seems to be, as I have already said, that the population of Great Britain has not increased in proportion to its apparent wealth and prosperity, and that it cannot afford to repair the loss of blood which it has already suffered by the war.

But it may be said, his Majesty has other dominions from which resources of men may be procured: I particularly allude to Ireland, to which, before I sit down, it may be proper for me to advert. There is no one circumstance in which our sister kingdom, from her happy connexion with this country, is of more importance than in the number of men which she furnishes to the army and navy of Great Britain in time of war; and if, by any strange and crooked

policy, that country ſhould be alienated in affection from this, and loſe that zeal which has commonly marked and diſtinguiſhed her in the public cauſe—I ſay, if any ſtrange or miſguided policy ſhould unfortunately produce ſuch an effect, it is obvious that all the obſervations I have made on the population of this country, and its inadequacy to ſupport ſuch a ruinous war as that in which we are now engaged, all theſe arguments will be ſtrengthened to a degree which thoſe who are not well acquainted with this ſubject can ſcarcely conceive.

The next article of reſource which I mentioned is that of money. We have now in the courſe of this war funded ſomewhat above 50,000,000l. and when we add to that the increaſe of unfunded debt, we ſhall find we have already incurred an expence of between ſixty and ſeventy millions; I truſt I ſhall not be thought to have overſtated it, by any man who has paid the leaſt attention to the ſubject. We have for that purpoſe raiſed taxes of a permanent ſort of about 3,000,000l. ſterling per annum. I do not affect to ſpeak with perfect accuracy and correctneſs upon this ſubject; but the permanent taxes of this country which have been impoſed in conſequence of the preſent war, cannot be at this moment much leſs than three millions ſterling. Now it is ſaid, though the permanent taxes of the country have been increaſed in order to ſupply the exigences of the ſtate; yet they are not ſuch taxes as will be felt ſeverely by the poor; they are not ſuch taxes as will be felt by the people in general. How far ſome of them have been well ſelected or not, is a queſtion, on which I ſhall not take up the time of the Houſe. I ſhall only obſerve, if they are neceſſary, they muſt be borne, unleſs others that are better can be ſubſtituted in their place. But to ſay that the taxes of laſt year, and particularly thoſe of the preſent year will not fall, and fall with terrible weight on the middling ranks of the people of this country, who are the great ſupporters of the ſtate, is to ſpeak without any knowledge of the ſituation of the country. It is true, as has been ſaid, that it is proper to tax luxuries and vanity in preference to the neceſſaries of life. It is proper to tax heavily the higher orders of ſociety, becauſe they are well able to bear the burden. But it has been falſely ſuppoſed, that in proportion as the rich are taxed the poor are relieved. In the preſent ſtate of this country, thoſe taxes which Miniſters call taxes on luxuries fall very heavy indeed on the moſt numerous claſs of ſociety, and conſequently muſt fall with peculiar preſſure on the pooreſt claſs. The idea of impoſing taxes which ſhall fall upon one claſs only, and ſhall in no degree be felt by the others, however plauſible and ſpecious it may appear in theory, is

in fact an idle dream. We cannot lay a tax on the poor that will not fall on the rich; and, I am sorry to say, it is not possible to impose a tax on the rich which will not be felt by the poor.

We have therefore contracted near seventy millions of new debt in the prosecution of the present war, which has produced near three millions per annum of permanent taxes to be paid by the inhabitants of this country. But let us admit for a moment that these three millions are not a burden too heavy for the people to bear—if this war is to go on, let me ask the right honourable gentleman opposite to me, whether he has considered of the absolute necessity of imposing burdens for the next campaign to as great an amount, and possibly to a much greater extent than any which this country has yet experienced? For, if the war goes on, our burdens must necessarily increase in proportion to the length of its duration. Let it not be said in answer to this, "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." This is not an answer fit for a statesman to use, and is not the answer which a British House of Commons groaning under an intolerable load of taxes ought to receive. This House ought to look to the probability of future expenditure. We ought to calculate on the continuation of the war, and to consider what are the resources by which it is to be supported. We ought to consider how far the people of this country are able to bear more taxes, and how far the different branches of our trade and manufactures are capable of supporting additional duties; for that more will be necessary in the course of the next year is what no man will dispute. Do not all these circumstances incontestably prove that it is the bounden duty of this House to go into an investigation of the present state of the country, and to prove to our constituents and the country at large, that, as we have not spared their blood and their treasure, so we shall not spare our own labour or our own responsibility? It is only by entering into this investigation, and by comparing the object with the means, that we can determine whether we ought to renounce the object, or change the means by which the object is to be obtained; or whether we are to continue the same hopeless object with the same hopeless means; whether with the same administration, with the same advisers, we are to persevere in a system which has hitherto produced nothing but the greatest degree of misfortune and misery.

It is said, however, that our resources are supported by the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, and that these are in a most flourishing condition. In order to see how far this assertion is well founded, let us a little examine the state of the trade and manufactures of the kingdom; and first of its manufactures. I wish to

refer to those countries where the manufactures of Great Britain have been carried to the greatest perfection, and to know of those gentlemen who are infinitely better acquainted with the state of those countries than I can pretend to be, what their opinion is with respect to those manufactures, and what effect the present war has had upon them. I wish to know of those gentlemen, whether the manufactures have not been most materially injured by the war; and whether the circumstance of their appearing to have suffered less last year than in the year preceding, was not owing to our gaining the possession of the French West-India islands. I wish to know whether this was not one of the fortunate circumstances which had the effect to afford a temporary relief, but to the duration of which we cannot look with any reasonable prospect. If we go into a Committee, we shall have laid before us, of course, accounts with regard to the general exports of the country. We heard on a former day, when the right honourable gentleman opened the ways and means of the year, accounts given of the amount of the exports of British manufactures in the years 1792, 1793, 1794. We were then told that the amount of British exports in the year 1792 was upwards of eighteen millions sterling—That the exports of British manufactures in the year 1793 were less than those of the year 1792, by the sum of four millions—and that the exports of British manufactures in the year 1794 exceeded those of 1793 by two millions, and consequently were only two millions short of 1792. Now the loss of the first year of the war being two-ninths of the whole exports of British manufactures, must strike at the very root of our commerce. This is a loss which must impress every man, and must go to affect the very basis of our prosperity. The circumstance of the exports of British manufactures last year being two millions more than they were in 1793, is easily to be accounted for. I appeal to those gentlemen who are best acquainted with the commercial districts of the kingdom, whether it was not in a great measure owing to the sanguine speculations of some gentlemen in consequence of our lately acquired possessions in the French West-India islands. I would ask those who are acquainted with the county palatine of Lancaster, what has been the diminution of population since the commencement of the present war. I have seen papers myself, the contents of which, if this inquiry goes on, I shall state to the House. According to those papers, the diminution of population and of manufactures in Manchester and its neighbourhood was to a degree that would astonish the House. We have no very accurate mode in Great Britain of ascertaining the population of the country. We have no better method than by taking the number of

marriages and baptiſms. I have ſeen papers with regard to a great number of pariſhes in the moſt populous part of the county I have mentioned, Lancaſhire; and the ſtate of diminution, taken from a calculation of marriages and baptiſms, is in ſome places one half, in others one third, and in none leſs than one fourth; but in all a conſtant diminution; and in the largeſt pariſh of Mancheſter, the diminution is eſtimated at one half, that is, reduced from an hundred to fifty, and that to a number ſo large, as to make the total diminution of the inhabitants amount to about twelve thouſand. That this ſhould be the conſequence of the war, is exceedingly natural. But I would aſk the Houſe whether, when we are riſking every thing, and when the very exiſtence of the country is at ſtake, it does not become them to aſcertain the truth, which can only be done by an inquiry into the true ſtate of our population and of our manufactures, inſtead of truſting to the abſurd and idle expreſſions of the inexhauſtible reſources of the country in wealth and population. The information we might receive from a ſerious inquiry into the real ſtate of our population, might induce us to change our means, or perhaps to change our object.

Now, Sir, another part of the reſources of this country is our trade and commerce, as diſtinguiſhed from our manufactures With reſpect to the trade of this country, when I made a motion laſt year for an inquiry into the conduct of the Admiralty; after taking conſiderable pains in ſtating a great variety of inſtances, where, as I conceived, the Admiralty were highly negligent of their duty in protecting the trade of the country, I received this ſhort anſwer— "Look to the low rate of inſurance." Having found that to be an argument ſo powerful with this Houſe, I took ſome pains to inquire into the ſtate of inſurance, and ſhall ſtate ſome circumſtances on this ſubject, which appear to me to afford ſufficient ground for going into this inquiry. It may be ſuppoſed that the motion reſpecting the Admiralty might give riſe to an opinion among the underwriters, that it would induce Miniſtry to be a little more attentive to the protection of our trade in future, ſo as to make the riſk ſomewhat leſs. I am not now deciding whether that be true or falſe; but it certainly was calculated to keep down the rate of inſurance. The fact, however, is, that inſurance from that time has been uniformly riſing, until it has come to its preſent moſt enormous rate; a rate ſo enormous, as the Houſe may perhaps find ſome difficulty to believe, till the fact ſhall be aſcertained by an inquiry. At preſent, inſurance from this country to Jamaica, and to the other parts of the Weſt Indies, with all the alliances we poſſeſs, is as high as it was in the late American war, when this country had to contend

with France, Spain, Holland, and America. With ſo many powers in confederacy, and France now our ſingle enemy, inſurance to the Weſt Indies is as high as it was at that time when we had ſo many powers leagued againſt us, and when the fleets of France and Spain united were confeſſedly ſuperior in number to the fleets of Great Britain.

With regard to the Mediterranean trade, ſtrange to tell! at this period, after all that we have expended on the fleet there, inſurance to that quarter is much in the ſame ſituation as it was during the laſt war.

With reſpect to the trade with Spain and Portugal, the preſent rate of inſurance will appear to be as high as I have now ſtated it. With reſpect to the ſtate of our trade with Spain, I underſtand that it is totally ſtopped with ſome of the ports of that country, on the ground, that inſurance is ſo high that the trade cannot be carried on. The inſurance from Great Britain to Bilboa, or to Barcelona, is from twenty-five to thirty guineas per cent., and what adds to this is, that merchants are not only obliged to inſure the cargo, but alſo the premium on it, otherwiſe it was clear they would only receive 70l. in the hundred: admitting the premium to be from twenty-five to thirty guineas, the real rate of inſurance muſt then be from thirty-ſix to thirty-ſeven per cent. Now, whether it is poſſible that the trade of this or of any other country can ſupport ſuch a rate of inſurance, is for thoſe who are better acquainted with this ſubject than I am, to explain. But, when you find trade, conſidered as the principal ſource of revenue, thus affected by inſurance, it then becomes a matter of material conſideration. I believe no trade whatever can go on with this rate of inſurance, and therefore another mode has been adopted. Owing to this high inſurance to Spain and Portugal, a great part of our manufactures have been ſent to Hamburgh, and from thence have been conveyed in neutral veſſels to Spain and Portugal. The ſame fatality that has accompanied every part of the war has been felt here; the price of inſurance between this country and Hamburgh, which was formerly only one or one and a half per cent. has now increaſed to ten per cent. I have ſtated inſurance all along as if it were now as good as at any former period; but this is not the caſe, for reaſons which I have already aſſigned; on the contrary, the trade of inſurance is now almoſt totally ruined.

There is another circumſtance to which it is very material to advert. Formerly, when this ſubject was before the Houſe, facts were ſtated to ſhew that inſurance was not only very low, but alſo that it was extremely advantageous to the underwriters. But is not

the fact directly the reverse now? Has not the credit of the underwriters been greatly diminished in consequence of the losses they have lately sustained? Although individual underwriters may be found, who will underwrite policies at seven per cent., merchants are willing to pay companies ten per cent. on account of their superior security. So low is the credit of the underwriters. This clearly shews that, high as the premium is, it has not been high enough to insure the underwriters. I mention these facts with respect to insurance, because without them my argument would have been incomplete. I have not stated the present rate of insurance, with any view to shew how ill our naval force has been employed for the protection of our trade; but I have stated it with this single view, to prove that, by the high price of insurance, there is every reason to believe that trade and commerce, the great basis on which your revenue and power stand, are affected in a considerable degree, and therefore, that it is of the utmost importance to consider the real state in which we stand at present, in order that we may know our weakness as well as our strength, before we proceed farther in this ruinous system.

I now come, Sir, to consider of the next point to which I alluded —I mean our connections with other nations. Surely, it is hardly credible that a British House of Commons should so far forget their duty, as to vote away, of the public money, sums never before heard of; and persist in the prosecution of a war, without even knowing whether you have any allies, or if you have, who they are; what are their situation and circumstances; what their abilities and inclinations. It is material for this House to know who the allies of this country are. I have frequently asked the right honourable gentleman questions with respect to the Emperor and the King of Sardinia, but I have never received any satisfactory answer. Is the King of Prussia an ally of this country, at this moment, or not? Am I to take it for granted, without giving myself the trouble to inquire, whether so material a personage is or is not our ally? I know he was your ally by treaty in 1788; I know he was your ally by convention in 1793; and farther, that he was your ally by subsidy in 1794: but I ask whether he is your ally at this moment? I wish to ask this question—Did the King of Prussia fulfil the treaty * for which the subsidy was granted? If he did, why was it discontinued? If he did not, ought not this House to be apprised of his breach of faith? Ought not this House to be informed of the moment in which he ceased to be our ally? It is indispensably

* See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 9.

necessary, for the honour of this country, that this House should have a perfect knowledge of the whole of this business; for without that knowledge we cannot pass a judgement, we cannot declare an opinion, on the conduct of the King of Prussia. If, when we go into this inquiry, we shall find that he has kept his engagements with this country, we shall be enabled to do justice to that much-injured Monarch. But if, as I suspect, he has not, is it not fit that this House should call to account the King's Ministers for having squandered away such immense sums of the public money? An inquiry, in every point of view, will be productive of advantage; for, by going into a Committee, we shall be enabled to see distinctly whether the King of Prussia has fulfilled his treaties; and if he has, I am sure this House will be disposed to do ample justice to so good a Prince. But if the contrary shall turn out to be the case; if it appear that he has notoriously failed in the performance of his engagements—is it not material that this House should declare its indignation at such a conduct to its constituents, and to the nations of Europe, and shew that they will not tamely suffer themselves to be so played upon, and so duped, by any Prince in future? If the King of Prussia is no longer an ally of ours, what becomes of his other treaties? Let me remind the House, that the King of Prussia was to send into the field 62,000 men, but you were only to pay for 30,000 men. In consequence of the treaty of 1788, he was to furnish you with 32,000 men, without any additional subsidy; what then has become of that treaty? We readily gave a subsidy to the King of Prussia to furnish us with 30,000 men. He was bound by a former treaty to furnish us with 32,000 men for nothing; but it now turns out that we have not only lost the 30,000 men we subsidised, but we have lost also the 32,000 we were to have for nothing, in virtue of his previous engagements. You give him millions more than you originally stipulated; but instead of receiving more, you lose the whole. Now I ask, is such conduct to be borne? and are we to be told of the advantages to be derived from alliance with regular Governments, and of the dependence to be placed on the regular Government of Prussia? France is not a regular Government, and we have heard much of the danger of treating in any shape with her: but Prussia, you were told, you may rely on; and the result has been, that instead of having what you stipulated and paid for in the last instance, you lose what you were entitled to by previous agreement. And, notwithstanding this flagrant conduct of the King of Prussia, a British House of Commons consents to squander away the wealth of this country, to lose the whole army supposed to be purchased by it, merely because the

Minister chuses to say he is not informed of the particulars of the breach of that treaty. The question now is, whether this matter is to be inquired into or not? The Minister adds, that even admitting that the King of Prussia has not sent into the field the armies he undertook to send, it is not thence, in fairness of reasoning, to be inferred, that our other allies will not be faithful to their engagements. I have heard it asserted in this House, that the King of Prussia continued to execute a part of his stipulation for a considerable time, and that the payment, on our part, was discontinued when he failed in the performance of his engagement. It was asserted by an honourable Baronet, that the part he acted was more beneficial to the common cause, than if he had strictly and literally conformed to the terms of the treaty. Let this curious assertion be inquired into and ascertained. If it shall be proved, let the House do their duty, and render justice to that ill-treated Monarch; let them declare that Ministers have acted towards him with treachery and injustice; or if not, let them do justice to Ministers, and declare that their conduct has been wise and upright.

But, Sir, at this moment I have no perfect means of information as to what we have to look for in the prosecution of the war.—I have read in some of the newspapers that the King of Prussia is sending a large army to the Rhine, and in others, that he considers the Rhine as a proper boundary for France; it was said that he was marching towards Westphalia against the French, and by others, that he was marching against the allies. We ought to know precisely the truth. I wish to know what probability there is that he will be our ally, or that he will be our enemy, or that he will remain in a state of neutrality?—What demands have been made from this country with a view to an explanation, and in what manner has he treated the applications of the British Ministry for that purpose?—I want to know what communications have passed, and what remonstrances have been made; for remonstrances must have been made, or Ministers must have grossly neglected their duty. The treaty of 1788 was a defensive treaty. France declared war against us; and therefore, say the gentlemen on the other side of the House, we were forced into the war by their aggression. I confess I shall doubt their sincerity, unless they have called upon the King of Prussia to perform his treaty. Although His Majesty's Ministers might say to the King of Prussia, "We have been attacked by France, and therefore call upon you to assist us, agreeably to your treaty," that Monarch might have replied, "No; I know better, though you have procured a confiding Parliament to say so; you were the aggressors, and therefore I am not bound in conse-

quence of my treaty, which was only defensive, to furnish you with 32,000 men." I ask the British House of Commons, whether they can so far lull their consciences to rest, and so scandalously betray their constituents, as to go on in these circumstances, without inquiring what the conduct of the King of Prussia has been to this country, and reciprocally what our conduct has been to him. I warn the House of the mischief which may follow, if they thus go on in the prosecution of the war, without taking the means to come to a decision upon this subject.

There is another answer which may possibly be made by the King of Prussia, in vindication of his conduct, and which would explain the assertion of the honourable Baronet. He may say, "The object of this war was not the saving or gaining of this or that particular province, the capture of a town, or the recovery of a fortress. The object of it was the suppression of those Jacobin principles that were subverting all regular Governments." He may say, (as had been stated by the honourable Baronet) "I have done better for you than you have done for yourselves. It was essential to crush Jacobin principles in Poland. You fought for morality, religion, and the order of society. I fought to suppress those anarchical principles which went to the destruction of all regular Governments.—Who was of the greatest service to the common cause—he that took a town, a city, a fortress, or an island—or he that prevented Jacobin principles from taking root in Poland, and dashed the cup of rising freedom from the lips of that abominable people?" The destruction of even one man—the destruction of Kosciusko—who by his character gave credit to the cause of liberty, and by the ardour of his zeal animated the sacred flame in every congenial bosom throughout Europe—what signified the recovery of Flanders, or the preservation of Holland, to the capture of Kosciusko?—The destruction of this man, and with him of the seeds of growing liberty, tended more to the advantage of the real cause of the confederacy, than any co-operation with their troops, which might have been the means of saving Holland or of recovering Brabant. If so, the country should know, through the medium of this House, that His Majesty's Ministers have advanced twelve hundred thousand pounds to the King of Prussia, to enable him to subdue Poland; for without our assistance, he could not have effected what he has done in that country; and if he had not been employed in that quarter, he would have done as much for the common cause against France as he has done, *which is just nothing*. Does it not become us to inquire into this business, in order that we may drive disgrace from ourselves to those on whom it ought to attach?

The King of Pruſſia, I ſuppoſe, is no longer to be conſidered as our ally; but if he is—I have ſpoken of his inclination—let us now look to his ability, and conſider how far he is to be depended upon. From an authentic paper, I find him ſtating to the Diet of the Empire his ſituation; in which he declares it is utterly impoſſible for him to continue this war. He announced, about twelve months ago, that he had actually begun to withdraw his troops from the Rhine homewards, on the ground of his incapacity (in a pecuniary point of view) to ſupport ſuch large armies; and he continued to withdraw his troops until he received aſſiſtance from us. It is therefore clear, that, without additional pecuniary aid from this country, whether willing or unwilling, he is totally incapable of proſecuting the war; and therefore, if we are to look upon him as an ally, he muſt be ſubſidized or hired; nay, poſſibly we may be obliged to purchaſe his neutrality—and even in that caſe, I know not but he may make you pay for every man of his troops. Therefore, whether you look on the King of Pruſſia, as I do, as much more likely to aſſiſt the French than to co-operate with you, at all events you muſt conſider him as a perſon gone off from the alliance, and wholly to be bought anew. I ſhall therefore no longer conſider him as an ally.

I now come to our great friend, the Emperor. I am told that it is moſt unjuſt, indeed, to reaſon from Pruſſia to Auſtria, or from Leopold to Francis; and that the preſent Emperor is a perſonage of unſullied integrity; that we are not to judge of him from the character of ſome of his predeceſſors; and that we are to conſider the Court of Vienna as completely unblemiſhed in point of honour.—We find that the Emperor has made declarations nearly to the ſame effect as thoſe of the King of Pruſſia. In the declarations* publiſhed by the Prince of Cobourg, he ſays to the people of Germany, "You muſt take your plate from your table—you muſt take your plate from your altars—you muſt collect all your valuables, whether profane or ſacred—you muſt put all the property you poſſeſs in a ſtate of requiſition; for without ſuch extraordinary exertions, the Emperor cannot carry on the war." But, it may be ſaid, we will enable him to come forward with a large force, by granting, in aid of his reſources, a loan of four or ſix millions. Now if the Emperor, either from inclination or inability, ſhould fail in his engagements, and ſhould, contrary to his character of good faith, neglect to perform his treaty, we have not even that miſerable tie on him which we had on the King of Pruſſia. When the Emperor ceaſes

* See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 145.

to perform his treaty, we cannot stop our payments, because the Emperor says, "Give me it all at once." Our money, therefore, is absolutely necessary to enable him to stir in the first instance; and therefore if, from either want of ability or any other circumstance, he should fail to perform his treaty, it is most obvious that the whole money which we advance him must be totally and irrecoverably lost. And farther, if so large a sum is necessary to enable his Imperial Majesty to act in the present campaign, will not an equal or a larger sum be wanted for the next campaign, if the war should continue? And therefore gentlemen must clearly see that the whole of the expence and burden of the war will fall on this miserable and devoted country. At the period we entered upon this war, we were promised the assistance of all Europe; and now it is found that, in less than twenty-four months, the whole burden of the war devolves on Great Britain.

But we have other allies—We have allies in Italy and Spain. But although we pay great subsidies to the Italian Princes, we have scarcely heard of a movement in that quarter. Indeed, were we to consult the London Gazette for the year 1794, we might suppose Spain and Italy to be neutral powers, as it does not take the least notice of their military operations during that period. With respect to the King of Sardinia, our first ally in Italy, whatever gentlemen may have thought in different periods of this war, it is possible, if he had enjoyed a real and *bona fide* neutrality, it would have been much more beneficial to this country than any diversion which he has been able to make. With regard to those attempted in the south of France, what advantage the cause of the allies has reaped from those diversions I am at a loss to discover, and I believe this House is yet equally to learn.

We have another ally—the King of Spain. Now what is the state of Spain? It is of importance for us to turn our regards to the present situation of that country. A great part of its north-eastern provinces have already been conquered by France; Bilboa and Barcelona are in a considerable degree of danger. Do you look then to the Spanish Monarchy as possessed of any force to act against France with effect? or is it not that part of the alliance which is the most weak, and on which it is likely the French will soon make such an impression, as ultimately to decide the whole fate of the war in that kingdom? I was told there was such a fund of vigour in that country, as would make them rise in a mass against France.—When that came to the trial, there was no cause which apparently so much contributed to the failure, or afforded such strong ground of suspicion, as the individual treachery of the officers of the King

of Spain; in no quarter was there so much cause for jealousy, or of a want of disposition to resist the French. It may be asked, Was Figueres taken by the French, or did it not surrender? It is extremely probable that French intrigue upon this occasion has operated more than French force. It was also supposed that the bigoted attachment of the Spaniards to the Roman Catholic religion would inspire them with vigour against the French, who are supposed to have trampled upon all religion; but was this the case?—We know the reverse to be the fact.

But what is the state of Spain in other respects? Of all parts of Spain, there is none in which there is so much vigour, and so much real force, as in Catalonia; into the heart of which the French have penetrated. What was the history of that people?—When the French had, by their arms, made a considerable progress in this province, the people of Barcelona determined to resist their farther progress, and to undertake their own defence. Accordingly they sent a deputation to that effect to Madrid, stating that they wished to undertake the defence of the country, and that they would defend it to the last drop of their blood, provided that no Spanish troops were sent to their assistance, except some particular regiments, which they specified, and with which they were acquainted, and provided an assembly of the State was called. This deputation received no answer; or rather, they received a direct refusal; and the French found but too easy a conquest in that province. I mention this to shew to you that Spain is not a country to be depended upon, and that she is one of the weakest of your allies.

The King of Sardinia and the King of Spain were to have made different diversions in aid of the confederacy. The King of Sardinia undertook to make a diversion in Dauphiny, and at this moment the French are masters of Nice and Savoy.—Spain engaged to make a diversion in Roussillon, and the French are now in possession of Navarre, Biscay, and Catalonia. All these allies, therefore, upon whose exertions so much dependance was placed by the Ministers of this country, are now only so many dead weights upon our Treasury.

Are the Spaniards in a much better situation in regard to their finances? It is true they have not yet called upon this country for a subsidy; but they must either soon make that application, or, what will be much more beneficial for themselves, make a separate peace with France. They have had recourse to measures of finance of a very extraordinary nature. I shall name one of them. Gentlemen will recollect that an honourable friend of mine, not long ago, made a motion in this House for laying a moderate tax on all offices and

employments under Government during the war. The House will recollect with what ridicule that motion was received. It was considered as a paltry resource, to which no nation, that was not utterly exhausted in its finances, ought to resort:—But what has the King of Spain done? The Spanish Court has laid a duty of four per cent. universally upon every person enjoying any office in Spain above one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and a tax of twenty-five per cent. upon the salaries of all his Councillors of State, for the support of the present war *. I am not commending this resource; I am only stating it, to shew what the situation is of Spain with respect to her finances; and how little the allies can rely on that country for support in the prosecution of the war. This is the true situation of our allies, according to the best information which I have been able to procure; and is not this an additional argument for going into an inquiry into the state of the nation, in order to ascertain distinctly, from authentic documents, the precise degree of dependance we ought to have on our connections with other powers?

I shall next proceed to the consideration of our conduct in a different point of view; and examine what strength we have derived from the estimation which rectitude and dignity, moderation and justice might have procured us in the eyes of Europe. I am one of those who firmly believe, as much indeed as man can believe any thing, that the greatest resource a nation can possess, the surest principle of power, is strict attention to the principles of justice. I firmly believe that the common proverb, of honesty being the best policy, is as applicable to nations as to individuals; that this, which the conviction of mankind has made an axiom, is universally true; and that cases which may sometimes be supposed exceptions, arise from our taking narrow views of the subject, and being unable at once to comprehend the whole. If therefore we have been deficient in justice towards other states, we have been deficient in wisdom, and have enfeebled our arm in our efforts against the enemy. Justice is fairly to be ranked among the number of our resources; and it is the duty of the House to look back, and inquire whether or not our conduct, since the commencement of the war, has been such as to entitle us to the good opinion of the wise and observing part of mankind. I am not now going to discuss the justice of entering into the war; but I wish to call the attention of the House to the conduct of the King's Ministers in prosecuting it. For whatever might have been the motives which induced Ministers to enter upon it, the means they have employed in carrying it on are fit subject for examination

* See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 178.

in this Houfe. When we entered upon this war, we were fanguine enough to fuppofe that all the civilized part of the world would fee it with the fame eyes as we did. When I reprefented in this Houfe, that the plan of ftarving France adopted by Minifters was abfurd and impracticable, for that France would receive fupplies from neutral nations; when I ftated the means by which neutral nations might fupply France; I was anfwered, that in this war the neutral nations would be very few, if any. But what is the cafe at the end of two years? That neutral nations are many and increafing; and that the great neutral nation, America, has continued neutral from the beginning. It is of infinite importance to a nation that refpects its honour—that even refpects its intereft, which is infeparable from its honour—to gain the good opinion of furrounding nations for juftice, magnanimity, and moderation. Has Great Britain done this, or the reverfe? What has been your conduct to Sweden, to Denmark, to Genoa, to Tufcany, to Switzerland, to America while you durft? I do not fpeak of any particular Minifter at foreign courts; for many of thofe Minifters I feel great refpect, and with fome of them I am connected by friendfhip. I am ready to admit that, if they acted contrary to their inftructions, or on their own mere fuggeftions without inftructions, Minifters at home are not refponfible for their conduct; but I am perfuaded that they did act according to their inftructions; for, if they did not, Minifters here were bound to recall them, and difavow what they had done. I however can at prefent ftate only my own belief; an inquiry will enable us to afcertain the facts beyond difpute.

With refpect to America I fhall fay nothing at prefent, except that, after giving orders for taking her fhips, we recalled thofe orders, and have fince entered into a treaty by which we agree, properly I believe, juftly, and if juftly, wifely, to pay for the rafhnefs and folly of iffuing them. Next, with regard to Denmark and Sweden, which were in this cafe fo intimately connected in point of intereft, that whatever was addreffed to the one might be confidered in fact, although not in form, as addreffed to the other. To the Court of Copenhagen we prefented memorial after memorial, couched in the moft peevifh and offenfive terms of remonftrance, on the neutrality of His Danifh Majefty. Thefe memorials were anfwered* by the Minifter, Mr. Bernftoff, with fuch temper, firmnefs, and diplomatic knowledge, as obliged us at length to defift, and raifed his character higher than that of any Danifh Minifter ever was before. We engaged in a diplomatic conteft upon the fubject of neu-

* See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 329—331.

trality, in which we shewed our complete ignorance of the rights of neutral nations, and were foiled accordingly.

What has been our conduct towards the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a Prince who, although belonging to one of the most illustrious families of Europe, is known not to be possessed of any great military power? Lord Hervey goes to the Grand Duke of Tuscany—not to the Emperor, the King of Prussia, or any potent Monarch—and says to him, "Can you pretend to maintain neutrality with such a Government as that of France?"—calling the French Government all the hard names which regular Governments think themselves authorised to bestow upon it; and not recollecting that one of the heaviest accusations against the French was their having presumed to intermeddle in the internal politics of other nations—"Can you basely refuse joining the league against the murderers of your aunt, the declared enemies of your whole family, and the avowed subverters of all established Government, order, and religion? I know to what cause your hesitation is owing. It is because you give credit to bad Ministers; it is because you lend too favourable an ear to the advice of your Minister Manfredini, a man who has gained a pernicious ascendancy over your mind, but who ought no longer to have any share in your councils." Lord Hervey, after thus telling an independent Prince that he was not to listen to the advice of his own Ministers, might with equal propriety have gone on to tell him that he ought to be guided solely by the counsels of the right honourable gentleman over against me. "Your Ministers," he might have said," are ignorant and incapable; the British Ministers are wise and able. Observe into what a situation they have brought their own country, and you cannot doubt with what wisdom and vigour they will consult for yours."—This language of Lord Hervey has never been disavowed by Ministers. It has even been imitated by his successor, and therefore I must consider it as having been the language of his instructions—and thus by menace and insult was the Grand Duke of Tuscany compelled to renounce his system of neutrality, contrary to his own inclination, to the advice of his Ministers, and the interests of his people. Such was the conduct of Ministers when we were powerful in the Mediterranean. Lord Hervey was at length recalled, and another gentleman whom I personally respect was appointed in his stead, and instructed to follow the same course. At last, after we lose our power in the Mediterranean—when events turn out against us—we submit not only to the neutrality of the Duke of Tuscany, but to his concluding a treaty of peace and amity with the French Republic

In Switzerland Lord Robert Fitzgerald, for whose character I have too high a respect to suppose that he would exceed the letter of his instructions, in the name of the King of Great Britain, tells the independent Swiss Cantons *, in the language of insult and injustice, "That he will not decide, whether justice and their true interest permit them to remain neuter, against those who would again reduce them to barbarism, in a war of almost all the powers of Europe, in a war where not only the existence of every established Government, but even that of all kind of property is at stake. He will only observe, that neutrality itself will not authorise any correspondence, directly or indirectly, with the factious or their agents." He tells them in effect, that although they may call themselves neutral, they are not to allow their subjects to reap the benefits of that neutrality by intercourse with France. Who made you the arbiters how far intercourse ought to be allowed by independent states between their respective subjects? Where did you get the right? or, if you have the right, where is your power to enforce it? The Swiss Cantons return a civil and dignified answer, "That a rigid and exact neutrality was the invariable maxim of their ancestors; and having received it as a sacred inheritance, they conceive it their duty to abide by it. That they trust His Britannic Majesty, following the example of his illustrious ancestors, will respect the independence of the Helvetic confederacy." In the mean time, they carry on their intercourse with France in as high a degree as it is their interest to do, regardless of our menaces; and we have now the mortification to feel that the coarseness of our insult was equalled only by its impotence; we have nothing to boast of, but the rashness of our design, and the meanness of the attempt to carry it into execution.

What has been your conduct towards Genoa? Ministers hold the same language towards that state, and tell them, "If you continue in your neutrality, it must be offensive to the combined Powers, and may give occasion to revive claims which must lead to disagreeable consequences:"—a meaner threat never was employed.—Who are the parties in this mighty contest? Great Britain, taking upon herself to dictate for all the combined powers, and the Republic of Genoa—this country not only admonishes the Republic of Genoa against observing a neutrality, but threatens her with war if she does.—Look at this, and see a picture of insolence, injustice, and meanness, exceeded only by the feebleness of the attempt to follow it up! The fortune of war being against you, even the little Republic of Genoa is stout; and after blockading her port, you are con-

* See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 296.

tent to withdraw your ſhips, and forced to ſubmit to her neutrality with an ungracious apology for the injuſtice you have done. By ſuch conduct you have impaired the character of the nation for juſtice and magnanimity, and given to Great Britain a character of meanneſs and inſolence which was never before imputed to her, a character which has deſtroyed more countries than the loſs of armies. To put this in a ſtronger point of view, contraſt it with your conduct to America—Did you tell America that all intercourſe with France was diſgraceful, until France ſhould reſtore her King? No! It is only to the weak and defenceleſs that you talk big:—To the great and powerful you apologize, and agree to pay for all the injuſtice you have done them.

Examine the law of nations: if any one queſtion in the law of nations be clearer and more generally acknowledged than another, it is that of a right in every nation, which no treaty obliges to the contrary, to preſerve a complete neutrality. Conſider the ſacredneſs of this right, and the miſerable condition of every weak country, if whenever great powers go to war, for what they may call the cauſe of juſtice, order, religion and regular Government, but what others may think views of ambition and aggrandizement, every weak Prince, every petty Republic, were to be compelled to take a part in the conteſt—If ſuch were to be the condition of ſociety—if men were not allowed to enjoy that neutrality which their independence entitles them to, they would begin to doubt the benefits of ſociety, and liſten to the paradoxes of thoſe who maintain, that all eſtabliſhed rules and principles are founded in ignorance and error; and that ſociety itſelf, as at preſent conſtituted, is not worth preſerving.

If the Houſe agree to a Committee of Inquiry, I ſhall move that His Majeſty's Miniſters do lay before us the correſpondence between them and their agents at foreign courts; not for the purpoſe of injuring or puniſhing individuals, if it ſhould appear that any of them have deviated from their inſtructions, but for the purpoſe of ſaving the credit and honour of Miniſters themſelves. If it ſhould turn out, as I believe it will, that our Ambaſſadors at foreign Courts have acted conſiſtently with the letter and ſpirit of their inſtructions—that they have only uſed the words and ſentiments of the Cabinet of Great Britain; then it will become this Houſe to ſhew that Miniſters are not the nation, and that whatever may be their principles, the principles of the nation are juſtice and magnanimity. It will then become us to ſhew to our conſtituents and to all Europe, that we would rather hold high language to the ſtrong and powerful than to the weak and defenceleſs; that inſtead of inſulting and injuring the weaker States of Europe, our inclination is to protect them againſt

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the greatest and most powerful. It will also become us to wipe off from ourselves the stigma arising from the meanness, insolence, pusillanimity, and injustice, which have been manifested on our part towards the particular States I have mentioned.

I shall now, Sir, without considering whether this war was justly or unjustly undertaken, proceed to examine with what wisdom and upon what principles it has been conducted. In doing this I will pass by all the considerations that ought to have preceded our determination to go to war, great and important as in my mind they were, and suppose war actually resolved upon. When we had come to this resolution, was it not, I ask, of the utmost consequence to our success that the object of the war should be clear? No two things can be more distinct from each other than fighting for a country and fighting against it. If Ministers had acted up to the character of statesmen, they would have taken one or other side of this alternative with all its advantages and disadvantages, for advantages and disadvantages each of them must have had. They would have said one of two things: either "We are going to war with France, not on account of her form of government; we care not what form of government is established in France. It is of no consequence to us whether that country be governed by a Monarch, a Convention, or a Jacobin Club:—this is no cause of war. But we go to war against France to protect our allies the Dutch, and to avenge the insults she has offered to the British nation:" (though I confess I know of no insult offered to the British nation previous to the commencement of this war.) Or they might have taken a very different course, they might have adopted the idea of a right honourable gentleman, who is not now a Member of this House, of whose great genius and distinguished character, although I have lately had the misfortune to differ from him in political opinion, I shall never speak but in terms of the highest respect and admiration. They might have taken the course pointed out by that right honourable gentleman *, who, by an odd figure †, said: "We are not fighting for the Scheldt; we are fighting for France; we are fighting for the destruction of the greatest evil that ever threatened the civilized world, the French revolution; we are fighting for the restoration of monarchy in France; we are fighting for the re-establishment of regular government;—to restore the emigrants to their property, that has been confiscated: we are fighting

* Mr. Burke.

† The figure, which Mr. Fox did not repeat, was, "A war about the Scheldt, a war about a chamber-pot."

for the French nation against the French Convention—not for weakening France and aggrandizing Great Britain: we are fighting for our own constitution—our monarchy—our laws—our religion—our property; for unless monarchy be restored in France, monarchy will not be safe in other parts of the world, his Majesty will not be safe upon his throne, unless their property be restored to the emigrants, the property of every man in this House is insecure." When, I say, his Majesty's Ministers determined on the prosecution of this war, they should have made choice of one or other side of this alternative, each of which, as I have just stated, would have had its inconveniencies.—If you had chosen the former, and said, "In going to war with France, we wish to have nothing to do with the nature of her government—we are totally indifferent about her internal situation, and only fight to compel her to make atonement for insults offered to us,"—it would have been attended with this inconvenience, you would have had no pretence for expecting the assistance of any French emigrants, or of insurgents in any part of France, except in as far as by resisting the Convention, and endeavouring to promote their own views, they might, without intending it, facilitate the accomplishment of yours. You would have had no claim upon the inhabitants of La Vendee, of Britany, Lyons, Marseilles, or any other place where hatred of the Convention provoked insurrection; because neither with them nor with the French emigrants would you have had any common cause, nor could you have been understood to offer them protection. You would have had no right to look for the co-operation of those powers, whose object was the restoration of Louis XVII. to the throne of his ancestors. But, on the other hand, you would have had, what, in my opinion, would have fully compensated all these disadvantages—You would have quarrelled with France on equal terms, and fought with her upon known principles. France could not then have made the efforts she has made. If you had set out with the recognition of the French republic, and declared that you wished to have no concern with her internal affairs, I ask you this question—Can you imagine it would have been possible for France, in consequence of enthusiasm or terror, or of both combined, to have raised and supported such immense armies, whose vigour and exertions have astonished Europe? Could terror have compelled such exertions and such sacrifices, when the people of France knew that they were only fighting for the Scheldt or Brabant, or some island in the West-Indies? Do you think it possible, if such had been the object of the war, for you to have raised up against you what has been emphatically called, and emphatically felt, an armed

nation? Would the Convention have been able to persuade them that they were fighting for their liberties, their lives, for every thing that is dear to the heart of man; that they had no choice but victory or death, when they were clearly and distinctly told by us, that the whole contest was about the navigation of the Scheldt, and the security of Holland? But when the whole people of France, in consequence of the declarations of Great Britain, were convinced that their future government, and their very existence as an independent nation were attacked, then they began to rouse themselves; then they began to unite in defence of what they conceived to be their just rights and liberties; and under the influence of this conviction it was that they produced those effects which have astonished the world, and which are unparalleled in the history of nations. If Great Britain at the outset of the war had clearly convinced France, that her only object was the protection of her allies and the vindication of her own honour, no such effects could possibly have been produced. If, on the other hand, the aid of the French emigrants and insurgents in France had been thought an advantage superior to all this, you might have taken the other part of the alternative, and said, "Our object in going to war is to establish a regular form of government in France." The inconvenience here would have been, that from the very moment of making this declaration, you would have had united against you every republican in France, in that vigorous way in which you now see them united. You would have persuaded them, as you have done, that they had no other chance for liberty, than by uniting as an armed nation, with activity and vigour. [illegible] had [illegible] the outset, "We wish not to dismember France; we wish not to partition her territory; we wish not to weaken or diminish her power, or to aggrandize Great Britain at her expence: our sole object is, to restore to her the blessings of a regular government, and to good citizens the enjoyment of their rights and property." In that case you would have had this advantage—every emigrant from France in every part of the world, would have felt in common with the British cause. Every French loyalist would have felt, and would have gone hand and heart with the British nation: even such republicans as disliked the system of terror, more than they disliked monarchy, would have exerted themselves in your favour. You would then have had a fair opportunity of trying the question—"what were the sentiments of the people of France with respect to the revolution; and whether a majority of the nation wished for a monarchy or a republic?" You would have reared a standard to which Frenchmen who loved their country might repair. Now, by indulging the childish

hope of gaining the advantages of each side of the alternative, you have gained the advantages of neither: you have lost the advantages of both. How could it be otherwise? When you took Valenciennes, instead of taking it for Louis XVII. you took possession of it in the name of the Emperor FRANCIS. When Conde surrendered, you did the same thing. When Mentz surrendered, the garrison was dismissed to be employed against the royalists of La Vendee. Was it possible for any man to be so ignorant, as to doubt what your intentions were? How then was it possible for you to suppose that your conduct would produce on the inhabitants of France, an effect different from what it has done? When Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis took Martinique, Guadaloupe, and the rest of the French West India islands, did they take possession of them for Louis XVII.? No! but for the King of Great Britain, not to be restored to France when monarchy and regular government should be restored, but to be retained as conquests, if the chance of war should leave them in our hands. While such was our conduct in all parts of the world, could it be hoped that any French emigrant, whose situation was not desperate indeed, would join us; or that all who were lovers of their country more than lovers of royalty, would not be our enemies? To attend to justice is in all cases peculiarly important; and the love of country is a motive so powerful, as to be often used as a pretext, even by those who do not feel it. The royalists of La Vendee, of Britany, and other places, took the field, and held out long and bravely; but what could they say to the people of France?—what could they put in their manifestoes, of equal weight with the addresses from the Convention? They might say, "If we conquer, the French monarchy will be restored; but it will be restored with the territory of France curtailed and diminished, one third of it perhaps divided among rival powers, and we may lose our rank and situation in the number of nations." The Convention could say, "If we conquer, the French republic will remain entire, a great and independent nation, triumphant over all the powers who have confederated against her liberties." With such discouragements on the one hand, and such flattering prospects on the other, was it to be expected that any considerable number of emigrants, or of Frenchmen of any description, would connect their own cause with that of the allies? We have so shuffled in our professions, and have been guilty of such duplicity, that no description of Frenchmen will flock to our standard. It was a fatal error in the commencement of the war, that we did not state clearly how far we meant to enter into the cause of the French emigrants--and how far to

connect ourselves with powers who, from their previous conduct, might well be suspected of other views than that of restoring monarchy in France. It may perhaps be said, that we could not be certain in the first instance how far it might be proper to interfere in the internal affairs of France; that we must watch events, and act accordingly. By this want of clearness with respect to our ultimate intentions, we have lost more than any contingency could ever promise. All obscurity ought to have been removed, and you ought to have clearly and distinctly adopted one or other side of the alternative I have stated. Every place was not taken for the allies. It was understood by those who surrendered *Toulon* to Lord Hood, that he accepted it on this condition—that he was to adhere to the constitution of 1789. Whether Ministers intended to observe that condition I know not; but in their subsequent publications they gave reason to hope that they did. In their declarations they offered peace and protection to all well-disposed Frenchmen, who should join in restoring monarchy, without specifying what kind of monarchy *. Have you fulfilled that promise? What kind of protection have you afforded to those who endeavoured to restore monarchy? Have not the royalists, for want of assistance, or encouragement, been obliged, however reluctantly, to submit to the laws of the republic? If the allies had been fighting either for France, or against France, what should have been their conduct towards La Fayette and Doumourier? The seizure of La Fayette, by the Austrians, was contrary to the law of nations; and their treatment of him must damn their fame to all eternity, and render their name an object of universal execration. They found him, and the companions of his misfortune, not at the head of an army, or in arms, and took them against all the laws of nations and of war—not to be treated as prisoners of war, but as prisoners to be consigned to a dungeon. If the allies were fighting against France, surely they ought not to have treated as criminals, generals coming over to them from the enemy. Dumourier came over when he thought he had great power with his army. That power turned out to be much less than he had imagined; but it was impossible that a man who had served his country with so much reputation, with so much ability and success, should not have had a considerable party in it. How was he treated? When they found that he could not bring along with him so great a portion of his army as they expected, after having extolled his virtue †, at the moment when he had ren-

* See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 116, 117, 120, 135, &c.

† See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 110.

dered his virtue at least doubtful, they drove him from them a wandering fugitive, as if they had passed a decree expressly forbidding any French general to abandon the standard of the republic in future. By acting in this manner, as is very well expressed in a French pamphlet I have read, "we are more unaccountable in our political conduct than any of the most bigoted religious sects, for we even exclude converts;"—which I believe was never done by any sectarists. Our conduct therefore, in this respect, is perfectly new: for after Dumourier becomes a convert to, and espouses the cause of the allies, they refuse to receive him. But if we and our allies were fighting for France against the Convention, we ought to have praised this general as a convert, we ought to have received him with cordiality, and held him up as an example for the conversion of others. If we were fighting against France, we should have considered all Frenchmen as enemies, in the common acceptation of the term, and not by denouncing vengeance for crimes committed in France, as was done by Lord Auckland, in a paper published at the Hague *, have given ground for that enthusiasm of resistance, which inflames the minds of men who conceive their lives to be attacked —an enthusiasm which has united for common defence those who, in every moment of respite, were tearing one another to pieces, and sending their opponents to the scaffold, whenever they could supplant them in power. If the allies were fighting for France, the restoration of monarchy, and regular government, I mean not to say that they should have granted impunity to those who were more immediately the cause of the murder of the King:—but they ought not to have begun with thundering forth a manifesto †, threatening Paris with military execution, and even total destruction; denouncing vengeance which necessarily alarmed all men, as no man was named;—a manifesto which we cannot even now endure to read, but by contrasting the pride and cruelty of the menace with the impotence of the attempt at putting it in execution. If we were fighting for France, we ought to have assured the people of France that we had no views of aggrandisement, much less of dismembering the kingdom, or taking vengeance of the inhabitants. We ought to have convinced them that we entered France, not to conquer, but to restore; and the very first step should have been to publish a general amnesty, with some exceptions. A whole nation may be misled, but cannot be all guilty, as has been said by the great man already mentioned, "I know not how to draw an indictment against a whole nation." Some excep-

* See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 272.

† See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 32.

tions to the general amnesty might have been necessary; but these should have been mentioned by name, that others might have had nothing to fear. By this mode of proceeding, many persons deserving of punishment might have escaped; but this would not have been so bad as terrifying all the people of France individually, by indiscriminate threats. This I conceive to be a fundamental error. I would therefore have the House go into an inquiry, that we may declare this error to be fundamental, if so it shall appear to be; that we may take some intelligible ground for our future conduct; define clearly and distinctly the object of the war, and put the remaining quarrel with France upon such a footing, as to shew whether we are really fighting for France as a nation, or against her. Is there a man who believes that, to define our object, and to demand it of the French Government, even at the price of recognizing that Government (as far as to negociate is a recognition) would render it more difficult to be obtained by force of arms, if the French should refuse to grant it? Does the right honourable gentleman himself believe that, if the Convention were to refuse reasonable terms of peace, they would be able to call forth such extraordinary exertions on the part of the people for continuing the war, as the general persuasion of the people that they have no alternative but conquest or subjugation has hitherto enabled them to call forth?

Having mentioned these great and fundamental errors, it is hardly necessary to enter into those that are more minute. It is almost sufficient to name them. If we took possession of Toulon, not with a view to conquest, but with the intention of supporting the cause of Monarchy in France, it was the most important advantage we could have obtained, and to the preservation and improvement of which all our attention ought to have been directed. Yet we left Toulon with a very small English force, trusting its defence to the aid of allies, who were either unable or unwilling to defend it.—This was said to be done for the sake of an expedition against the French West-India islands, an expedition of much less importance than the defence of Toulon; and that expedition was again crippled by collecting troops under the Earl of Moira for a descent upon the coast of France—a descent for which an opportunity has never yet been found; and therefore Government has never been able in any way to avail itself of the force so collected. In consequence of this, Toulon was lost; and a number of troops were sent to the West Indies, sufficient indeed, through the zeal and ability of the commanders, to take the islands, but not sufficient to keep them. Guadaloupe, we know, is gone; there is little hope of our being now in possession of any part of St. Domingo; and we are far from

being without well-grounded apprehensions for the safety of Martinico and the other conquered islands.

With respect to the last campaign, our great and leading error was, confidence in the King of Prussia, in the Belgians, and in the Dutch. It was evident *a priori* that our confidence was ill founded, and *a posteriori* it has proved to be so. We told the people of the Austrian Netherlands that we were fighting for their religion, and the people of the United Provinces, that we were fighting for their liberties; but they did not believe us. We forced the Dutch into a war, which they had no inclination to undertake. So early as the beginning of the year 1793, I stated it as my opinion that the Dutch would not demand our assistance. I was answered, that they durst not demand it, but that this was no reason for our withholding it, and that, if it was offered, they would not refuse it.— I replied, that I believed the case to be exactly the reverse, and that if you offered your assistance, although the Dutch did not desire it, yet they durst not refuse it. I also find, at an early period of the war, the people of Friezeland putting up their prayers to Almighty God, to deliver them from this war, into which they had been plunged by their allies. All that has happened since has confirmed my opinion. While we were fighting in the Austrian Netherlands, the Dutch gave us but feeble and reluctant aid. When we were driven out of the Austrian Netherlands, and the United Provinces were to be defended, the Dutch, instead of rising in a mass to defend them, joined in welcoming the French. We ought to have known beforehand, that the people of the United Provinces wished not to be defended by us, and therefore were not to be confided in as allies. We ought to have adopted one of two courses; we should either have withdrawn our mischievous and oppressive protection, and said to the Dutch, "Defend yourselves;" or we should have taken possession of the country with an army, and defended it like a conquered province.

When I look to the naval part of the campaign, I find, that the captures made by the enemy are greater than they were ever known to be in any former war; but I do not find that our trade has increased in the same proportion. By documents, which I conceive to be tolerably correct, it appears, that in the second year after France joined in the American war, the number of ships captured by France, Spain, and America was 499. How many of these were taken by Spain, I do not know; but it is probable that nearly one half of them were taken by the Americans. In the second year of this war, when we have France alone to contend with, the number of ships belonging to Great-Britain which have been

captured by France amounts to 860. Until I hear this extraordinary difference, under circumstances so much less unfavourable than those of the period to which I have alluded, accounted for, I must conclude that there has been a great defect in the naval administration of this country; either that we have not had a sufficient naval force, or that Ministers have not well applied it. His Majesty's speech from the throne, in January 1794, laid the ground of most forcible arguments for inquiry. That speech, in recapitulating the advantages obtained by the arms of the allied Powers, as the pledge and earnest of still greater advantages, almost expressly assured us of the empire of the sea. Oh! the little foresight of presumptuous men! Oh! the fallacy of human hope! Every pledge of success, every topic of consolation, held out to us in that speech, is now converted into a circumstance of defeat, into an argument for despair! "The United Provinces," we were told, "have been protected from invasion; the Austrian Netherlands have been recovered and maintained; places of considerable importance have been acquired on the frontiers of France; an important and decisive blow has been given to their naval power; at sea our superiority has been undisputed, and our commerce so effectually protected, that the losses sustained have been inconsiderable, in proportion to its extent, and to the captures made on the contracted trade of the enemy." Yet in the course of a year, ushered in with so much promise, our superiority at sea has been disputed; after a second more important and decisive blow given to the enemy's naval power, they have been masters of the sea for two months, and 860 of our ships have been taken. Every hope and expectation held out by that speech is now completely gone. There is not one single ground stated by the King with respect to the probable good events of the war which has not been entirely done away. We have lost the fortresses on the French frontiers. We have lost the Austrian Netherlands. We have lost Holland; and the trade of England has been greatly injured. It is not the change of one man; it is not the change of the First Lord of the Admiralty, that will make satisfaction for the injury sustained by our commerce. I observe likewise, that since the commencement of the present war, the re-captures do not bear a greater proportion to the ships taken than they did in the American war, when Great Britain had so many different nations against her. Are these, or are they not, good grounds for inquiry? For what purpose do gentlemen think they were sent to this House? Do they believe they were sent here* the sole purpose of voting taxes, as was too often the case with

* See Debrett's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 456.

the Parliaments of the ancient Kings of this country? or as a National Council to see that the Executive Government is not only incorrupt, but judicious? It might have been supposed, that after the memorable first of June, we should be masters of the sea; but we have no reason to boast of the manner in which we have improved that victory. Our fleet came into port in November, and the French fleet put to sea; no doubt because ours was returned.—So little foresight or exertion was displayed in preparing our fleet for sea again, that it could not go out till late in January; and thus for two months the French were masters of the sea, and your fleets of merchantmen, and even troops embarked for important foreign services, were blocked up in your ports. I shall, perhaps, be told, "That our fleet cannot be always out." I say, that under proper management, a great part of it always might be out. But were two months necessary? Will any man contend that it might not have been ready in less than two months, during great part of which time it was known that the French fleet was out? There was even a rumour, that after the ships were ready for sea, they were detained for want of biscuit and other provisions, which it became necessary to send by land carriage. How true these reports may be I know not; but they have been generally circulated and generally believed, which is a sufficient reason why you should inquire, that their truth or falsehood may be ascertained.—Every one of the circumstances I have mentioned calls aloud for inquiry, unless the Members of this House be prepared to say that our present circumstances, the present situation of the country, are so happy and so prosperous, as to be *prima facie* evidence of the diligence and ability of His Majesty's Ministers; that they have steered us so steadily, and piloted us so wisely, that we ought to repose implicit confidence in them without inquiry, and deliver over to them all the functions of the House of Commons. Can Ministers themselves state any ground why this House ought to repose in them any confidence whatever, much less such extraordinary confidence as this? Will they say that their administration of the war has been successful, or that the state of the country is prosperous? I am not, I hope, a man to give to success more credit than is due to it; I hope I can reverence unsuccessful wisdom; my own life has not been such as to lead me to think that success should be considered as the criterion of wisdom. Let the Minister say that the calamities which have befallen the country have been the immediate acts of God; that they have been thunder storms and tempests, where human prudence could avail us nothing. But let him not say that Great Britain is declining in every quarter; that she has been reduced in her re-

sources, from a state of unexampled prosperity; that all her exertions, and the most lavish profusion of treasure and of blood, have availed her nothing; and yet deny to this House the propriety of an inquiry, to discover, if possible, the source of such a train of misfortunes. In such a case, it is the duty of every Member of this House—of the friends of Ministers themselves, to give up their private confidence and to promote inquiry. If they find that Ministers have been pursuing an impracticable object, or endeavouring to obtain it by inadequate means, they will then know how to apply the remedy. They may, if they please, even after finding that Ministers have been wrong, grant them a new lease of their confidence; but they will first point out to them their error, and give them wholesome advice for their future conduct. If, on the other hand, they find that Ministers have been pursuing wise ends by wise means; that although their success has not hitherto corresponded with their prudence, they have neither been deficient in industry nor skill: they may say, with satisfaction to themselves and their constituents, "We will continue our confidence in these Ministers, they have deserved success if they have not obtained it, and perseverance will overcome the malignity of fortune." But until we go fairly into this inquiry, we cannot dissemble that mankind will and must continue to suspect that the conduct of Ministers has not been such as it ought to have been; that it has been erroneous in some way or other.

Sir, exhausted as I feel myself, and long as I have already trespassed on the patience of the House, I must pass over in silence many points which are nearly connected with the general statement, and which would call powerfully on this House to enter into an inquiry on the state of the nation. But although I conceive I have already stated sufficient ground for going into such an inquiry on all the questions more immediately connected with the war, there is yet one subject so closely connected with the prosecution of it in one point of view, that before I sit down I must beg leave to make a few observations upon it—I mean the present situation of the sister kingdom. The House will do me the honour to recollect, that, very much against the inclination of the majority of this House, of the Public, of my own constituents, and even of my most intimate friends, I formerly harassed, and, if you please, teased this House, with a variety of considerations, and with different questions which you were unwilling to hear. I persevered obstinately, however, not because I had any personal satisfaction in doing so, when the House was not disposed to listen to me, but because I thought that at the outset of the war, it was my bounden duty to lay before this

House those circumstances which, as appeared to me, ought to have discouraged us from entering upon it. I felt no pleasure in addressing those arguments to unwilling ears, for I am not desirous of imitating the example of Cardanus, an author whose works, Sir, may possibly not be very familiar to you, although you are a learned man, as they are now but little read. This author says, "*Nunquam libentius loquor quam cum quod loquor auditoribus displicet.*" I spoke from no such motive, neither did I, like Cardanus, persevere the more obstinately as I perceived I was heard more unwillingly. Sir, I persevered because I thought it my duty to persevere; and, among other things, I stated, as discouragements for going on with the war, that the Austrian Netherlands could not be retained, while the subjects of His Imperial Majesty were disaffected to, and even hated, his Government; that Holland could not be defended, because the Dutch had been forced into the war against their inclination, and did not wish to defend it; and that the King of Prussia had clearly proved, by his conduct in the first campaign, that Great Britain and her allies ought not to depend upon him. I was then told that my speech was a gross libel upon the characters and conduct of all our actual and all our possible allies.—But, Sir, if it was a libel, experience has shewn that it was true, which, according to the common doctrine of lawyers, does not make it less a libel; and I hope that, as far as concerns its truth, it will go down to posterity a convicted libel. I then also touched upon some dangers which I apprehended with respect to Ireland. I was told, "Touch not upon Ireland, that is a subject too delicate for discussion in this House. This House," it was said, "has nothing to do with Ireland. Ireland has a Parliament of her own, and will take care of herself." To that I then answered, as I shall do now; that when a British House of Commons, as the great council of the nation, is advising the King upon a matter of so much importance as peace or war, they ought to extend their consideration to all the most material parts of the empire of Great Britain; and surely it is unnecessary to state that Ireland is a most important part of His Majesty's dominions, as furnishing great resources of men for the army and the navy in time of war. Without the assistance of Ireland, we can never be secure in peace, and without her assistance we cannot be successful in war. The identity of her Constitution, and her being under the same Executive Government, make Ireland a constant object of attention, from which we may derive information with regard to the King's Ministers, to which we may look for examples to be imitated, or errors to be avoided. Ireland has always been considered as an object of observation to which it is our duty to look. I saw formerly

certain prejudices in that country which would throw much difficulty in the way of the Roman Catholics getting all they asked, and all that justice required they should have, as subjects of the same Constitution, viz. equality of rights with every other subject. There had sprung up in that country a strange jargon of what is called a protestant ascendancy, as if such a thing as a religious ascendancy ought to take place in politics. Ministers, some time ago, got over the difficulty in part, and, although not in a way calculated to gain much respect, conciliated the affections of the Catholics for the time. This, however, was not the only subject of complaint. There were other abuses in Ireland, of which the people did bitterly complain; and when the coalition took place, in July last, however much I might lament that event, I certainly did think it might produce this good effect, that the corrupt Administration of Ireland would be radically reformed, and that possibly as much might be gained to liberty there as seemed to be lost to it here. That was in fact near being the case, when all of a sudden things took a different turn.

Without entering into the question—Who is to blame? I ask the King's Ministers, and defy them to give me any answer but one, whether Ireland is not at present in a state of irritation? whether she is not in a state of danger? And if she is in such a situation as to give just cause of alarm to every friend of the country, whether this state has not been occasioned solely by His Majesty's Ministers? Some people may say, "It is owing to the Ministers here:"—others —"to the Ministers there." But I defy any man to say that the present state of that country—whether it be owing to the Duke of Portland I know not—whether it be owing to the right honourable gentleman opposite to me, or to Earl Fitzwilliam, I know not— But of this I am certain, that it is entirely owing to the improper conduct of the King's Ministers. Let Ministers themselves explain, and point out to the Public those individuals on whom they say blame ought to attach;—but let them deny this fact if they can: that the present irritated state of Ireland has arisen solely from the conduct of Ministers there or in this country; although I have little doubt in my own mind to which of them it is owing. Earl Fitzwilliam is sent over as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, justly popular from his personal character, and more so from his connection with a part of the Ministry here, supposed to be favourable to the claims of Ireland. He arrives; he consults with men to whom the people of Ireland had been long accustomed to look up with confidence;—he is adored, he is idolized—he is idolized to such a degree, that the people of Ireland join with him in the absurd cry of War? Nothing but Earl Fitzwilliam's popularity,—nothing but his per-

ſonal character, and his connection with that part of the Miniſtry here, who were ſuppoſed to be friendly to the claims of the people of Ireland, could have induced them to join in that cry. What happens?—Earl Fitzwilliam ſtates from the Throne the general wiſhes of His Majeſty for carrying on the war; that it is intended to give emancipation to the Roman Catholics of Ireland.—And although it is not uſual for His Majeſty's ſpeech to ſtate ſpecifically the topics to which it recommends the attention of Parliament; yet this the Lord Lieutenant ſtates in very diſtinct terms. [It was intimated from the Miniſterial ſide of the Houſe that this was not ſo.] It was ſo underſtood (continued Mr. Fox,) or, if you pleaſe, it was ſo miſunderſtood in the Iriſh Parliament. They are told that abuſes are to be reformed;—they ſee the moſt reſpected men in the country daily riſing up in the Houſe of Commons to propoſe the reform of abuſes;—they ſee thoſe meaſures attended with fewer diſmiſſals from office undoubtedly than the people could have wiſhed, but with the diſmiſſal of ſeveral perſons known to be connected with the old abuſes. They conſider all this as the omen of approaching liberty; and that all the people of Ireland, without diſtinction, are about to enjoy thoſe rights and privileges to which they are in juſtice intitled, and which they ought always to have enjoyed.—All this paſſes, day after day, in the face of the world, without the leaſt oppoſition on the part of the Cabinet of Great Britain. What follows? Great ſupplies are called for by His Majeſty; and the Iriſh Parliament vote ſupplies exceeding, in an enormous degree, any ever voted in any former period. The Iriſh, in high expectation of the promiſed reform of abuſes, with a degree of imprudence, not perhaps ſtrictly juſtifiable on the ſober and cautious principle that reform and ſupply ſhould go hand in hand (but it is the character of the nation to be more generous than prudent,) granted the ſupplies before the promiſe was fulfilled. The moment theſe enormous ſupplies are granted, the cup is daſhed from their lips, their eager and excited hopes are blaſted, and they are told, "We have got your money; you may now ſeek for your reform where you can." The Miniſters here then quarrel with this popular Lord Lieutenant, this favourite friend of their own, whoſe perſonal character did more for the coalition than the characters of all the other Miniſters united. I ſay, that the perſonal character alone of Lord Fitzwilliam did more for the coalition than the characters of the whole Cabinet of Great Britain united could do;—it made the coalition popular, becauſe, from his acceſſion it was ſuppoſed to be pure. They give up, however, this popular friend, whom but a few months before they had taken more pains to gain than all the reſt who joined them either then or

afterwards. Even Earl Fitzwilliam they gave up rather than that Ireland ſhould receive from this country the benefits to which ſhe is in common juſtice intitled;—and in the hopes of which ſhe has voted for the ſervice of His Majeſty ſuch large and liberal ſupplies.

Sir, I may be told "that this Lord Lieutenant gave hopes and promiſes which he was not authoriſed to give." To that I anſwer, that from my knowledge of him, I do not believe it. But ſuppoſe it were ſo; what is that to us? what is that to this Houſe? Is it not a matter of total indifference to us where the blame lies? Is not Ireland in danger? No man will deny it, and that is ſufficient for my purpoſe. The blame attaches either on the Miniſters in Ireland, or on the Miniſters here;—and if this Houſe does not inſtitute an inquiry, and explain clearly and ſatisfactorily to the Public who has been the cauſe of this alarming danger, we may be reſponſible for the diſmemberment of the Britiſh empire. It may be ſuppoſed that this is one of thoſe queſtions on which I have ſtrong perſonal partialities. I admit it. I believe I ſhall never be able to diveſt myſelf of them; and I am perfectly convinced that Earl Fitzwilliam's conduct in this particular inſtance has been agreeable to the uniform tenour of his whole life. I firmly believe that he has acted fairly and honourably, and agreeably to what was underſtood between him and his colleagues in the Britiſh Cabinet:—this conviction is matter of great private ſatisfaction to me—but it is nothing to the Public, or to this Houſe. That great and imminent danger has been incurred is undeniable; and this Houſe cannot refuſe to inquire into the cauſe of the danger, with a view to diſcover the means of averting it, without betraying one of its moſt important truſts. I call not for this inquiry to clear the character of this or that Miniſter, in order to attach blame to another. The great duty of this Houſe is to ſhew to the people of England, by whoſe fault this danger has been created.

The Roman Catholics of Ireland make about three fourths of the people, and I am happy to ſee that the Roman Catholics and Proteſtants now only make one party;—I do not therefore dread any rupture between the Roman Catholics and the Proteſtants. The parties now to be dreaded in Ireland are, on the one hand, a few people holding places of great emolument, and ſupporting corruption and abuſes;—and on the other, the Iriſh nation. The Proteſtants are as much intereſted in this great buſineſs of reform as the Roman Catholics. They have but one great common intereſt—to preſerve that country againſt a corrupt and oppreſſive Adminiſtration. I no longer dread any danger to Ireland from diſputes between the Roman Catholics and the Proteſtants.—But I dread that

the Irish nation, in consequence of the support of abuses and corruption, may become less connected with, and less attached to, the English nation.—I dread the alienation of the Irish people from the English Government. Many gentlemen in this country, who have not taken all the pains they might to examine into the subject, may imagine that the Government of Ireland, because consisting of King, Lords and Commons, nearly resembles that of Great Britain. That however is by no means the case. These three branches of the Irish Constitution, although the same in name with the three branches of the British Constitution, differ materially in their composition;—and the Government of Ireland varies in many other respects from the Government of this country. I dare say also, that some gentlemen know so little of what has passed in Ireland since the year 1793, as to imagine that the Roman Catholics are now nearly on the same footing with the Protestants; and that, since the above period, they have suffered no persecutions or exclusions. If there is any man who thinks so, he grossly deceives himself. But passing over these circumstances, is it not self-evident, that the danger arising from the present state of Ireland, has been created by some of the King's Ministers? Let the House go into an inquiry, and they will clearly see on whom punishment ought to fall. If the Ministers in Ireland are guilty, let them be punished: or, if His Majesty's Ministers here (which is much more probable) have been the cause of this irritation, let punishment fall upon them. If Earl Fitzwilliam, rashly and wantonly running after popularity, has sacrificed the real interests of that country, he deserves the severest censure, and the most rigorous proceedings of this House against him. But I am confident that this is not the fact. If upon an inquiry, by this House, it shall appear, that he has been trifled with, and shuffled out of his measures and situation by Ministers here, in order to serve their own base purposes; if it shall appear that he has acted on the principles of prudence and patriotism, and that his Government was founded on principles which tended to preserve the connection between the two countries, what censure, what punishment, can be too severe for those who have been the authors of such shuffling and of such duplicity? That the whole blame in this business is to be imputed to His Majesty's Ministers, is a matter about which no man living can dispute. It may be said, perhaps, that some of the King's Ministers are more and others less blamable. If that is so, let us go into a Committee, and we shall be able to ascertain with accuracy the different degrees of guilt that belong to different individuals. On that ground it is impossible to refuse an inquiry.

I have now nearly gone through the different points to which at the outset I called the attention of the House, though I have purposely omitted many circumstances connected with the subject. I know it to be a common argument against such motions as this to say, "Your final object is the removal of Ministers; why then do you not move at once to remove the King's ministers?" My answer is, Because I think we ought first to have an inquiry. At the same time I candidly admit my opinion to be, that if an inquiry be gone into, the result must be the removal of His Majesty's present Ministers. On what rational ground should this induce any Member of the House of Commons to oppose inquiry? Does any man, who approves of continuing the war, hope for better success than we have hitherto experienced, while it is conducted with the same weakness and folly? Does any man who wishes for an end to the war, hope that His Majesty's present Ministers can obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace? If, after an inquiry into their past conduct, it shall turn out that they have acted justly and wisely, then let us continue our confidence in them. But if the contrary should appear, as I strongly suspect it will, then it will become the duty of this House to call them to an account, perhaps to punishment. This inquiry, among other advantages attending it, will discover to the nation the true causes of all our late failures and calamities.

In every undertaking, there are two points to be considered—the object, and the means. Wise men choose a wise object, and persist in their efforts to obtain it by varying the means, the object still the same. The conduct of the present Administration has been quite the reverse with regard to the war. Day after day, and motion after motion has varied the object, but they uniformly insist on the same means. Blood, war, and treasure are their means, however they may vary their object. They have invariably persisted in these means, and in the means (if I may so express myself) of putting these means in execution, they have equally persisted. They have constantly avoided making a choice between the two branches of the alternative I have stated. They have roused all France against them. They have gained no party whatever in that country, because they have clearly shewn that they deserved the confidence of no party.

The present state of the affairs of Ireland shews, that there is no part of the British empire in which the strongest traces of the Minister's misconduct are not to be found. There are some occasions, one would imagine, upon which Ministers must wish to be clearly understood. But men never get the better of their nature; and whenever the right honourable gentleman opposite to me expresses himself, he is differently understood by every man who hears him:

even upon those occasions when he pretends to be most explicit, he is differently understood by different Members of this House, by his own particular friends in it; and when he is called upon to explain himself, he is equally unfortunate—his expressions are still ambiguous and doubtful. What has lately happened in Ireland is a farther proof of this; for it now turns out, that upon the most important subjects he is not understood, or rather he is misunderstood by his own colleagues in the Cabinet. Has not the right honourable gentleman the faculty of speech? It is not surely for want of words, or choice of expression, that the right honourable gentleman is thus unintelligible. But, although possessed of as great powers of eloquence as ever belonged to man, he employs that gift, not for the purpose for which it was conferred, of being clearly and distinctly understood, but for the purpose of being misunderstood. When in a private room with some of his new colleagues, it is impossible for the right honourable gentleman so to express himself as that they can be certain they understand him. What was said of a great man of antient times, is extremely applicable to the right honourable gentleman—*In rebus politicis, nihil simplex, nihil apertum, nihil honestum.* If we go into this inquiry, we shall prove to our constituents that we are really affected by the state of the country, and that we are not idle or forgetful of our duty. It is of much importance, in this moment of danger, that we should be perfectly acquainted with our true situation. Let us put it out of the power of any man to say that Great Britain is persisting in a disastrous war, without knowing who are her allies; without inquiring what are the causes of her failures and calamities; and that every thing is gone except the name of her ancient Constitution.

But whether a Committee of Inquiry is granted or not, I shall at least derive this satisfaction from having moved for it, that I shall shew to the people of England that there are still some men in the great council of the nation, who anxiously wish to have an opportunity of proving to them what is their real situation, and of doing every thing in their power to avert, if possible, the farther calamities of war, and effusion of human blood.

If a Committee of Inquiry is gone into, I shall have occasion to move for a number of papers, to which I have alluded in the course of my speech, particularly the correspondence respecting Ireland, and which will afford that information which I conceive to be of so much importance. At present I shall conclude with moving, "That this House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the state of the nation."

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that before he proceeded to remark on the different topics introduced in the speech of the right honourable gentleman, he would first briefly call the attention of the House to the only true point of the motion which had just been made, namely, the reference to the present situation of a sister kingdom introduced by the right honourable gentleman in the conclusion of his speech. The other topics were merely a repetition of all that had been so frequently advanced by that right honourable gentleman in the course of the present and the preceding sessions. What he had rested upon as a separate and substantive ground of inquiry was the state of politics in that sister kingdom. For however he might have enforced other topics, however his speech might have assumed the shape of an elaborate and able discussion of the past and present situation of the country, it was evident that it was brought forward with a view to the difficulty and embarrassment of the particular crisis, as affording a favourable opportunity for a motion of general inquiry; otherwise, nine-tenths of the speech of the right honourable gentleman, would have been as applicable at any former period of the session, as at the present moment. That particular crisis, which the right honourable gentleman had urged, as affording an irresistible argument for inquiry, he would contend, operated as the strongest and most decisive objection to any such inquiry being instituted. It was matter of extreme delicacy how far an English House of Commons should take up the discussions, which properly belonged to an independent Legislature. In the peculiar circumstances in which he stood, he was sensible how necessary it was for him to be extremely cautious on the present occasion. He would not deny that in what had happened there was much which he had to regret; but he would venture boldly to state for himself and his colleagues, that if any embarrassment had arisen in Ireland, it did not proceed from any declaration sanctioned by them, committing His Majesty's Government in that country. He would not now enter into the question, (if that should ever come to be discussed) whether any blame attached to the respectable person at the head of the Government. He had only thought necessary to make an assertion in justice to himself and his colleagues, which he would defy at any future period to be disproved. The great question was, what advantage would arise from the investigation proposed by the right honourable gentleman? Would he tell him that a moment of embarrassment, irritation, and disquietude, was the most proper period to bring forward a subject of discussion in the House of Commons, connected with all the topics which might influence the decision of an independent Legislature on objects of the utmost importance to the interest of both countries?

If it was his wish to allay the spirit of irritation, which had lately been engendered, and to avert the mischievous consequences with which it might be attended, unfortunately his motion was calculated to increase the ferment, and to aggravate, if not to produce, the danger. One additional reason assigned why the House should go into this Committee of Inquiry was, with a view to the termination of the war. It was rather singular that such a reason should be brought forward after the repeated declarations of that House of their intentions to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour and unanimity, as affording the most rational prospect of bringing it to a desirable termination. The right honourable gentleman assumed not that disappointment and embarrassment had already come to such a pitch, as to preclude any farther exertion on our part, but that, if suffered to go on, they might produce such consequences as would disable the country from continuing the contest. On that point he had no hesitation to say, that he exaggerated the danger. He could not, however, help remarking on the mode of treating the subject adopted by the right honourable gentleman. To hold out to the Catholics, that such might be the effects of refusing their claims, what was it but to produce the consequence, which he seemed to deprecate? What was it but saying to them that the bare circumstance of calling those claims in question, that the delay interposed in granting them to their utmost extent, that the hesitating to level all those distinctions which had so long been established, and the policy of not being in too great haste to heap upon them new privileges in addition to those which they had so lately acquired, were to them matters of serious and intolerable grievance?—What was it but to countenance discontent under pretext of lamenting it, and to produce danger by the very means which were recommended as useful for precaution? What was it but proclaiming to the enemies the embarrassment and difficulties under which we laboured at home, a sort of conduct by no means calculated to diminish their hopes of success, or infuse into them new dispositions to peace? If the House from the progress of the French arms in Brabant and Holland, and from the views which they discovered of enlarging their territories, in proportion to the extent of their conquests, had been only more deeply impressed with the necessity of vigorous exertion and manly perseverance in the contest, would they be likely to adopt a motion, which in the result could only be productive of humiliation and disappointment? Would they proclaim to the enemy a danger with respect to themselves, which if not proclaimed, might in fact have no existence? Considered in this point of view, he could not well imagine a conduct less consistent with sound policy, the true interests

of the empire, or the termination of that great ſtruggle in which the country was engaged, than that which was propoſed by the preſent motion. With reſpect to the ſubject, ſo far as it affected Ireland, the comfort of individuals, the peace of the Community, and the queſtion in point of policy, how far an equal participation of rights ought at once to take place between thoſe who had long been eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of certain privileges, and thoſe who had formerly been merely tolerated; all theſe were topics, into which he ſhould not enter at preſent, as in all probability a future opportunity would preſent itſelf for their diſcuſſion. Having thus diſmiſſed that part of the right honourable gentleman's argument, which appeared to him the moſt important, he had ſome difficulty how to ſpeak as to the general queſtion. He hardly knew how to ſuppoſe the right honourable gentleman could be in earneſt, when he occupied upwards of three hours in delivering as able and eloquent a ſpeech as was ever uttered in that Houſe, for the purpoſe of introducing a peroration which laſted not more than a quarter of an hour, applied to the particular circumſtances of the time. He ſhould diſpenſe with following him through the long detail into which he had gone, becauſe at a time when the facts referred to were more recent, he had the opportunity of ſtating his ſentiments at length to the Houſe. He had no objection to the different points ſtated by the right honourable gentleman as proper grounds of inquiry; they were no doubt ſuch as formed ſerious objects of attention to a great nation involved in a ſtate of war. They comprehended the queſtion of reſources, population, revenue, foreign connections, the object of the war, and the means by which it was to be proſecuted. In ſhort, there was no point, political, financial, commercial, and almoſt ſpeculative, that related to the ſtate of the country, which the right honourable gentleman in the courſe of his ſpeech had not contrived to embrace. But he would aſk, whether the Houſe at this advanced period of the ſeſſion, and after the repeated declarations which they had made with reſpect to their views, were in a proper ſituation to be required to enter into an inquiry, which no length of ſeſſion, and no accuracy of inveſtigation could enable them to overtake.—One unfortunate ſingularity which attended the preſent motion, was that the Houſe had already determined on thoſe very queſtions, with reſpect to which it was propoſed to inſtitute an inquiry. This voluminous and extenſive inquiry had already been ſuperſeded by the votes of the Houſe. With reſpect to the means by which the war was to be carried on, theſe had already been provided. The right honourable gentleman had repeatedly called upon the Houſe to decide with him on the points which he had brought into the diſcuſſion

of to-night, and in which he had been supported by a small minority. The great majority of that House had decided upon different principles; principles which they had deliberately adopted, upon which they were now acting, and into the grounds of which it could not therefore be supposed necessary that they should now inquire. The right honourable gentleman had employed exactly the same arguments on the debates which took place with respect to the army and navy, when the points which he had brought forward to support his present motion, furnished the fair and proper subjects of discussion. The next ground on which the right honourable gentleman proposes to enter into a Committee of Inquiry, is in order to ascertain the state of the finances of the country; that is already ascertained by the vote of the House, of a loan of 18 millions, a sum indeed great and unprecedented, but necessary from the magnitude of the contest in which they were engaged, and the novelty of the efforts with which they had to contend. The bill granting that loan, and stating the terms upon which it was supplied, was a more satisfactory proof of the flourishing state of the credit of the country, and of the confidence of monied men, than could be derived from the result of any inquiry that could take place. It proved, in spite of all the exaggeration which had been employed to depreciate the resources of the country, that so far from having suffered any diminution, they had increased in a degree equal to the extraordinary scale of expenditure which had lately been incurred. The taxes for the service of the present year amounted to 1,600,000l.; but these had not arisen merely from expences actually incurred by the war, but from the vigilance of Parliament in making provision for unforeseen exigencies, and their attention in continuing the fund for the extinction of the national debt. As to the means by which the new taxes were to be raised, they were such as could be voted, certainly not without regret, for the necessity of imposing fresh burdens must always be matter of unpleasant feeling, but without the apprehension of serious consequences, or the likelihood of severe pressure to any order of the Community. The next ground which the right honourable gentleman had stated for going into a Committee of Inquiry, was to ascertain how far the population of the country had decreased. If by arguing this point he meant to refer to the loss of men in our armies, no accounts relative to the amount of that loss had hitherto been refused, and the sum total of that loss was a simple statement of fact, not a matter of remote investigation. No man could look without regret to the loss of those brave fellows, who had nobly fallen in the cause which they had proved themselves so worthy to defend. Though the loss of every individual was a source

of irreparable anguish, it was necessary at the same time to look with a firm determination to the discharge of that imperious duty, which required such sacrifices for the good of the Community. Any consideration therefore, drawn from this topic, though it might have the effect to agitate the feelings, could not be expected to decide the result of the opinions of the Members of that House. It was always to be remembered, that defensive efforts in the prosecution of a just war, were better than tame acquiescence in the usurpations of a cruel and oppressive enemy. But ought the right honourable gentleman to lose sight of an infallible inference from the general argument of the destructive consequences of war, namely, the share of loss sustained by the enemy. While he relied so much upon his calculation of our loss, as a reason why we should no longer persist in the contest, ought he not to have considered, whether the loss of the enemy might not perhaps be ten fold. This was a point which he ought not to have altogether dismissed from his calculations, as it might lead to a different conclusion from that which he had drawn, and the comparison, instead of operating as a ground of despondency, might rather tend to hold out a prospect of success. In order to shew that the relative population of the country had decreased, the right honourable gentleman had recourse to another consideration, upon which he had touched before. In stating, however, this consideration, he relied upon a criterion not to be depended upon, namely, the number of inhabited houses not exempted from taxes. No accounts of this sort could be made out, which were not liable to great inaccuracy. But from the great increase that had taken place of manufactures and commerce, was it not to be inferred that commerce likewise had increased. The right honourable gentleman had mentioned the result of some inquiries which he had made with respect to the population of Lancashire. In some parts the births had decreased one half, in others a third and a fourth. These inquiries, however, he stated to have been made in the quarter of the country from which the greatest number of men had been drawn for the recruiting service. This was no criterion of the state of population in that quarter of the country, where no such drain had taken place. After all, the diminution of numbers which he had stated amounted only to 12,000. This was a proof of a kind so singular that no argument could be brought from fact or from analogy to support it. To this sort of proof he had something much stronger to oppose, and which no speculative inference could be brought to overturn. At present the army was larger than it had ever been at a former period, and the navy upon a more respectable footing than it had been in any second year of a war. So far were manufactures

from having decreased, that the export of last year was greater than it had been in any former year, excepting only two of the most flourishing years of peace. When this was stated to be the case, and it was considered that the army and navy were both at so great a pitch—a fact which had been mentioned by the right honourable gentleman, and which he lamented was partially true—that there were still manufacturers who were distressed for want of employment, proved directly the reverse of his own argument, and shewed that the country which could furnish so large a supply of men both for the service of war and the arts of peace, had suffered no material diminution in its population. In the year 1793, a very great decrease took place in the quantity of British manufactures exported, to the amount of not less than four millions. This melancholy decline was owing to the extravagant length to which speculation had been pushed in the preceding year, and the sudden shock given to commercial confidence, the consequences of which the right honourable gentleman had then predicted, that the country would not be able to recover till the return of peace. The country, however, had arrived in years of war to a pitch of prosperity even beyond that to which the right honourable gentleman had predicted that it never would again be able to arise. To what purpose would it be to go into a Committee of Inquiry on the subject of resources, after having found our resources and voted our taxes for the service of the year? The present motion, if it had been necessary, ought to have preceded those votes; it would then have been fit matter of discussion; the present state of business was such as to preclude the necessity and the benefit of the inquiry.

The right honourable gentleman had next desired that the House might go into a Committee, in order to examine the situation of the country with respect to its allies, their ability to carry on the contest, and their disposition to co-operate with us. This was indeed a subject of most entensive enquiry. And in order to furnish materials for this purpose, would it be proper to bring forward papers relative to all the negociations now in train, to confirm our old allies, or secure fresh co-operation, to lay open all the proceedings at present in agitation at foreign courts, and all the plans relative to the further prosecution of the war? The right honourable gentleman had likewise wished to investigate the conduct of the British Court with respect to neutral powers.—Would it for this purpose be desirable to explain all the disputes that might have arisen between neutral states and the government of this country, whether they were actually pending, or had now been happily adjusted? The House had now decided upon the general question of the prosecution

of the war; and the inquiry propofed was in itfelf endlefs; it could tend to no practical refult, and might lead to difclofures which would be attended with embarraffment and mifchief. As to the King of Pruffia, he had no hefitation to repeat what he had ftated upon a former occafion, that he had not adequately performed his engagements, nor acted in a manner as this country had a right to expect. The queftion was, whether in confequence of this particular failure, we were to depart from our general fyftem, and, becaufe in one inftance we had been difappointed, renounce all benefit to be derived from alliances with other powers. The right honourable gentleman admitted that our allies had fuffered feverely in the prefent conteft. However we regretted this circumftance, we had reafon to be fatisfied with our own conduct, in availing ourfelves of their affiftance; their efforts had, at leaft for fome time, contributed to divert the exertions of the enemy, which would otherwife have been more fpeedily directed to one point, and more efficacious in producing mifchief. It did not follow that even the affiftance of allies might not be ufeful in a conteft for which they themfelves fuffered, and might not operate in the general fcale, to produce a beneficial effect with refpect to our particular interefts. The right honourable gentleman then alluded to the Emperor, and fpoke in very ftrong terms of his inability, from the want of pecuniary refources, to carry on the war. But admitting the truth of that argument in its fulleft extent, it did not go far enough to ferve the honourable gentleman's purpofe. For if this Houfe ftill retained the opinions they had fo often and fo diftinctly expreffed upon the fubject of this war, the natural conclufion to be drawn from the argument of the Emperor's pecuniary inability was, that Great Britain, who poffeffed refources of money, fhould by means of thofe refources enable the Emperor to bring his troops into the field. As to what the right honourable gentleman had contended about the neutrality, in which the King of Sardinia fhould have been permitted to remain, with refpect to France, he would only afk, whether in the particular fituation of that Monarch he would have been able to retain a *bona fide* neutrality; whether it would have been, as the right honourable gentleman expreffed, a neutrality and impartiality? It was a point at leaft in which neither we nor the King of Sardinia had any option, for the French declared war againft him. As to his being put into a ftate of neutrality now, the only means of doing it was to carry on the war with vigour, or his neutrality would neither be fafe to himfelf or his allies. The next point of the right honourable gentleman's fpeech referred to the declarations made by our minifters at foreign courts. He begged once for all to put in a proteft againft

that mode which gentlemen on the other side of the House had so frequently used, namely, that of selecting a particular passage from some of these state papers, and then charging it upon the Ministers at home. These papers were framed according to the exigency of circumstances, and at the discretion of the Envoy; Ministers at home had no share either in composing or in reviewing their contents; and if they should afterwards discover in them a careless or hasty expression, it was not to be supposed that they would very severely criticize, or very rigorously expose a fault which they might be apt to impute to excess of zeal for his Majesty's service. Whatever might be the strong language in which gentlemen might have thought proper to indulge themselves with respect to the conduct of the British government towards foreign nations, it would be found, when the proper period should arrive for investigation, to have been strictly conformable to the true spirit of the laws of nations, and founded upon principles acknowledged by the most respectable writers, and to have been all along conspicuously marked by moderation and forbearance. The right honourable gentleman had charged Ministers with having in the first instance treated America with insult, and afterwards soothed her by submission. In answer to this, he could only say, that the principle which had governed his Majesty's Ministers in their intercourse with other neutral powers, was the principle upon which they acted towards America. And when the treaty signed between that country and Great Britain was laid before the House (which should be done as soon as possible) it would then appear, whether there had been any inconsistency in the declarations of the British government, and whether the terms at last agreed upon had been accompanied on our part with any humiliation, or had not rather been dictated on both sides by a spirit of fairness and mutual accommodation. The right honourable gentleman then came to the consideration of that often disputed point, namely, the object of the war. Upon this subject he would not have intruded one single word upon the House, had it not been that the right honourable gentleman had, in some degree, shifted his ground. He (Mr. Fox) had stated, that there were two lines of conduct which Ministers might have adopted in the commencement of the war; each of these modes of conduct was attended by their respective advantages and disadvantages; but both of them he affirmed to be preferable to the line of conduct adopted by his Majesty's Ministers. The first of these modes was, by carrying on what he called a war *against* France; namely, to confine the exertions of this country simply to protect our allies, and to revenge the insults offered to us, without in any manner whatever interfer-

ing in the internal commotions which might prevail in France. The other mode suggested was that of carrying on a war *for* France; thus openly to avow that our efforts were directed to the formation of a regular government in France, and that our conquests were only made in trust for Louis the XVIIth. Either of these two systems might have been adopted, said the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox), with propriety, but our present system differing both, was radically wrong. The right honourable gentleman had this night abandoned all his old arguments, for he formerly used to contend that we could not interfere at all in the internal affairs of France, without violating every principle of justice and of the law of nations. But now the right honourable gentleman admits that it would have been proper to have carried on the war expressly for the restoration of Monarchy in France. With all possible respect for the right honourable gentleman's judgment, he thought that his Majesty's Ministers had conducted the war upon principles more consonant to good sense and policy, than either of the systems stated by that gentleman. They had entered into a war for the defence of this country, and for the protection of our allies, in the prosecution of which they did not by any specific declarations, as to the internal situation of France, prevent themselves from taking every possible advantage of any favourable occurrences which might happen in France. Nor did they state that the restoration of Monarchy, or any particular form of government in France, was a *sine qua non*, without which they would not make peace. This was the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers—this was the conduct which had frequently been explained to, and had as often received the approbation of the House of Commons; and he begged here, in the most distinct manner, to disavow that proposition laid down by the right honourable gentleman, that a nation on entering into a war was bound to state, in clear and positive terms, all its objects in the war, and by that means preclude itself from taking advantage of any fortuitous circumstances which might happen during its continuance. The right honourable gentleman did not recollect that both the grounds which he had submitted to Ministers, as an alternative, were extreme cases, and that they, from the nature of the situation in which they stood, might think proper to adopt a middle policy, to which the whole of their conduct might be found perfectly reconcilable. The madness of fighting to establish in France any particular form of government, had been uniformly disclaimed by Ministers. At the same time this was no reason why they should relinquish assistance, of which they had a right to avail themselves in every former war. The first great object was to

obtain for ourselves security, and it would have been so much the better if that object could have more effectually been accomplished by the establishment of a government in France, which seemed most likely to restore the country to tranquillity and happiness. As to the charge of misconduct in carrying on the war, which, if well founded, he admitted to form a proper object of inquiry, that point had been so often argued before, that he could say nothing new upon it. The repetition of the charge on the present occasion, he could not help observing, was an implied attack on the commanders and officers in the army and navy, who, by their gallant conduct, had deserved so well of their country. It was necessary for the defence of our own possessions, that we should carry on an offensive war against the French in the West Indies. Upon one point only he would detain the House for a few moments, and that was in reply to the charge made by the right honourable gentleman, of the want of attention in the Admiralty to protect the trade of Great Britain. The charge was partly founded upon the increase in the price of insurance. It was true that from some causes the price of insurance had increased, but there were many circumstances to be taken into consideration upon this subject. The great and unexampled extent of our commerce, which he had shewn in the former part of his speech; the almost total annihilation of the commerce of France, which led her to turn her attention to the equipment of privateers to plunder our trade, which swarmed in every sea. In these circumstances it was not to be wondered that they should have made several captures of our merchantmen, which however he still affirmed to be not more numerous than in proportion to the increase of our trade.

Another very important circumstance, Mr. Chancellor Pitt observed, was, that the enemy had hardly in any one instance contended for the empire of the sea; a consequence of which was, that as their fleet was seldom united in a body, it was the better enabled in small divisions to harrass our commerce. Added to all this, the enemy did not send any considerable naval force to the colonies, while we were obliged to send large squadrons; but notwithstanding all these concurrent circumstances, our trade was not in any instance neglected. It was true, that for a short period the French were masters of the channel, owing to the circumstance of Lord Howe's being obliged to put into port for the purpose of refitting, but even during that short period every possible precaution had been taken for the protection of our trade. When the right honourable gentleman entered into a comparison between the quantity of our tonnage in 1778, and the present period, he ought to have recollected that since that

time all the shipping of the United States of America was to be deducted. Upon the whole, the question for the consideration of the House was, whether or not they were to retract all the opinions which they had so often and so solemnly pronounced, and whether they would employ concession and submission as the most likely means to obtain an honourable, a secure, and a lasting peace. The right honourable gentleman had attempted, in the course of his speech, to confound every question of danger to be apprehended from the success of the French, and to confound all regular Government with the enemies of liberty. He had with the same anxiety, endeavoured to palliate all the excesses of the French, by calling them an enthusiasm in the cause of freedom. Entertaining such sentiments as these, it was natural for that right honourable gentleman to forget all our advantages, while he remembered, and often exaggerated our misfortunes. It was natural for him to lessen the value of our conquests, and to depreciate the splendour of victories; to represent our success as useless, but our defeat as fatal. Openly professing such sentiments, the House would not be surprised at such consequences. It was not indeed surprising that the right honourable gentleman, who had been averse to the origin and to the conduct of the war, should take the opportunity of a moment of delicacy and embarrassment to institute a motion of inquiry, which, if adopted, could only tend to damp the exertions, and lower the dignity of the country. Those gentlemen who had studiously dwelt on every misfortune of the British arms, and on every circumstance of temporary difficulty, but had with equal care avoided to mention any instance of the success of our armies, or the prosperity of the country, might be disposed to approve of the motion, and of the removal of Ministers from a situation which it was calculated to represent them as unqualified to hold. Other persons may perhaps think differently, and if they saw in the disasters that had happened, nothing but the misconduct of Ministers, if they could not trace recent calamities to any other source than the imprudence of their counsels, or the imbecillity of their efforts; if they could perceive no proofs of exertion at home, no instances of valour abroad, they would then be of opinion, that those Ministers ought to be removed from a situation which they could neither hold with safety nor with honour to the nation. But while they concurred in the necessity of their removal, it would not be to make room for those who had disapproved of the war from its commencement, and who, instead of meeting the crisis, would be disposed to shrink from it, but for persons better qualified to prosecute with vigour and effect, a war founded in justice,

and connected with the most important interests of the country. He concluded with moving, "That the House do now adjourn."

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that though he did not imagine that any addition could be made to the arguments which his right honourable friend had urged with so much ability and eloquence, by any exertions of his, yet he thought it necessary to address to the House a few observations on what had just fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was fully convinced, that the arguments of Mr. Fox had, in no one instance, been answered by the right honourable gentleman, whose talents and understanding were such, as seldom left him without resources on such occasions; he therefore had this additional reason to make him feel satisfied with the impressions which his right honourable friend's animated and brilliant speech had left on his mind; he was fully persuaded that it was unanswerable. The arguments of Mr. Pitt went the full length of contending, that no calamities which might befall the country, no neglect or misconduct of Ministers, however productive of the most mischievous and pernicious consequences, would justify a call upon the House, to inquire into the actual state of the nation, or to investigate the causes of such calamities, and the effects of such misconduct. He had, with great ingenuity and art, passed by and neglected the whole of the strong arguments which had been so forcibly urged to induce the House to agree to a motion of so beneficial a tendency; and not only had he done so, but had perfectly mistated and misrepresented the whole of those arguments he had noticed. The question which had been put to the House for their investigation was, whether or not so great a portion of calamity had been suffered by the country during the progress of this unhappy war, as to shew that blame must be attached somewhere; and whether it was not becoming the dignity and character of the House to inquire where that blame lay. The right honourable gentleman, however, had stated, that the motion was brought forward for the purpose of reversing the determination of the House; and that it was too late, because the effect of it would be to make the House retract the whole of the declarations they had made from the beginning of the session. This was a gross misrepresentation; for the question of war and peace had been carefully kept out of sight during the whole of the speech of his right honourable friend. The House, indeed, had been called upon to inquire whether they chose to pursue the same object by the same means, and whether they would leave the execution of their designs in the same hands in which they had so long been vested. At the conclusion of his speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had allowed that misconduct of Mi-

nisters was a proper object of inquiry, and that if they should be proved to have misconducted themselves, that a motion ought to be made for their removal; he at the same time insinuated, that their successors should not be persons who would disgrace the country by their conduct. It was no difficult matter to find men who would not disgrace the country so much as the present Administration, even he believed in the lines of opposition. The removal of His Majesty's Ministers undoubtedly was the tendency of his right honourable friend's motion, not, however, in the hasty and precipitate manner proposed by the Minister, but after a deliberate inquiry into their conduct, and a serious investigation of the degree of blame which they had incurred by the calamities and disasters which the country had experienced. After the Chancellor of the Exchequer had observed, that those who thought with his right honourable friend as to the conduct of Ministers, and the want of vigour manifested in our operations both by land and sea, ought to move for immediate removal; he had said that there was an implied attack on the commanders and officers of the army and navy; nothing could be more unfounded than this assertion, for Mr. Fox had particularly stated, that he imputed the whole to the negligence and folly of Administration. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had contended that this discussion ought to have been brought forward previous to the vote of supply; he however should wish to know what that gentleman would have said if this had been done. Would he not have said, that it could only proceed from a factious and turbulent spirit to agitate a question of such a nature while the enemy is at the door, and the House had not granted those aids which could alone enable the country to resist the dangers which threatened them? He seemed therefore to think, that after a supply had been granted, all inquiry into the conduct of Ministers was at an end; as if a supply for the immediate defence of the country were to be an act of indemnity for all the misconduct and imprudence which had been the cause of such mischievous effects to the country. That such inquiry was necessary, he was fully persuaded; he did not believe there were ten persons, either in or out of the House, who did not think that the war had been scandalously misconducted. The imagination of man could not conceive another country where Ministers could retain their situation after a scene of calamities unparalleled in the annals of Europe, and a continuance of misconduct unexampled in history.

What answers could possibly be given by Gentlemen to their Constituents, when asked, why after the numerous and heavy burthens which had been laid on the people, the House had not thought

proper to institute an inquiry into the conduct of Government? It might certainly happen, that the events which had taken place, might be such, as human wisdom and human exertions could not prevent; he however believed, that this would not be found to be the case; yet he saw no other answer that could be given to gentlemens' constituents, if the Committee were refused, than that they had not considered the matter. The same answer must be returned, if it was asked, why no inquiry had been made into the transaction with the King of Prussia, as also the conduct of the Empress of Russia, who had fulfilled no article of her treaty, or the reasons why no measures had been taken to enforce her compliance with her agreement. If it should be enquired of them, whether the retreat of the army on the continent, which was by no means dishonourable to the officers who conducted it, was not the effect of the mismanagement of Ministers? and they should answer as they must, that they did not think it worth while to inquire into this, and the various other misfortunes which had attended us; would it not degrade the House in the eyes of their Constituents? It would be better to suspend the meeting, nay the very existence of the House of Commons, if they neglected to exercise one of the chief duties of their situation, that of inquiry into the conduct of Administration. Another part of Mr. Fox's speech had been treated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a very loose manner, as if it were too insignificant and trifling to deserve the smallest attention; he meant the conduct of our Ambassadors to the Neutral Powers. The uniformity of their conduct in all the instances which had been mentioned by his honourable friend, though it had not been openly avowed, that they had acted conformably to their instructions, yet tended to show it was a part of the system; and indeed the right honourable gentleman himself had in some measure allowed it to be a fair inference, when he attempted to prove, that it was not inconsistent with the law of nations. Their moderation to neutral nations had been extolled; but what was that moderation? They had undoubtedly acted with temper and decency towards the powerful neutral nations; but as to the small ones, such as Genoa and Tuscany, they had been bullied with the most outrageous insolence to join the Union, which must have infallibly produced their ruin. It had been the boast of Ministers, and had been stated in the King's speech as a matter of praise, that this country had kept a strict neutrality at the early periods of the contest with France. In what book of the Law of Nations could it be found, that when a country was forced into a war, as Ministers asserted we had been, it became a crime for other nations to preserve a neutrality, which had

been the boast of the country supposed to be forced into the war? Another mode of shifting the principal question had been adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; he had dwelt so long on the topic of the state of the sister kindom, that any person who had not heard his right honourable friend would have supposed, that an inquiry into the state of that country had been the sole object of the motion. Unfortunately, however, it was in the recollection of every gentleman in the House, that full three hours of his friend's speech had elapsed previously to his saying any thing on that part of the subject; it must also be remembered, that notice had been given of the motion at a period when the ill effects of the misconduct of Ministers towards Ireland were not so well known; therefore the whole of the declaration on that subject fell entirely to the ground.

As a collateral foundation for inquiry, this subject was peculiarly proper; for when only this one circumstance remained to complete their climax of folly, that they should contrive to place the Irish in such a siuation as to hazard, through their irritation, a separation of the empire, such a circumstance was a great aggravation of the rest of their misconduct. The Minister had affected a great deal of delicacy about the independence of Ireland; did he mean to contend that no degree of misconduct, with regard to that country, could authorize an inquiry in this? Whether, however, we considered the persons acting there as acting in no other light than as an ambassador, and that his own misconduct, or the instructions of the Minister at home, had produced consequences which were likely to effect a rupture, he conceived that it was proper to consider whether the Minister or the Ambassador ought to be impeached.

This was the second attempt which had been made during the present Administration to deprive Ireland of some of its rights: in the year 1785, the Irish Propositions, as they were called, were brought forward, which were an invidious attempt to deprive them of rights, under pretence of giving them some commercial advantages, which were perfectly fallacious. Ireland, though she had suffered the greatest injustice from the Government of this country for a very long period, yet when she began to receive a tardy and lingering justice, generously blotted out all remembrance of her injuries; therefore a peculiar nicety ought to be observed in our conduct towards her; notwithstanding which, there never was any transactions marked with stronger features of inhumanity and injustice, wherever the guilt lay, than the conduct observed towards her in the late affair. The two alternatives stated by his right honourable friend, and which had been treated by the Chancellor of the

Exchequer as abfurd, appeared to him to be completely clear and diftinct; and he thought their policy and prudence had been fhewn by the ftrongeft arguments.

It had been afked, with fome triumph, if we were to give up indemnity and reparation. As to reparation, he conceived, that if we had fucceeded, there would have been full reparation and ample punifhment; for what more could be expected than the overthrow of our adverfaries as a punifhment to them, and reparation to us? It was folly, in order to roufe the people of this country to exertion, to attempt to unite two objects not reconcileable. The mercenary fyftem of indemnity firft begun by Great Britain, fhewing the hypocrify of her former declarations of regard only to the order of fociety, and the interefts of religion and morality, had given caufe for diftruft and want of cordiality among the allies. It was not furprifing, after Great Britain had taken the Weft Indies and other valuable poffeffions for herfelf, that Germany and Pruffia fhould take what they could for themfelves. It was natural, though not honourable, unlefs Princes had different rules of honour from other perfons, for our allies to endeavour to get from us what they could, as a compenfation for what we were taking for ourfelves. The fituation of our allies was a very material confideration, becaufe there was a profpect of our carrying on the war by ourfelves; nothing was ftated of the chance of any co-operation with us in the enfuing campaign.

With refpect to population, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had faid, that 12,000 was a fmall proportion; but he chofe to forget, that this was only in one parifh. The wafte of men, in fact, was incalculable; the returns of loffes were fallacious, as containing only a partial account of thofe who perifhed. That this war was attended with a wafte of men which we were incapable of bearing, facts fpoke for themfelves, of which any one would be convinced who looked at the things called *men*, who were now enlifted; the great proportion of boys and old men fhewed that we were nearly exhaufted. As to the great increafe of commerce, it fhould be obferved, that accidental circumftances had given a very unnatural increafe to it; for every capture of fhips with exported goods on board, neceffarily caufed a farther exportation to fupply the deficiency. As to the refources of the country, he had never been fo fanguine as his right honourable friend; there was one refource, however, which would be highly grateful to the country. He did not difapprove of the taxes brought forward this year, upon the whole, confidering the ftate of the country; perhaps lefs exceptionable could fcarcely be found. The refource he wifhed to have

recourſe to, viz. a tax on places and penſions, had excited indignation in the minds of the Miniſters as low and vulgar, and perhaps would have the ſame effect again. If, as it had been ſtated, that gentlemen would ſerve their country, without at the ſame time ſerving themſelves, we certainly had at preſent a moſt gentlemanly Adminiſtration; and one gentleman (Mr. Secretary Dundas) is three times a greater gentleman than any of them, for he has three places! Whether upon this topic gentlemen had made up their minds, he could not tell, but there was yet time for a more explicit declaration. He wiſhed to know what were the views of Adminiſtration as to the Government of France; did they ſpeculate on the deſtruction of the Republic and reſtoration of Monarchy? As for himſelf, he explicitly declared he neither looked for, nor wiſhed any ſuch thing, having the intereſts of the country at heart; he conſidered the natural conſequences of ſuch an attempt to be a lingering perſeverance in the war, which would ſhake the foundation on which the principles and ſecurity of our conſtitution were laid. If we hoped to excite civil diſcords in France, and depended on the ſuppoſed Loyaliſts in that country, the conſequences would be, a long, bloody, and lingering conteſt, accumulation of debt, annihilation of commerce, and finally, deſtruction of the conſtitution. One of two alternatives would be the conſequence in France, either a ferocious and ſanguinary Republic would be eſtabliſhed, which would deſtroy order in Europe, or the old and inveterate enemy of England, the ancient deſpotiſm, would be reſtored; both of which would be equally fatal to us. If the principles of the preſent Government in France were incompatible with order, the beſt way, he thought, would be to leave them to themſelves, as the moſt likely method of correcting their errors. The great misfortune of the country was, that the Miniſter's pride ſtood in the way of the intereſts of the people; for he knew that he muſt acknowledge the Republic, in order to make peace; he was, however, only delaying the hour of his ſhame. If the Committee were allowed, he had no doubt that every thing his right honourable friend had ſaid, would appear to be true, and that the reſult would be a diſpoſition to peace.

Mr. CANNING ſaid, that if the ſpeech of the right honourable gentleman, who made the motion, had left on his mind the impreſſion that no ſuch inquiry as that which he propoſed was neceſſary, and that the preſent ſtate of affairs in the ſiſter kingdom was in truth the only reaſon why ſuch an inquiry had been propoſed, the ſpeech of his honourable friend (Mr. Sheridan), who had juſt

ſat down, had certainly had no other effect than to confirm that impreſſion.

It appeared to him moſt plain that the critical ſtate of Ireland was the only thing that had produced the motion; as not one other topic had been introduced, upon which the Houſe had not already, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, come to a ſolemn and repeated deciſion. For this reaſon, he certainly ſhould not preſume to trouble the Houſe with any remarks upon other ſubjects; but confining himſelf ſolely to that of Ireland, he ſhould be contented to obſerve, that the ſituation of affairs there, ſo far from being a ſufficient inducement to him to agree to a Committee, would, even if the Committee were on other grounds deſirable, rather operate to diſſuade him from going into it at the preſent moment. He did not mean to contend that the King's Miniſters were leſs reſponſible to this Houſe for their conduct with regard to Ireland, than to any other part of the empire, or to deny, in the ſmalleſt degree, that the Houſe had a clear right to examine into their conduct in that particular. But he muſt contend, that it was a right to be exerciſed in the preſent inſtance with much caution and delicacy, from the ſtate in which the buſineſs now ſtood, and alſo leſt it ſhould lead to diſcuſſions immediately interfering with the ſupremacy of the Iriſh Parliament. He did not ſee how, at this moment, it would be poſſible to go into an examination of Iriſh affairs, without in ſome degree agitating the queſtion of the Catholic emancipation; and that meaſure, in the ſtage in which it now ſtood, he conceived it was not our province to agitate; for whatever might be our opinion upon that ſubject—whether we ſhould agree with that part of the Iriſh nation who thought that more could not ſafely be conceded to the Catholics, than had been conceded in the laſt Adminiſtration of that country, or whether we were prepared to ſay, in the language of an eminent character in that country, (Mr. Grattan) or that which had lately been preſented, as his, to the Public, "Let us embrace, and greatly emancipate;"—whatever might be our opinion (and he did not mean in the ſmalleſt degree to anticipate which way it would go) we could not eaſily declare that opinion at this time, without either lowering our own dignity, or trenching upon that of the Parliament of Ireland. As a Member of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, he was againſt diſcuſſing, as in a Debating Society, what it was not in their power to decide; and as a friend to the independence of the Legiſlature of Ireland, he could not conſent to come to a deciſion in that Houſe, which might have the appearance of anticipating the judgement, and dictating the determination of the Iriſh Parliament.

There were but one or two ſentiments of his honourable friend

who ſpoke laſt, unconnected with this queſtion of Ireland, upon which he ſhould trouble the Houſe with any obſervation. The honourable gentleman confeſſed that he conſidered the motion in no other light than as a motion for the removal of Miniſters. In this view, he could not but think that it did come forward at rather an unſeaſonable period. The removal of the exiſting Miniſters was intended, no doubt, to make room for others, who would purſue an oppoſite line of conduct, and whoſe firſt object would conſequently be a negociation for peace, and if ſo, it would ſurely have been more rational to have attempted to effect it, before the Houſe had ſanctioned their paſt conduct by its approbation—before it had entruſted to their hands, by ſuch large and liberal ſupplies, the means of continuing the proſecution of the war. But it ſeems, in no other country than this, could Miniſters have continued in office after ſuch repeated failures and diſgraces. The reaſon of this difference between this and other countries is obvious; in arbitrary Governments, where the people are admitted into no ſhare or knowledge of the plans of action, but are left to form their judgement of the propriety of any line of conduct ſolely from the event—it is very natural, that being thus circumſcribed in the means of forming their opinion, they ſhould form it haſtily and arbitrarily, and, knowing no other criterion than ſucceſs, ſhould conclude that what has failed in the execution, muſt have been wrong in the plan, and, as ſuch, ought to bring puniſhment upon its adviſers. But in a free country, where the people have the ſprings and motives of action, as well as the action itſelf, brought before their eyes—where they go hand in hand with their Repreſentatives, and their Repreſentatives with the Executive Government, in weighing the propriety of meaſures, as they ariſe, and while they are purſuing—it is not there natural or neceſſary that they ſhould judge ſo haſtily from the event alone, but that having the power of weighing all circumſtances together, they ſhould affix blame to failure, only where failure may ſeem to have flowed from miſconduct, and not from miſchance.

Another, and indeed the only new temptation, which the right honourable gentleman has held out to induce us to go into the Committee, is, that there will be an opportunity of propoſing in that Committee a new reſource for the carrying on of the war, by a tax, in imitation of that ſaid to have been lately laid in Spain, of 25 per cent. on all places and penſions. The mention of this ſubject certainly never fails to have conſiderable ſucceſs, becauſe it carries with it an eaſy and obvious attack upon all gentlemen who hold offices under Government; and perhaps there may be a degree of ridicule attached to any thing like a ſerious anſwer on the ſubject. But in

the first place, it may not be amiss to remind gentlemen that the tax intended to be proposed, does exist, and has existed in this country, even to a larger proportion than it has lately been laid in that country which it is proposed to us to imitate. [Mr. Canning alluded to the land-tax of 4s. in the pound paid by all places and pensions above a certain value, and two other taxes amounting to about 1s. 6d. in the pound, making in all 5s. 6d., something more than 25 per cent.] In the next place, if gentlemen really mean to carry this principle to its extent, and to contend that no salary ought to be annexed to office, and no remuneration granted to those who have served the State, and if they really think that in doing this, they should throw an additional weight into the popular scale of the constitution, it may perhaps be worth their while to consider, whether this might not have a contrary effect—whether it might not tend to exclude from the political service of the State all but men of large hereditary property; whether, in short, as the right honourable gentleman well observed the beauty of the constitution to consist not so much in any nice theory, or fancied balance of powers and privileges, as in its extended practical utility; whether that equalizing principle, which gives to plebeians, and the sons of plebeians, the same opportunities of exertion in the State's service, with the proudest branches of the Aristocracy, which opens the doors of the Senate and of the Cabinet, not more to ancestral dignity and hereditary worth, than to acquired eminence and low-born virtue, be not that principle, which tends more than any other to cherish talents, and freedom, and honest emulation among us—the principle in which flows the very life-blood of the constitution.

Mr. Canning said, that perceiving the House to be impatient for the question, he would not detain them by any farther observations, but conclude with saying, that as he had heard nothing proposed as an inducement to go into a Committee, but either such subjects as had already been repeatedly determined in the House, or such as it would be in the highest degree impolitic to bring forward at present for discussion, he should give his vote for the adjournment.

Mr. BASTARD thought all inquiry respecting Ireland at this time improper, and could not therefore vote for the motion. There were, however, many subjects that in his mind called for serious inquiry, particularly respecting the conduct of the Admiralty Board; the advantages which the French had gained at sea, and the circumstances from which the fleet was so long detained in port, the result of what had been done by the Commissioners of Public Ac-

counts on the subject of pensions, he could not agree with those gentlemen who thought that taxing places and pensions was any desperate sign of our resources.

Mr. WILBERFORCE wished to say a few words in order to explain the reasons for his vote, that he might not be misunderstood. Much as he admired the uncommon eloquence of the right honourable mover, yet, at the conclusion of his brilliant and animated speech, he felt prepared to vote against the motion. He differed in the conclusions which had been drawn by the right honourable gentleman; he thought the discussion of the affairs of Ireland at present might be attended with dangerous consequences. He was not prepared to vote for a removal of His Majesty's Ministers, or to substitute others in their place to carry on the war. At the same time he must also state, that he differed from his right honourable friend, when he stated the situation of the country to be the same as it was on the first day of the session, he thought it was materially different. Though peace was desirable then, it was much more so now, and at the same time more attainable from the events that had since occurred. The civil war in France was at an end, the situation of the West Indies, the retreat from Holland, and above all, the disposition of the present Government of France, tended, in his opinion, to facilitate negociation. These were topics which he was aware did not come properly before the House now, but the time would come, even this session, when they would be brought forward in the shape of a regular motion, which, if nobody else did, he would think it his duty to make.

Mr. FOX then rose, and made a reply to the following effect: I feel it necessary to say a few words in answer to what I have heard to-night, and chiefly by the right honourable gentleman who moved the question of adjournment. Gentlemen have partly misunderstood my meaning, if they consider that I have wished for a Committee to inquire into the state of the nation on any one particular point, or that I wish particularly to agitate topics of war or peace, which have been already discussed in this House, in which I have not had the good fortune to agree with the majority. I meant, by moving for the Committee, to inquire into the conduct of the war in general, in order that we might see how His Majesty's Ministers have acted. Gentlemen on the other side say, they do not wish to turn out Ministers. They say too, that they do not wish to inquire into the conduct of the war. That is natural enough, the meaning of it is obvious. They do no wish for an inquiry, that is, they know that an inquiry is likely to influence the opinion of this House upon the conduct of the Ministers, and that after being compelled to

censure them, we shall, in justice to our own consistency, be obliged to vote for an Address to the Throne for their removal. I said that this country was in a situation that, on the face of things, called for an inquiry, and therefore I moved for it, and I believe that the result would be, that this House could not, consistently with its own honour, refuse a vote of censure on Ministers, and an Address for their removal, and therefore it is not mysterious that some gentlemen should be unwilling to go into an inquiry. But are we indeed to go hand in hand with the Ministers, and are not to inquire into their conduct, lest the result should be, that they must be removed? Are we indeed so very complaisant to Administration, that rather than they should lose their power, the country shall be lost? The right honourable gentleman has insinuated something like a hint, that if he and his associates were dismissed to-morrow, and others more able were appointed in their stead, neither His Majesty, nor the Public, would look to those who support the present motion, for their assistance. Now, Sir, upon that subject, I have no objection to say what I feel, and what, indeed, I partly expressed on a former occasion If this war be to be carried on with more vigour than it has been on the part of this country, and by men of greater capacity than the present Ministers, but on the same principles as it has been hitherto avowed, and for the same object—and I know that there are many men who are friends enough to this war, to carry it on upon such terms—but all I can say is, that there is not any thing that His Majesty can offer to me—No, Sir, nor any thing that any Prince in Europe can offer to me, that should induce me to take any share in it. But is that, or can it be a reason that this House should not inquire into the conduct of Ministers, who have brought upon this country such calamities, calamities that have never been equalled in any period of its history? Even those who were originally, and who may be still, against any terms of negociation for peace, should vote for an inquiry into the conduct of the war, and follow it up, if necessary, for an Address to His Majesty, to appoint some persons more likely to conduct it with success. The right honourable gentleman has said, that he is not answerable for what might be done by a Minister abroad upon some particular occasion—an expression that is unworthy of any man who calls himself a Minister. The declaration of a Minister abroad may create a war between two nations. Is it to be indured in this House, that the right honourable gentleman should say, "such a declaration was not mine, but was the declaration of Mr. Drake, or of any other Ambassador?" The right honourable gentleman has told the House to-night, that Ministers have acted with regard to neutral powers

according to the ſpirit of the law of nations, and that will appear evident when the ſubject comes to be inquired into, and yet, with the ſame breath, he tells the Houſe he will not conſent to inquire into it at all. Then he tells us, that this is a buſineſs which ought to have been inquired into before this, and much ſtreſs is laid on the time in which I have made my motion. Why, Sir, we have not been negligent on this ſide of the Houſe in bringing forward queſtions upon the war. A motion was made early in the ſeſſion, for a negociation for peace, which was negatived. Then came public buſineſs, the budget, and other ſubjects. But it is ſaid I have brought on my motion on account of the critical ſituation of Ireland. Now, Sir, with regard to that, I had formed a reſolution of bringing this motion forward before the affairs of that country wore ſo ſerious an aſpect as they do now, and before I heard one word of what has lately happened there. I do not recollect the particular day, but I am ſure the fact is ſo, and I believe I gave notice in this Houſe of my intention to move for a Committee on the State of the Nation, before the late accounts from Ireland arrived. I cannot help alluding to what one honourable gentleman has ſaid to-night with regard to Ireland, he ſaid that he ſhould vote for this inquiry, had it not been that I ſaid I ſhould move a reſolution in the Committee upon that ſubject. Why, if ſo, Sir, let him vote for the inquiry into the ſtate of the nation generally, and let him vote againſt the reſolution with regard to Ireland when that comes to be propoſed. With reſpect to Ireland, I conceive that what has happened has ariſen out of the fault of Miniſters in this country. A great miſchief to this country has been produced by the miſconduct of Miniſters, and I ſay there ſhould be an inquiry into that buſineſs, for the particular purpoſe of knowing who is really to blame, in order that we may proceed to cenſure, and, if neceſſary, to puniſh ſuch Miniſters. On the conduct of the Lord Lieutenant, I can only ſay that I have a ſtrong opinion, that when this buſineſs is fully inveſtigated, the reſult will be to the honour of that nobleman, and to the ſhame and confuſion of the Miniſters in this country. That is my opinion, but what ſignifies what my opinion is, this Houſe has no buſineſs with the opinions of individuals. It is their duty to inquire into the fact. But it ſeems there is a great delicacy upon this ſubject. Now, Sir, I am of opinion there ſhould be none, for what any Miniſter does in his official ſituation is fair matter of inquiry in this Houſe, whether it regards this country or Ireland. I have heard it ſaid, that we ſhould not interfere with the Parliament of Ireland, and that my motion has that tendency. I mean no ſuch thing. I only mean to inquire into the conduct of Mini-

fters. These subjects are debated in the Cabinet, and perhaps sometimes particulars respecting acts of Parliament in Ireland are debated in the Cabinet, now I want to know, although I would not have this House interfere in the least degree, nor have we the power of interfering with the Parliament of Ireland, but I want to know, I say, upon what principle it is that the Cabinet should do more upon that topic than this House, or than the Parliament of this country. I see no such principle, but I know, that with regard to any recommendation from the Throne to the Parliament of this or of that country, that is a matter for which Ministers are liable to be called to account, for it is Ministers who advise that recommendation. If it were not so, let me ask what might the consequence be. Ministers may so conduct themselves that the situation of the two countries may be in danger, most imminent danger, and can that happen, and yet that we shall be told that we cannot interfere? Sir, I do assert that we have the power, and that we ought to exercise it, of calling for an inquiry, yes, Sir, and to proceed to punishment for such malignant misconduct on those who have been the cause of it. That such has been the conduct of Ministers is undeniable and undenied. I have been told that I am putting Ireland in danger by what I have said to-night, pray, Sir, who has put Ireland in danger most, I who have moved for an inquiry into the state of it; or those who by their mischievous conduct have made that inquiry necessary—I who respect both that and this country as much as any man in this House, or those who conduct themselves as if they regarded the interest of neither, when held in competition with their own power?—Sir, I say I have a right to call on Ministers to answer for the danger in which they have involved the two countries, and which I believe to be prejudicial equally to both. I wish to know whether it is to be laid down as a general principle, that the general failure of the army, and the general mischief which the conduct of Ministers has occasioned, are not to be considered as *prima facie* evidence of the necessity of inquiring into their misconduct. The right honourable gentleman says, that my conduct, if not counteracted, would tend to lower the dignity of this country. That a man, who has himself so lowered the dignity of this country, who has brought it to the verge of ruin by the obstinacy and the madness of his conduct, should presume even to think that any body else could lower it more than he has, is, I own, rather extraordinary. I desire to know, and I ask the Minister to inform me, if he can, I ask any man in this House to inform me, when it was that I endeavoured to lower the dignity of this country? He alluded to the present war, what has been his conduct, and what did I ad-

vise this House upon that subject? I would have offered reasonable terms to France before the war commenced, and for that purpose I proposed a negociation; he affected to disdain it. What has been the event? Will even he himself now attempt to say that there is a chance of making so good a peace now, as we might have had then? Does he even hope he can ever negociate with the French in a situation less dishonourable to us than the present? I would have negociated with them before a fight. He must negociate after a fight, and after a defeat too, if he negociates at all. I would have negociated with them while we were rich in our resources and our commerce was intire. He must negociate when both are desperately impaired. I would have negociated before our allies were defeated, and while they were yet supposed to be in union. He must negociate after victory has been declared in favour of the enemy, and the allies have been deserting us and one another. After this, that such a man could possibly suppose he is supporting the dignity of this country, and that he should put himself on a footing with any gentleman, who has not the misfortune to be in the present Administration, is an extraordinary thing, but it is an assumption of merit which is peculiar to His Majesty's present Council. In the mean time, it is with heartfelt satisfaction I reflect, that in every thing I ever proposed, I have supported the dignity of this country. I regard it as a circumstance of good fortune to me, that I never gave an opinion by which one drop of British blood was shed, or any of its treasure squandered. It has been my fortune to oppose, perhaps unsuccessfully, that which brought this country into a disastrous situation. I mean the American war—a war disastrous indeed, but after all the calamity which it produced, we were happy then compared with the situation of this country now. Good God, Sir, that there should be a moment when the American war should be a state of happiness when compared to it, and yet so it is, so any person will find it to be on examining them both. The calamities of the American war bear no resemblance to the present. Does the Minister deny the fact, he has never yet said it, and I should be glad to hear him aver it now, for I am ready to answer him if he does? The right honourable gentleman has thought fit to insinuate that those with whom I act, and myself, never mention the glory of the British arms. The fact is notoriously otherwise. There is not one instance in which we have withheld praise from any of our gallant heroes; on the contrary, we have been proud to praise them. That right honourable gentleman was not a Member of this House in the time of the American war, but if he will take the trouble of inquiring, he may be easily informed of the part I took in praising

the gallantry of the British troops. America, however, was lost—we are now fearing lest we should lose Ireland, and I own to you, Sir, I tremble for the fate of Great Britain. Is it then a thing to be endured?—to hear a man accuse others of endeavouring to lower the dignity of this country, when we are doing all we can to save it, and are calling for an inquiry into the conduct of that very man who has brought us to the very last stake, in which we are now contending for our very existence, and shall it be still a question who is the best friend to the honour and interests of Great Britain? This inquiry may not take place, but I am very glad the honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) has intimated his intention of bringing the subject in some other shape forward. He can do it with great propriety. But I wish again to ask, if this Committee be not granted, what I am to say to my constituents if they ask—who are the allies of this country? What is our relative situation with the King of Prussia?—What with the Emperor?—What has been the conduct of Administration with regard to the war?—What is the situation of Ireland?—To all these questions I can only answer, "I cannot tell you any thing of these things. The House of Commons would not grant me an inquiry; they went hand in hand with the Minister." I wish the House of Commons to have credit with the people. I know there are enemies to this House, and if you refuse this Committee to inquire into the state of the nation, you will furnish more arguments against the House of Commons, than any that ever wrote upon the subject.

The House divided on the question of adjournment.

Ayes 219, Noes 63. Majority 156.

Correct LIST of the MINORITY who voted on Mr. FOX's Motion.

| | |
|---|---|
| Antonie, Lee | Great Marlow |
| Anson, Thomas | Litchfield |
| Aubrey, Sir John | Clitheroe |
| Baring, Sir Francis | Wycomb |
| Baring, John | Exeter |
| Barclay, George | Bridport |
| Barham, J. F. | Stockbridge |
| Bouverie, Hon. Edward | Northampton |
| Bouverie, Hon. William | Old Sarum |
| Burch, J. R. | Thetford |
| Byng, George | Middlesex County |
| Clayton, Sir R. | Blechingly |
| Church, J. B. | Wendover |
| Coke, Thomas | Norfolk County |
| Colhoun, William | Bedford |

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|---|---|
| Courtenay, John | Tamworth |
| Crewe, John | Cheſhire County |
| Creſpigny, T. C. | Sudbury |
| Fitzpatrick, General | Taviſtock |
| Fletcher, Sir Henry | Cumberland County |
| Fox, Right Hon. C. J. | Weſtminſter |
| Gaſcoigne, Sir Thomas | Arundel |
| Grey, Charles | Northumberland County |
| Halhed, N. B. | Lymington |
| Hare, James | Knareſborough |
| Howard, Henry | Glouceſter |
| Huſſey, William | New Sarum |
| Jervoiſe, C. Jervoiſe | Yarmouth, Iſle of Wight |
| Kemp, Thomas | Lewes |
| Knight, R. Payne | Ludlow |
| Langſton, John | Bridgewater |
| Lemon, Sir William | Cornwall County |
| Long, Samuel | Ilcheſter |
| Ludlow, Earl | Huntingdonſhire |
| Martin, James | Tewkeſbury |
| M'Leod, General N. | Inverneſsſhire |
| Maitland, Colonel | Jedburgh, &c. |
| Milnes, R. S. | York |
| Milner, Sir William | ditto |
| North, Dudley | Great Grimſby |
| Pierſe, Henry | Northallerton |
| Philips, J. G. | Caermarthen |
| Plumer, William | Hertfordſhire |
| Powlett, W. Powlett | Totneſs |
| Ridley, Sir M. W. | Newcaſtle |
| Robinſon, M | Boroughbridge |
| Ruſſell, Lord William | Surry County |
| St. John, Hon St. Andrew | Bedfordſhire |
| Sheridan, R. B. | Stafford |
| Shuckburgh, Sir George | Warwickſhire |
| Smith, William | Camelford |
| Smith, General | Wareham |
| Spencer, Lord Robert | ditto |
| Sturt, Charles | Bridport |
| Taylor, M. A. | Poole |
| Tarleton, General | Liverpool |
| Thorold, Sir John | Lincoln County |
| Townſhend, Lord John | Knareſborough |
| Vyner, Robert | Thirſk |
| Vyner, Rt. jun. | Lincoln County |
| Walwyn, James | Hereford |
| Weſtern, C C. | Malden |
| Whitbread, Samuel, jun. | Bedford |
| Wilbraham, Roger | Bodmyn |
| Wynne, R. W. | Denbeigh County |

TELLERS.

Charles Grey, R. B. Sheridan

*Wednesday, 25th March.*

General TARLETON moved, that there be laid before the House, a list of all Members whose names were sent to the Post-Master-General, as being disabled by bodily infirmity, for writing directions to letters.—Ordered.

Mr. WHITBREAD moved, that a copy of the Memorial, and also the Commissioners Report relative to the claim of 15,000l. for Colonel Fullarton, be printed.—Ordered.

The House having resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of ways and means for raising a supply,

Mr Chancellor PITT moved a resolution, That the sum of 758,000l. be granted to His Majesty, to be raised by way of lottery, to consist of 50,000 tickets, at 15l. 3s. 5d. per ticket, which is 258,000l. more than has been usually raised by a lottery.—The resolution passed.

He then moved some modification of the duty on Life Insurances; the substance was, that instead of laying it on the premium, as at first proposed, it was imposed on the capital insured.

This produced a short conversation, which was supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Hussey, Mr. Alderman Anderson, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; after which the resolution was agreed to.

*Thursday, 26th March.*

Mr Chancellor PITT brought up a message from His Majesty, the substance of which was, that His Majesty, relying on the attachment and zeal of his faithful Commons for the vigorous prosecution of the war in which we are engaged, recommends to them to make provision for the extraordinary expence which may be incurred, and to take such measures as the exigency of the times may require.

The message was referred to a Committee of Supply.

The Report of the Committee of Ways and Means was brought up.

On reading the resolution respecting the duty on Life Insurances,

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he had considered of the objections which had been urged against this tax, and they appeared to him to have so much weight that she should be glad to forego the measure if that could be done without any public inconvenience, and he was happy to say this was the case in the present instance, for the sum which would be produced beyond the estimate on the additional duty on spirits in Scotland would be more than equal to the sum intended to be raised by the Life Insurance Duty. He therefore moved that the resolution be withdrawn.

Mr. HUSSEY ſaid, he felt great ſatisfaction at the conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had no doubt that he alſo would feel ſatisfaction in future, for having acted as he had now done.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HENNIKER MAJOR gave notice, that on the 14th of April he ſhould move for an inquiry into the cauſe of the delay of the Court Martial which was to ſit on the conduct of Captain Molloy.

Mr. BAKER ſaid he hoped the honourable gentleman would conſider what he was about more maturely before he brought forward any ſuch motion.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR ſaid, nothing could be more improper than ſuch a motion as the right honourable gentleman propoſed, it was peculiarly the buſineſs of the Executive Power, and he truſted, no attempts would be made to interfere with that, in the preſent ſituation of the country.

Mr MAJOR withdrew this notice, in conſequence of theſe repreſentations.

Mr. W. DUNDAS gave notice, that to-morrow he ſhould move for leave to bring in a bill to enforce the delivery of election writs in Scotland. He had no doubt this would meet with univerſal concurrence, when he ſtated that he did it in conſequence of a recommendation from the Chair upon a late affair (the Kirkcudbright election.)

A motion was made for the ſecond reading of the bill for the better obſervance of the Lord's Day.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR ſaid, that he roſe with the intention of moving, that the ſecond reading be deferred to this day ſix months, and he ſhould in a very few words ſtate the grounds for his motion. He felt confident, that when the Houſe heard his reaſons, they would not be willing to let this bill proceed, they would not wiſh to extend the act of 29 Cha. 2 ſo far as to make a breach of it puniſhable by fine and impriſonment, and to ſubject the perſon offending to an indictment as for a miſdemeanor. He believed he was as well attached to a proper obſervance of the Lord's Day as any man; but his objection to this bill was, that if it paſſed it would operate oppreſſively only on the middling claſs of the people. If the Houſe were really zealous for the obſervance of the Lord's Day, why did they not go to houſes of luxury, to clubs, and the dwellings of the higher ranks? Perſons of rank and fortune had ſervants to dreſs their hair on a Sunday, in order that they might appear decent at church; but the middling ranks were obliged to

have a hair-dresser. It was true that hair-dressing was not a matter of necessity, but it was of decency, and he thought it creditable to the country that persons of all ranks should appear clean and decent in their attendance on public worship. By the act of Charles II. hair-dressers were liable to a penalty of 5s. but by this act to a large fine and imprisonment. Gentlemen could not wish to subject persons to such penalties for a laudable attention to decency. Many of the lower classes of the people did not get their wages till a very late hour on a Saturday night· and by this act if they should buy a piece of beef on Sunday, they would be liable to be indicted, fined and imprisoned. It might be said, this was a work of necessity; but still they were liable to be indicted, and he did not like subjecting them to all the inconveniences of a prosecution, nor to leave to a jury to determine whether necessary or not. Another objection was, that by the act of Charles II. no penalty could be incurred, unless information were given in ten days, but this bill limited no time; there was no limitation to an indictment, so that if any person were to have his hair dressed, or took a boat, or rode out the next Sunday after passing the bill, he might be punished at any period of his life. He admired an observance of religion, but it was that excellent religion which was the effect of reason, and not an enthusiastic effusion from the tabernacle, or a mystical reverse; he believed, however, that none even of the most fanatical followers of Whitfield would wish to have this bill passed, if they took the trouble of considering it· He therefore moved, that the second reading be deferred to this day six months.

Mr ELLIOT said, he agreed with the learned gentleman in part, he was convinced that the bill did not go the whole length it might with propriety, he had wished it to go as far as the honourable gentleman, but it was thought more natural not to make a new law, but to enforce the old one. There were two parts of the bill, only one of which had been noticed by Mr Taylor. This was not exactly the time to discuss the propriety of an indictment, it would be better in the Committee, one consideration in its favour was, that the act of Charles II. had been ineffectual. The observance of the sabbath in his opinion was essential to the very existence of religion, it was notoriously declining in this country, in the present year, the building of great edifices was carried on openly, and in defiance of decency, on a Sunday. There was another circumstance which also appeared very offensive in the eye of religious decorum, and that was the great number of public waggons which now travel the road on a Sunday. He believed it was within the knowledge and remembrance of almost every Member of the House,

that fome few years ago no fuch thing as a covered or public waggon was ever feen on the road on the Sabbath day, whereas now nothing was more common, and every road in the kingdom fwarmed with them. He did not know but, in fome degree, it might be neceffary that they fhould be fuffered to pafs in certain cafes, but at prefent it was carried to an extent which required, in his opinion, to be confiderably reftricted. The honourable gentleman who oppofed the bill going into a Committee had made feveral objections, which might very well be worthy of attention in the Committee, but which certainly did not apply at prefent. Juftices of Peace were at prefent very difagreeably fituated, by not knowing how properly to enforce the penalties which were inflicted on perfons not obferving the Lord's Day, by the act of Charles II. It was certainly right and proper to relieve them from this difficulty, by fome amendment to that act, and this could only be done with effect by going into a Committee. He therefore hoped, that, whatever gentlemen might think of the bill, in its prefent ftate, they would fuffer it to go into a Committee, where it would meet a fair and full difcuffion, and alfo fuch alterations and modifications as might perhaps render it perfectly agreeable to thofe, who now fo warmly oppofed it.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR rofe to explain. He faid the gentleman who fpoke laft had very much mifunderftood him. He never wifhed, nor ever faid he wifhed that the bill had gone farther, he only faid, that when thofe who had brought in the bill, had gone fo far in laying pains and penalties on the middling claffes of people, they had not taken notice of the fafhionable clubs, routs, &c. and by that means gone higher in their religious reformation.

Sir W. DOLBEN faid, that many obfervations had fallen from Mr. Taylor, which certainly might come with great propriety, and fome of them perhaps with particular force, againft fome parts of the bill; but that this certainly was not the proper time to prefs them, He was ftrongly of opinion, that fome fuch bill as this was extremely neceffary. He had therefore brought it in; and as nothing which he had yet heard went in the leaft againft the principle of the bill, he thought it ought, by all means, to be permitted to go to a Committee.

Mr. COURTENAY was of opinion that the bill ought not to go to a Committee. He confidered it not only as very reprehenfible in its confequences as being a bill of pains and penalties, affecting chiefly the middle and lower orders of people, but he averred it alfo to be a very inquifitorial bill. Much had been faid about the ufe of public waggons on a Sunday. He could fee no reafon why waggons fhould be reftricted from paffing on a Sunday, when

gentlemen's carriages and post coaches and chaises were allowed to roll about the roads from one end of the kingdom to the other, without the smallest animadversion. In the case of waggons it might be, and in most instances it was, a matter of necessity which induced their owners to use them on that day; in that of gentlemen's carriages, it was the mere choice, whim, or pleasure of the owners which put their wheels in motion. The due observance of the Lord's Day, by which he supposed the attendance at some place of public worship was meant, was equally broke through in both cases, and why it should be more faulty or deserving of censure, or of pains and penalties in the case of necessity than it was in that of caprice, it was not in his power to account. He conjured the House to consider the business attentively, and not give way to this sanctimonious kind of enforcing the observance of that noble religion which was professed in this country, by endeavouring to make the dread of a Justice's warrant more conducive to its general establishment and security, than the sublime dictates of sovereign reason. In the starched and gloomy days of the Commonwealth, no such means as these had been resorted to, and every one knew how much stress was laid on the observance of the Lord's Day in those times. He remembered Mr. Hume mentioned a dialogue between a Puritan and a Cavalier, in which the Puritan tells the other that his party are very wicked, for that "they indulged themselves in gaming, in drinking, and in the company of lewd women, and never went to church." "True," replies the Cavalier, "we do so, and we do it openly—our nature impels us to love women, and our inclination to drink, game, and stay away from church; but you do all these things in fact, and hypocritically veil it under the sanctimonious ceremonies of ostentatious observances."

He objected to the present bill being committed, on another ground; for under pretences of enforcing a stricter observance of the Lord's Day, by the middling and lower class of people, it gave licence to another numerous set of men to break in upon that observance, in a manner which they were restricted from by the act of Charles II. In pursuance of that act, and by the Common Law, no bailiff or sheriff's officer could execute any writ, process, or executions on a Sunday. By this act they were empowered to execute all such processes for offences committed on that day. [*Here a cry of No, No.*]—Upon which Mr. Courtenay read the clause he alluded to, by which it appeared, that the powers he mentioned were given to sheriff's officers, bailiffs, &c. There was another striking hardship, he said, that would be a consequence if this bill passed into a law. Every person who could not afford to

pay fifty or sixty pounds a year to a valet to dress his hair, in case he did not choose to go with dishevelled locks to attend Divine service, would, if he sent for a hair-dresser, be liable to be prosecuted, by an information or indictment in the Court of King's Bench, and perhaps in the issue, to fine and imprisonment. It acted also by way of double penalty, for the poor hair-dresser also who dressed him was liable to the same prosecution, and to the same penalties for the same offence. What had the poor hair-dressers done, he asked, to make them so odious in the eyes of Ministers, that they were thus in the exercise of their trade, to be exposed to the risque of punishment more than other classes of men in the community. Mr. Chancellor Pitt had lately brought in, and the House had nearly agreed to a bill, obliging every person who wears powder to pay a guinea a year for a licence to do so, and here comes a bill, which says, that every person who is powdered on a Sunday shall be liable to an information, or indictment in the King's-Bench, and the hair-dresser the same, which is neither more nor less than paying a guinea a year for the chance, if informers do not grow very scarce indeed, of being indicted. By the one bill the hair-dresser will be deprived of all such customers as do not choose to pay the tax; and by the other he runs the risque of being fined and imprisoned, for dressing and powdering those of his customers who do chuse to pay it. There was one case which struck him in a particular manner—Would the Minister wish that the men in the dock yards should be obliged to desist from working on Sundays, or that waggons carrying provisions, or ammunition, or cloathing, or other necessaries for the army or navy, should be prevented from travelling on a Sunday, or would he desire, that in case they did work, and the other travel, that they should be liable to punishment by fine and imprisonment? yet this must be the case if this bill should be suffered to pass in its present state, and surely other waggons carrying articles of necessary consumption into the country from London, or from one place to another across the country, have as much right to travel as in the instance immediately before alluded to, and the public would be equally injured and inconvenienced by stopping them. He was convinced, he said, the bill, if passed into a law, would be productive of the very worst consequences. Instead of conciliating men's minds, and making them love religion, from the mildness of its principles and influence, it would tend to sour the minds of the people, and render them liable to the greatest inconveniences, and in many cases, the most unjust punishments. It had been well observed by his honourable friend (Mr. Taylor) that among the lower and most industrious orders of

the people it frequently happened, that men who were fathers of families, which depended solely on their weekly earnings for their Sunday's dinner, did not receive their wages, so as to be able, by possibility, to go to market to purchase that dinner, on which the comfort and sustenance of many persons depended, for that day, before twelve o'clock. It was then Sunday morning, and if any informer saw this honest son of industry, and child of toil, laying out his money for so irreligious a purpose, as purchasing a dinner for his family, he might get the poor creature indicted, and afterwards punished by fine or imprisonment. Such would be the blessed effects of this bill if passed into a law. Much, said Mr. Courtenay, has lately been said and written about prophecies, which have, in no small degree, alarmed and agitated the minds of the people. Prophecies were things which he did not much attend to, but he had lately met with one written about the year 1500, about two hundred and sixty years ago, which appeared in a paper, entitled, he believed, Rowland's Itinerary. This he would, with permission, read to the House.

> " In Oxford, much against my Will,
> " I met two Knights, DOLBEN and HILL.
> " The first he was a most *profane* one;
> " The next a rigid *Puritan* one,
> " Who hang'd his *wicked* CAT on MONDAY,
> " Because she catch'd a MOUSE on SUNDAY."

As this bill would, in his opinion, tend to throw a gloom over men's minds by making them amenable to such severe penalties and punishments as were never deemed necessary in the profligate days of Charles the Second, in order to enforce a proper observance of the Lord's Day, and, as he was convinced that the people of this country in general, paid every decent attention to it, he should give his decided vote against its being now read a second time.

Mr. Chancellor PITT observed, that from the arguments which had been used, and from the attention he had now given to the different clauses in the bill, he did not think it was such a bill as ought to be passed into a law. On the other hand, as had been very justly observed by an honourable gentleman near him, as it appeared that some amendment of the laws now in being was really necessary, he could see no reason why the bill should not be allowed to go into a Committee, where it would be fully and more properly debated than in this stage of it. He did not think, by any means, that any gentleman who voted for its being committed, was at all bound to vote for its passing, or even being reported, but he thought it ought to be permitted to go to a Committee.

Mr. Alderman NEWNHAM was quite of a contrary opinion. He was altogether againſt the principle of the bill in all its parts. The law as it now ſtood was, he thought, perfectly adequate to enforce every obſervance of the Lord's Day, which at this period of time in this country was at all neceſſary. The act of Charles II. impoſed a fine already on perſons purchaſing even neceſſary proviſions on a Sunday, and to add to that the penalties of fines and impriſonment for ſuch a thing would, he thought, be abominable. As it was, in point of fine, the Magiſtrates too frequently ſaw the cruelty, not to ſay the injuſtice of it. He himſelf had, in many inſtances, been highly pained by it in the execution of his duty.—Many excellent obſervations had been made by gentlemen, on the extreme hardſhip on the poor induſtrious labourer, who, not receiving his week's wages till very late, was not able to go to market before Sunday morning. It would really be ſhocking to humanity to ſubject ſuch people to pains and penalties; even a fine, as the law now ſtood, was, in his mind, in ſuch circumſtances too ſevere. He begged leave to mention a particular caſe—"A butcher, within the limits of his magiſtracy, had wiſhed to preſerve the utmoſt decency and decorum, with reſpect to the appearance of his ſhop on a Sunday morning, and for that purpoſe always kept his window ſhutters quite cloſed, only for the ſake of air and light had a ſmall portion, or ſquare, open at the top of the ſhutters. One Sunday morning an informer prowling about for prey, ſaw a poor man go into his ſhop door, which was immediately ſhut again: upon which he got a pair of ſteps before the window, mounted up, and ſaw the butcher cut off and ſell to this poor creature, a piece of meat for his family dinner on that day. The next day he ſummoned the butcher before him, in order to obtain the fine which is already provided by the law. He thought it a hard caſe, and ſettled it as well as he could, and he could by no means, therefore, give his conſent to an extenſion of that fine, much leſs to the puniſhment of impriſonment. It had been admitted by gentlemen, that the bill was ſo worded at preſent, as not to be proper to paſs into a law, but that it ought to be ſuffered to go to a Committee. He could ſee no reaſon for this at all. If the gentlemen who brought it in really thought ſuch a bill was neceſſary (which he did not) let them bring in another bill worded in ſuch a manner as to be worthy the ſerious conſideration and attention of the Houſe. Why ſuffer it to go into a Committee? For his part, he thought that thoſe who brought in bills ought to take care and word them in ſuch a manner as that the Committee ſhould have only to conſider their purport and tenor; he never conceived that it was the buſineſs of a Com-

mittee to attend to the actual drawing up of the bill, which seemed to be required in the present instance. It would be best to bring in a new bill, and not to waste the time of a Committee in attending to such a nonsensical farrago as the present bill appeared to him to be. He should therefore give his vote that the bill be read a second time this day six months.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS said, the present question was a very short one; was there any necessity for farther enforcement of the proper observance of the Lord's Day, or was there not? For his own part he thought there was, and though he by no means approved of the bill under consideration as it now stood, nor thought it adviseable to subject persons to the penalties contained in this bill, he was still for letting it go into a Committee, where it would at least have a full and fair hearing.

Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL was against the bill being read a second time. He saw no reason for any farther provisions to enforce the observance of the Lord's Day, than those which the law had already provided. He saw, on the contrary, much mischief in passing such a bill as the present into a law. It would tend greatly to revive those religious distinctions which had given great uneasiness to the people in former times. It would also give encouragement to a more extensive exertion of the infamous talents of a set of men who had given much alarm and vexation to the people in modern times: he meant spies and informers. These pests to the comfort and happiness of social life, and the freedom of the community at large, would be let loose upon the public by such an act, if one passed, like beasts of prey, and would harass and terrify the people, from the wide scope which would thereby be afforded to them for the abominable exercise of private pique and personal malevolence. He though the middle classes of people had as much right to use their waggons, which were necessary, as those of a higher rank had to roll about in their coaches. In short, he was of opinion, that the observance of the Lord's day was in general well kept in this country, and that where it was not so in any particular instances, the laws already in being were fully adequate to enforce that which was proper and necessary.

Colonel CAWTHORNE was against the bill going to a Committee. He said there were very numerous bodies of men in this country who were obliged to work on a Sunday, and must still continue to work on that day. He instanced the glasshouses, collieries, &c. where the fires must be kept in, or the works would be at a stand. Were these men to be subjected to fines and imprisonment for what could not be avoided? He hoped not. He had acted as a

Magistrate for many years in a large county, and a very extensive district, and he had always found that the laws already in force were fully adequate to the purpose of commanding a proper and decent observance of the Lord's Day. He would therefore vote against the second reading of the bill.

Sir W. DOLBEN contended, that, notwithstanding all that had passed, he had heard no argument which went against the principle of the bill, and therefore it ought to go to a Committee. He said, having been alluded to by name in a thing called a prophecy, he should only observe thereon, that, as to coupling his name with that of Hill, he must say, he did not wish to be placed in more respectable company: as to the fact, however, of his name having ever been in such prophecy, he believed, he was in the same predicament as a gentleman some years ago had put the celebrated Milton. This gentleman had chosen to write an elaborate Essay, to prove that Milton was a plagiarist, and for that purpose quoted several passages of Milton, which he said were taken from other authors. However, on this Essay being attentively investigated it was found that all those passages were the author's own making.

Mr. COURTENAY rose to explain. He said, the honourable Bart. had given him greater credit than he deserved, in attributing what he had read to be his own making, if the honourable Bart. had any doubt upon the subject, he would tell him the very book from which he took it, which was "Drunken Barnaby's Travels."

Sir RICHARD HILL was clearly of opinion the bill should be suffered to go into a Committee. He said, much ridicule had been endeavoured to be introduced on the occasion, but that to him signified nothing. He should not wonder to hear any one ridiculed now-a-days for barely mentioning the Bible. Still he would contend, that a more strict observance of the Lord's Day was necessary, and he thought the laws now in force were not sufficient for that purpose. Something should, therefore, be done to amend and give them additional effect. The honourable gentleman who spoke first in the debate, (Mr. M. A. Taylor) had assured the House that he was very punctual in his observance of the Lord's Day. He hoped he was—he did not dispute it, for "Michael and the Arch Angel were always leagued against Satan." He, therefore, hoped he would withdraw his present opposition to the bill.

Mr. MARTIN professed, that from the parts of the bill he had attended to, he did not think he should vote for the passing of the bill; nevertheless, in point of justice, and that it might not be lost without a fair hearing, he should vote for its being committed.

The question being loudly called for, a division took place; For going into a Committee, 25, Against it, 21. Majority, 4.

*Friday, 27th March.*

In a Committee of Supply, His Majesty's message was read.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved a resolution, that a vote of credit of two millions five hundred thousand pounds, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the extraordinary expence for the service of the year 1795. Agreed to.

The House was resumed, and the report ordered to be received on Monday.

The House resolved itself into a Committee on the bill granting an additional duty on stamps.

Mr. Alderman CURTIS and Mr. Alderman ANDERSON objected to the clause, increasing the number of stamps, as likely to be attended with great inconvenience to their constituents, in the transaction of business: they at the same time expressed their willingness to contribute chearfully to any burdens which it might be necessary to impose for the public service.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that though he regretted any difficulty which the regulation might occasion, yet it must be allowed to be equitable that the price of the stamp should increase in proportion to the sum, and though adding to the number of stamps might be attended with some inconvenience, he thought that as it formed a fair source of revenue, it ought to be submitted to in the present instance.

The bill went through the Committee, and was ordered to be reported.

The SPEAKER informed the House, that he had attended in the House of Peers, where the Royal assent had been given, by commission, to the acts for raising sums by loans and Exchequer bills, and to the different Tax bills.

*Monday, 30th March.*

On the third reading of the Hair-powder bill,

Mr. DENT suggested the propriety of a clause to exempt hair-dressers themselves from the necessity of taking out licences, as their trade would make them appear to be powdered. He said he was happy to find there was no dread of a scarcity of grain; but still attention ought to be paid to the distillery, to prevent the danger of a scarcity.

The bill was read a third time.

Mr. Chancellor PITT proposed a clause, by way of rider, to

exempt Proteſtant and Catholic Diſſenting Miniſters, whoſe annual ſtipends were not 100l., from the licence.

General SMITH ſaid, it was very hard not to exempt officers on half pay, whoſe incomes were not more than 30 or 40l a year, when clergymen of 100l. a year were exempted.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, that all exemptions ought to be founded on a principle. Clergymen under 100l. a year were obliged, by the nature of their duties, to wear powder. Officers on half pay, however meritorious, and however much entitled to attention, were not under the ſame obligation. Their wearing it was voluntary, and therefore they ought not to be relieved from this more than from any other tax.

Mr. COURTENAY pleaded ardently for the exemption of half-pay officers. They were not now like common citizens, they were ſubject to martial law, they were liable to be called out in a minute; and were obliged to preſerve an appearance equal to the rank they held. An Enſign had only 27l. a year, a Lieutenant but 36 or 37l. It would be therefore a generous attention to this deſerving body of men, to relieve them, and it would be honourable in the Miniſter and the Houſe to do it.

Mr. Pitt's clauſe was accepted, and the bill was paſſed.

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON roſe to move for leave to bring in a bill to protect Merchants and Bankers againſt the depredations of their clerks. Commerce, which was the ſupport of the nation, deſerved in its turn every protection from the laws. Merchants and Bankers were obliged to put very large truſt in their clerks, much beyond the ſecurity they had for their good behaviour. By the exiſting laws, a robbery by ſuch clerks was only a breach of truſt, and could only be proſecuted as a debt, whereas a perſon robbing another to the amount of forty ſhillings was a felony. It was well known to gentlemen what extenſive robberies of this kind had been lately committed, and he was confident that he needed not, in this ſtage, to argue on the neceſſity of the bill he propoſed. It was his intention to ſuggeſt that this offence ſhould be made a felony, and the puniſhment be transportation. He concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill, more effectually to protect Merchants and Bankers from the depredations of their clerks.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR ſaid, he did not riſe to object to the motion, but to declare his indiſpoſition to all extenſion of our penal laws. He thought the preſent laws amply ſufficient. He ſhould watch the bill carefully. All ſuch bills ſhould originate in the other Houſe.

Mr. DENT was of opinion that a great cauſe of the evil was

the lowneſs of the ſalaries given to clerks. A young man in great truſt, with only 30l. or 40l. a year of ſalary, was expoſed to temptations too great. At the ſame time the merchant ought to be protected.

Mr. HUSSEY ſaw no neceſſity for the propoſed bill. No neceſſity had been made out; and he owned he was againſt the making of new felonies without ſufficient cauſe.

Mr. Alderman ANDERSON ſaid, the neceſſity, in his mind, was obvious. A merchant, if robbed of 10,000l. by his clerk, could only proſecute him for the debt; if robbed of forty ſhillings by a ſtranger, he could proſecute him criminally for the felony. It was to make ſome proportion between the offence and the puniſhment that he moved for the bill. The Judges and the Crown officers would be conſulted on it.

Leave was granted to bring in the bill.

Mr. WILBERFORCE ſaid, that as the proviſions of the bill for the better obſervance of Sunday, were defective in the opinion of the law officers and other gentlemen, who yet approved of the principle, he wiſhed to poſtpone going into a Committee on it till after the holidays. It ſtood for to-morrow: he therefore moved to diſcharge the order for to-morrow.

Mr. Alderman NEWNHAM ſaid, the principle of the bill was ſo objectionable, that he wiſhed it to be laid aſide altogether. It was oppreſſive to the poor, and he did not like to ſee it adjourned to the end of the ſeſſion, when it might paſs through the thinneſs of attendance.

Mr. BUXTON ſaid, it was only intended to adjourn it to Monday ſe'nnight.

The order for to-morrow was diſcharged, and Mr. Wilberforce moved, "That it go into a Committee on Monday ſe'nnight."

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR moved an amendment, for Monday ſe'nnight, to inſert the words "Monday ſix months." The reaſon was, that the bill was defective in its principle. It profeſſed to be a bill to enact that the Sabbath be more ſtrictly obſerved, on the proviſions of the act of Charles the Second, and yet it enacted new and ſeverer means. By the act of Charles II., hiring a boat or wherry on Sunday, was ſubject to a penalty of five ſhillings; but here it was to be made a miſdemeanor, and ſubject to fine and impriſonment. It was a bill of groſs oppreſſion on the poor and middling claſſes, and, as he had ſaid before, he ſhould oppoſe it in every ſtage.

Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL and Mr. Alderman NEWNHAM ſupported the amendment on the ſame ground, and ſaid it

was calculated to deprive the poor of their innocent recreations on the only day which neceſſity, as well as religion, afforded them for reſt.

Mr. W. SMITH ſaid, he never thought that the intereſts of religion could be ſerved by fine and impriſonment, but he wiſhed to ſee the bill go into a Committee, that its authors might explain their ideas, which had been ſeverely attacked.

Mr. COURTENAY attacked the bill with the force of ridicule. It contradicted the bill of Charles II. in every clauſe. It was a denunciation againſt the crying of milk and mackarel; and while the licentious meetings of the rich and great were to be paſſed over, a poor man was to be made ſubject to fine and impriſonment for croſſing the river in a wherry. Laſt year, puddings and pies were to be baked by canonical hours, and morality was to depend on the time of the day. It was not by ſuch fooleries that Parliament could enforce the obſervance of the ſabbath.

Mr. WILBERFORCE ſaid, the bill would continue all the exemptions of the act of Charles II The preſent was not the time for diſcuſſing the principle or proviſions of the bill. It was obvious to all men, that new abuſes of the Sabbath, unknown twenty years ago, were now in practice, and ought to be checked. Sunday had heretofore been protected by cuſtom, but opulence had made us relax from the cuſtom, and in no Chriſtian country was the Sabbath ſo little obſerved as in England.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, the amendment was not perfectly fair, as the preſent was not a ſtage of the bill. It was taking the Houſe by ſurpriſe.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR deſired to correct the right honourable gentleman. This was not a diſcuſſion of his ſeeking. He had announced his deſign of ſeizing on every occaſion to oppoſe a bill which he thought a ſcandalous attack on the innocent recreations of the poor, and which could not be too ſoon put an end to by that Houſe.

Mr. GREY agreed with Mr. Taylor in this opinion. It was called for by no neceſſity: they had brought forward no proofs that the Sunday was not well obſerved. The only place it was violated—the routes and gaming aſſemblies of the rich, were not touched by the bill; it levelled all its ſeverity againſt the innocent amuſements of the poor.

Mr. RYDER and Mr. SMITH were both for it, as likely to protect the poor.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS ſaid, it was meant merely

to enforce the regulations of the act of Charles II., not to make one new provision.

The House divided on the amendment, and there appeared for the words "Monday se'nnight" standing,

Ayes, 43; Noes, 37.

General TARLETON moved, "That Sir Benjamin Hammet do attend the House on Friday se'nnight, to declare why he is incapacitated from discharging the functions of a Representative of the People. Ordered.

The London Militia bill was read a third time.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, he thought it his duty to object to the bill, as it infringed the chartered rights and military privileges of the city of London. He contrasted the scandalous precipitancy with which the bill was passed last session, with the tardiness of the proceedings since that time. The honourable mover of the bill had last year declared the raising of the two regiments to be absolutely necessary for the protection and safety of the city, and he had urged the measure to be so immediately requisite, that it conveyed to men's minds a considerable degree of alarm for the peace and security of the metropolis. But it now appeared that he viewed the subject in a very different light; from the month of August last, the time in which the appeals were made, three months had elapsed before it was determined whether any amendments should be made to the bill, the Committee had been three months more in making their report, and now three months in addition had been lost during the sitting of Parliament, and all this time the city had been without either its new or its old militia. It had been boasted last session, that the bill would not affect the poor, as householders rated at 15l. or upwards were alone affected by it, but this laudable circumstance was now done away, as the ward rate was extended to every householder whatever, and even women, the lame and the blind, were affected by it. Nay, so far from favouring the poor, as had been asserted, the amendments seemed to be particularly levelled against the poor; for by one of the clauses, the rich, who might be fined in 20l. or upwards, might dispute the matter in Westminster Hall, while the poor, who might be fined in sums below that, were to be judged in a more summary way, without the benefit of a trial by jury. He said there were several such inferior points as these which deserved attention, but the principal subject which he wished to urge was, the preservation of the military rights of the city, and he hoped the House would be cautious how they infringed them.

The City of London has from time immemorial possessed the right of commanding and keeping at home its own militia. In the

17th of Charles II. that Monarch confirmed all the charters of the City of London. In doing so, every charter from the earliest time was recited and renewed. The charter begins, "Charles II. by the grace of God, &c." and goes on, "we have seen the charter of William I." it then recites every charter verbatim, beginning each with "we have seen," and concludes with confirming the whole. The charters of Henry I. Henry II. Richard I. King John, and Henry III. all contain these words, "None of the Citizens of London shall wage battle," which was nothing else than an exemption from being compelled to go to war. Edward II. being in want of men to reduce the Castle of Leed in Kent, applied to the Londoners, who expressed their disposition to march out, and serve him, if it were not, that doing so was against their charter, and might not only be construed to their prejudice in future, but such an innovation might endanger their whole franchises, whereupon he granted them letters of indemnity, which are recited and confirmed by Charles II. This right is still farther and more explicitly confirmed by the charter of the 1st of Edward III. which contains these words, "And that the said citizens from henceforth shall not be compelled to go or send to war out of the said city." This was also recited and renewed by Charles II. and thus we find that two years posterior to passing the act which the new bill is said to "amend," the sovereignty of the city over its own militia was fully confirmed. About twenty years afterwards indeed, Charles II. issued a writ of *quo warranto*, and seized all the charters of London, but an act of Parliament was passed in the second of William and Mary, annulling every thing done at that time, and renewing and confirming the chartered rights of the City, so that the privilege of the citizens in not being compelled to go or send to war out of the said city, is not only acknowledged by the charters of many Monarchs, but has also been established by an act of the Legislature. If the proceedings in 1695 and in 1745, are examined, it will also be found that the Government admitted this right: for they only "recommended" to the corporation to draw out the militia. These facts, he thought, proved that the city always possessed the power of retaining its own military force at home for its own protection, and he was certain that no man could produce an instance wherein the King had commanded their services by proclamation, as he usually commands the other militia regiments; that is, contrary to the wish, or without consulting the wishes of the citizens or corporation. Some gentlemen, however, had an idea that the act of the 13th and 14th of Charles II. destroyed this privilege, and he believed they built this opinion chiefly on the preamble, which

recites, that "within all His Majesty's realms and dominions, the sole and supreme power, Government, and command of the militia, and of all forces by sea and land, is, and ever was, the undoubted right of His Majesty and his Royal Predecessors; and that Parliament cannot and ought not to pretend to the same, nor can levy war against His Majesty, &c." This, he argued, gave the King supreme authority over the London militia, when it was to move out of the city, or was to go into actual action, but he denied its giving the power of calling the militia out of the city, contrary to the wish of the citizens. It was a case exactly analogous to the general militia of the country. The King certainly possessed the supreme command over them, and yet by act of Parliament he could not send them out of the kingdom, so with the London Militia, the charters of the city, and the act of 2d of William and Mary, confirming those charters, expressly said, that the citizens should not be compelled to go or send to war out of the said city. Indeed the preamble to the act of the 13th of Charles II. was rendered nugatory, so far as it might be supposed to relate to London, by the circumstance of that Monarch having confirmed and renewed all the charters of the city, among which the right in question was asserted, two years after the passing of that act, namely, in the 15th year of his reign. Mr. Sheridan said he had no objection to the two regiments being raised for the defence of the City, but he begged they might not be considered as abolishing the ancient militia. Indeed it would be ridiculous to call them the City Militia, as they must be composed of mercenary recruits, strangers to the interests of the citizens. He therefore moved an amendment, which would have restored the ancient militia to its former state, if at any time of emergency it should be wanted, without putting the City to any additional expence.

Mr. LUSHINGTON thanked the honourable gentleman for the zeal and regard which he shewed for the City of London: he had equal zeal; but he could not see that there was any loss of honour in parting with the old Gothic establishment of trained bands, which from want of discipline could never be of use, to an effective body of troops such as the new regiments would be. The Magistrates of the City were not ambitious of military trusts; while they were discharging their duty as Magistrates, they knew that the military defence of the City could be better entrusted to military men; they were sensible also that it was a more perfect defence for the City to have a military force that was capable of being sent to meet the danger wherever it might present itself, than to be kept stationary within the precincts of the City. The bill had been very deliber-

ately weighed and confidered, not only by the Common Council, but alfo in the different wards; the City of London had fhewn, that they were moft zealoufly attached to the principles of the Conftitution under which they lived, and they would be happy, he was fure, of marching to any part of the country which might be threatened by the enemy, fenfible that London itfelf could only be fafe in the general fafety of the whole kingdom; their military affociations were truly honourable to their fpirit and their patriotifm, and furely the honourable gentleman could not defire that the population of the City of London fhould not contribute its proportion to the general defence.

Mr. Alderman NEWNHAM contended, that His Majefty had the power of fending the train bands out of London, in cafes of invafion and infurrection. Of thofe train bands, and of their difcipline, he had no very high idea. The new corps would be infinitely more effective; thefe corps muft always be officered by freemen, he had the honour to be appointed an officer of one of them.

Mr. SHERIDAN, in reply, congratulated the citizens of London on the valuable acquifition of their new reprefentative, who began his career in that Houfe by an attack on their chartered rights. He had faid, the corporation confifted of excellent civil Magiftrates, who were wholly unfit for military duty; and yet, the worfhipful Lieutenant Colonel had told the Houfe, that all the field officers were chofen out of the corporation. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Lufhington) had obferved, the old military privileges of London had been foolifhly maintained, as one of the Gothic prejudices of our anceftors. True; it might be fo. Our anceftors had many fuch Gothic prejudices. They had a Gothic prejudice againft a ftanding army; they had a Gothic prejudice againft the erection of barracks, they had a Gothic notion of governing the City by the Civil Power, without the affiftance of the military, and in fhort they had fo many Gothic notions about freedom and independence, that he had no doubt their memory was odious to the men of the prefent day. But he muft own himfelf afhamed and indignant to hear this new city doctrine, which he muft fuppofe to be the laft and neweft of the principles of the City, as it was avowed and promulgated by the neweft Member, juft frefh in his feat, that the object and purpofe of any military force could be the internal peace of the City; for there had been a time when there exifted a Gothic notion that this might be preferved by the Civil Power; and even in lefs Gothic times, a Beckford had proved the fact. Nay, in this new and ungothic age, the prefent worthy Chief Magiftrate had preferved the peace (in times faid to be dangerous) by the Civil Power alone.

for neither old trained bands, nor new militia, existed to assist him. These new Anti-gothic notions he dreaded, for while the military Magistrate (Newnham) was preparing to cover Blackheath, he would not now be surprised if the new Member (Lushington) in his zeal against Gothic prejudices were to move for the erection of barracks around the Royal Exchange. The whole measure he considered as a juggle between the craft of despotism and the laziness of commercial luxury, assisted by the vanity and corruption of individuals; and the result was, in fact, the surrender of a great and proud distinction, which had been preserved with the greatest jealousy for many ages; accompanied with a mean acknowledgment, that the City of London was no longer capable, without military aid, of preserving its own internal peace, much less of disputing the encroachments of power, should such a crisis arrive. Although convinced that this was one of the worst symptoms of the degraded and depraved spirit of the country which he had yet perceived, he denied that the measure was agreeable to all the respectable citizens, as had been asserted by Mr. Lushington, for he knew himself that a very respectable body of men continued firm in their opposition to the whole of the plan; he however feared that a majority of the citizens were duped and deluded into an indifference about it. Believing that his opposition would be ineffectual, he would not press the matter to a division. He had satisfied his own mind in stating his opinion, and a more decided one he never had formed on any subject. His amendment was withdrawn, and the bill passed.

Mr. HALHED gave notice that he should to-morrow bring forward a motion respecting Richard Brothers.

*Tuesday, 31st March.*

General TARLETON moved, that there should be laid upon the table a copy of a notice to the Post-master General, appointing John Hammet, Esq. to frank, instead of Sir Benjamin Hammet.—Ordered.

Sir WILLIAM MILNER brought up a petition from certain inhabitants of the City and County of York, which he stated to be to the same purport as that which he had formerly presented from the corporation of York, praying for peace, whenever it could be had consistently with the honour and safety of the country. He expressed his hopes that the motion which had been announced by his honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce) relative to the war, would have the effect of uniting all parties. He moved that the petition do lie upon the table.—Ordered.

Mr. COURTENAY moved, that the Sheriffs in England and

Wales be directed to tranſmit to the Houſe returns of all the perſons confined in the different jails, in conſequence of proceſſes or proſecutions by the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, ſtating their particular offence, and the time during which they have been confined.

Mr HALHED.—"Although the motion I am about to ſubmit to the Houſe be ſtrictly conformable to the tenor of the notice I gave yeſterday, yet I muſt beg explicitly to be underſtood as having no thing to ſay which can poſſibly give offence to any gentleman who hears me, as if dictated by any animoſity or the ſpirit of party. Much more do I deſire moſt pointedly to abjure all intention of throwing out a ſingle hint againſt the Executive Government of this country, or any one of the honourable gentlemen who compoſe it. I ſhould indeed think myſelf ſingularly happy if I could by any form of words, contrive to diſarm the prejudice (if any ſuch exiſt, which I do not know) againſt me ſo as to obtain a fair and patient hearing, for what I ſhall have the honour to offer—if it be merely in conſideration of that uniform and reſpectful ſilence which I have hitherto obſerved ever ſince I have had a ſeat in Parliament. In the firſt place, I hope gentlemen will acquit me of all perſonal motives in the part I now take, or in any in which I have lately engaged. Indeed it is well known that I have made ſome ſacrifices both on the ſcore of friendſhip and of intereſt. Nor does it hitherto appear that by my new line of conduct I have any where obtained an equivalent. At leaſt I think I may be permitted loudly to aſſert, that I have no ſiniſter intention whatſoever. That I have no intercourſe with any man or ſet of men, public or private, whoſe principles or whoſe actions have, as far as I can judge, tended to the detriment of my country, or any of my countrymen, and that in ſeparating myſelf from thoſe gentlemen with whom I had always been uſed to act on the queſtion of war and peace, I have conducted myſelf in a fair, open, and conſciencious manner, ſtrictly within my duty as a Member of Parliament, and my honour as a gentleman. Now, Sir, to come more immediately to the ſubject of my intended motion, I flatter myſelf I ſhall not be deemed to convey any offenſive meaning, if I expreſs myſelf to have felt very great ſurpriſe, when, on the 4th of this month, Richard Brothers was taken up by a warrant from the Secretary of State, and as I have been told by the meſſenger in whoſe cuſtody he now is, on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices. I ſay I may well be ſurpriſed, becauſe I, who am conſcious that not a thought, word, or action of my life, ever had the remoteſt tendency towards ſuch crimes, have been for near two months back, in the habit of ſeeing him very frequently, without perceiving in him the ſlighteſt ſymptom that could indicate any baſe deſigns;

and becaufe I had latterly obferved that his houfe, in the forenoon, was conftantly filled by perfons of quality and fortune, of both fexes, and the ftreet crowded with their carriages; none of which perfons, I apprehend, would have once thought of paying him a fingle vifit, much lefs of repeating it, if they could have conceived that they were foftering, encouraging, aiding, and abetting a traitor. Government, therefore, muft have fome peculiar information on the fubject, of which both I and the perfons to whom I allude, may be fuppofed ignorant, and, while I bow with the moft unfeigned fubmiffion to the authority of the State, I hope to be indulged with fpeaking of Mr. Brothers in regard to that which I do know.

As a private Man, Mr. Brothers is certainly a moft unexceptionable character, and I have heard he was always much refpected and efteemed in the navy. To his affability, moderation, and good fenfe in fociety, it is impoffible but all thofe who have vifited him muft bear concordant teftimony.

But he has written two very extraordinary books—Aye, Sir, there's the rub. The man was very well apart from his pen and ink, but when he mounted on the Pegafus of Prophecy, he has galloped over all our heads, at the rifk, every moment, of dafhing out our brains, together with his own. Perhaps, for indeed I fpeak only by conjecture, perhaps, I fay, thefe books may be the caufe of his prefent detention. But if fo, I may reafonably exprefs my aftonifhment that they fhould ftill be permitted full and free circulation, fo much fo, that I can affure gentlemen, from my own knowledge, the fale of them has moft rapidly and inconceivably increafed fince the confinement of their author. Every man muft feel that treafon fhould not be permitted to diffeminate itfelf in this manner, and therefore finding that no obftacle whatever has been oppofed to the vent of thofe publications, I muft neceffarily doubt, I fay, whether or not they are the caufe of Mr. Brothers's imprifonment. At leaft, however, while they are not profecuted, nor even threatened, I am at liberty, I conceive, to buy them, to read them, and to make my own comments on them, and to difperfe them in whatever manner I chufe, and all without intending, much lefs without giving, any offence to the Government of this country.

Thefe books, Sir, if I may be fuppofed fufficiently *compos mentis* to form any judgment on the fubject, appear to me to be founded on principle which every one of us acknowledge and avow, namely, the common broad principle of chriftianity, as it is contained in the bible. Chriftianity, we all know, is fubdivided into an innumerable multiplicity of facts, which differ from each other in more or few fubordinate articles. But they muft all neceffarily admit the

interference, in some shape or other, of God in the Government of the world, and the authenticity of the Scriptures, on which all christianity depends. Now though I do not say it is altogether a shadow, yet it certainly is not inadmissible in this free country. Where a translation of the whole bible is published in the Vernacular tongue, by Royal authority, for any man to build upon those Scriptures as a theory of his own, in conformity to that which he may conceive to be their true and recondite meaning. Always, however, I most implicitly allow—in perfect submission to the laws and police of the country. As a matter most in point, I shall beg leave to instance the very numerous and very discordant commentaries which have been written more in this kingdom than in any other, on the prophecies contained in the Old and New Testaments. I shall be bold to say, that the very Canons of the Anglican Church, and the authority of the prophecies themselves, is put out of all doubt. All the difference that can exist in opinion must necessarily be on the score of interpretation.

One man finds the whole of their mysterious and hidden allusions to bear exclusively on Rome, and another on Turkey. France is by some deemed the grand theatre of their renunciation; by others, perhaps, Germany or Poland. But if one solitary individual happen to pinch on Great Britain as the destined spot for the elucidating of these enigmatical predictions, surely it is not unseasonable that he should requect cool and dispassionate investigation of the grounds of his assertion before you condemn him to fire and faggot. We have all heard, and thought, that persecution for religious opinions was annihilated in England, that toleration was every where making a rapid progress. This toleration is what I now solicit, not immediately on Mr. Brothers's account, but on my own. I solicit it in the present instance for the few minutes in which I shall detain the House, and I shall then solicit it for a candid perusal of the papers which I mean to make the subject of this day's motion.

I have heard, but I really know it not on any certain authority, that Mr. Brothers's arrest proceeds from an expression in one of the very last pages of the last edition of his book, dated 20th of February, relative to the King. If I may do it without offence, I will venture to read that passage, and endeavour to shew, that it contains no treasonable or inflammatory matter whatever. I have selected this particular passage, because I have very good information that the jury impannelled to try him for insanity desired him to read it, and say if he avowed it, both of which he did; and really, Sir, any man may do the same, without any colour of suspicion for treasonable practices. Here it is: see page 110. "The Lord God

"commands me to say to you, George the Third, King of England, that immediately on my being revealed in London to the Hebrews, as their Prince, and to all nations as their Governor, your Crown must be delivered up to me, that all your power and authority may cease." Now, Sir, it is fair to say, that if I were to premise a palpable impossibility to such a proposition, I might make a similar demand on the King. I do not mean that it might not be deemed indecent or insulting, but we see greater and more scandalous liberties taken every day with His Majesty in pamphlets, newspapers, print-shops, &c. If, for instance, I were to assert, that on some future day, I should ascend to the top of St. Paul's, and from thence fly over London, and in sight of all its inhabitants, to Westminster Abbey, after which the King must seat me on his Throne, and kiss my great toe, most people, I allow, would think me mad, but I certainly should not dream of being apprehended for treason What has Mr. Brothers said?—He has said, that he shall be revealed to the people of London, by a sign similar to that of Moses, namely, turning a common hazel stick into a serpent, and reconverting it into a rod, a fact, full as impossible to all human comprehension as my flying from St. Paul's to Westminster Abbey; and that he shall then be visibly accompanied by an angel, in the form of fire, after which the King must do so and so. The whole therefore depends on the previous performance of a fact, which certainly no one Member of Administration deems within the verge of possibility. I must honestly confess, that in this instance, the very opposite construction to that of treasonable intention, appears self-evident, the prophet engages to accomplish his part of the miracle first, after which he says, the King will perform the second miracle, namely, hand his crown to an obscure individual, who was his own subject, and actually his prisoner. Had the condition been reversed, the plea of treason would not have been so ill-founded, and the ignorant, the profligate, or the ill-intentioned, might have made a handle of it, to the detriment of the Monarchy, if a sufficient number of proselytes had been obtained to co-operate in the purpose. All the inference I pretend to draw from this circumstance is the following: if the asserted mission of this prophet be true, and if he be destined to perform the miracle alluded to, his present imprisonment will be no obstacle at all. If there be no foundation for his predictions, I think an innocent man is made uselessly to suffer for a mental delusion, which did not require such severity. For without being an enthusiast, I hope I may for once apply a couple of verses from the book which we all profess to hold in veneration, they are the 30th and 39th verses of the 5th chapter of acts: "For if this

counfel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it." And here it may not be unreafonable to remark, that Mr. Brothers had actually renounced feeing all indifcriminate vifitors two days before he was arrefted by order of Government, and to this circumftance he alludes, in one of the laft paffages of his book, fo that in fact if he had been guilty of any treafonable practices he had anticipated the intentions of Government, by voluntary renunciation of Government, and I prefume it will hardly be faid that four or five unambitious men, of whom I was one, having occafional admittance to pafs an hour with him in a morning, could have any ferious defigns to overturn the State, and to dethrone the King.

Now, Sir, with refpect to his prophecies in general, I muft own, that as far as it has come to my knowledge, all thofe which he has recorded in print have either actually been already fulfilled, or remain in a ftate of which it cannot, with any propriety, be afferted that their completion is impoffible. If it be a fact, as I myfelf do not hefitate to declare my unqualified belief, that he did write to the King, to you, Sir, to His Majefty's Minifters, and others, in the manner, and in the dates which particularifed many other of his predictions, either they have been fulfilled, or, if not, you are called upon to refute them, but this I roundly maintain, and defy any man to prove the contrary, that out of his prophecies, as here publifhed, not one has hitherto turned out to be falfe, and all the miferable attempts, in miferable pamphlets, to fritter them away, or demonftrate their failure, have ended in the difgrace of their authors.

During the denunciations yet unfulfilled, and which I, in common with every other man, fincerely hope may never be fulfilled, are fome which relate to this Parliament, and to the Houfe where I am now fpeaking. If it be true, Sir, that I have ftill many friends here, who would kindly interpofe to fave me from that precipice of obloquy and difgrace, down which they think I am about to rufh in confequence of my prefent motion, I hope they will not deem it unpardonable in me to be guided by a fimilar fentiment, and to act upon the fame motives of pure philanthropy, however erroneous, if I may be fo unhappy as to apprehend their ftanding on the brink of a precipice infinitely more alarming, and to fay the truth, it is my opinion. Sir, I knew Mr. Brothers but a very fhort time before I publifhed a fmall pamphlet, which I hope every gentleman here has received. I never faw either of thefe books of prophecies, or indeed heard of them till the 5th of January laft, and the tenth of the fame month was the firft time I ever faw their author. I

read his works, and compared them with the ſcriptures, as adviſed. I declare upon my honour, this is the whole and entire ground of the preſent bias of my thoughts, which in one ſenſe may certainly be called my converſion. I confeſs, indeed, that having a good deal of leiſure, I took conſiderable pains on the ſubject, and by frequent peruſal, diſcovered a variety of connections and coincidences between the ſeveral parts of his works with each other, and between the whole and the ſcriptures, which at firſt ſight had totally eſcaped my attention. Is it very unreaſonable or indecent on my part to wiſh that gentlemen would apply ſome part of the leiſure of the approaching receſs of Parliament, to a deliberate peruſal of the ſame works? Can any detriment reſult from it? Is it impoſſible that God ſhould once more interfere in human affairs, as we have the recorded teſtimony of the Bible to prove he did formerly? This is all I aſk.

Gentlemen will undoubtedly recollect frequent and palpable inattention both of Governments and whole nations to diſcoveries of the utmoſt importance, and which have afterwards given a new turn to the affairs of mighty empires; to inſtance only one caſe, by how many crowned heads and powerful countries was Columbus rejected, when he offered practically to demonſtrate the exiſtence of the Weſtern Continent? the thing was deemed impoſſible, the very ſuppoſition, perhaps, was treated by many as impious. Facts, however, have ſince bore ſufficient evidence to the ſolidity of his opinions, and left nothing but regret and remorſe to thoſe who had too precipitately deſpiſed them.

In his ſecond book, page 23, in my edition, he ſays, "He was commanded by the Lord God to go the Houſe of Parliament on the 17th of May, 1792, and acquaint the Members, for their own perſonal ſafety, and general benefit of the country, that the time of the world was come to fulfil the 7th chapter of Daniel." And much as I may regret, and much as all of us may have occaſion to regret, that he was at that time diſmiſſed (as he ſays) with unfeeling contempt and incivility from our door, ſince the ſubſequent unfortunate events which he mentions to have been ordered to communicate to us, that they might have been averted, cannot now be prevented or redreſſed, ſtill I may hope that the very coincidence of the events, with his predictions, may have ſome weight with us not to reject him unheard for the future; and for this reaſon, had he now been at liberty, I ſhould certainly have moved that he be admitted to the bar of the Houſe, and there be ſuffered to declare to us any thing he may have it in command from God to ſay.

But that I may exhibit that unfeigned ſubmiſſion, which I moſt

aſſuredly feel towards the Executive Government of the country, I beg leave now to offer, and I moſt earneſtly entreat to be permitted, to lay on your table a copy of his works for the uſe of ſuch of the Members as may chuſe to peruſe them.

I muſt confeſs, that I cannot charge my recollection with any inſtance of any printed papers having been ſo preſented, and therefore I am utterly at a loſs to know if a paper ſo circumſtanced, be admiſſible, to obviate, therefore, this cauſe of rejection, I have taken the liberty to bring with me a complete copy of Mr. Brothers's works, which I have had bound for my own uſe, and in which I have inſerted, with my own hand, a very great number of notes, elucidations, and ſimilar paſſages, from the ſcriptures, all of which I conceive to be perfectly acceſſible to your table by the rules and forms of the Houſe, aſſuring you, Sir, that I ſhould not have preſumed to intrude any obſervations of mine on your notice, if any other mode (on the ſpur of the occaſion) had ſuggeſted itſelf to my mind.

Notwithſtanding, I venture with all humility to offer my opinion, that much labour of reference and compariſon (which is not always a pleaſant taſk) would be ſaved to thoſe honourable gentlemen who ſhould deem the whole worthy of their attention, by the pains I have taken in adjuſting and arranging the various correſpondent paſſages, and with this view I beg leave to obſerve, that if my motion for laying the book on your table be granted, I ſhall then move, that it be printed for the uſe of the Members."

He concluded with moving, "That the Books of Richard Brothers, entitled, 'a Revealed Knowledge,' &c. be laid upon the table."

The motion not being ſeconded, the queſtion was not put upon it.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE ſaid, that in purſuance of a former notice, which he had given, he propoſed after the holidays to bring forward ſome propoſitions with reſpect to the proceedings to be adopted in forming Committees to decide on Conteſted Elections.

Mr. DUNDAS gave notice that he intended to move, that there ſhould be laid on the table, a recorded digeſt of the evidence brought forward by the Managers on the trial of Warren Haſtings, Eſq. in order to be inſerted on the Journals of the Houſe.

The Report of the Committee of Supply was brought up. The reſolution, granting to His Majeſty a vote of credit of 2,500,000l. was read and agreed to.

Sir BENJAMIN HAMMET now roſe, and ſaid, [illegible] underſtood that he had been ſummoned to attend the [illegible] Friday ſe'nnight, in order to account why [illegible]

to exercise his privilege of franking. He had been himself extremely indisposed at the time, and conceived that he had done nothing in availing himself of his privilege, except what was strictly authorized by the rules of the House. [He here desired the regulation with respect to Franking to be read.]

Mr MAINWARING suggested that as nothing more was required than the letter hence of the honourable Member, and as he was now in his seat, he could [illegible] whether he had deputed to another his privilege [illegible] the [illegible] of the House for his attendance could [illegible] be dispensed with.

General TARLETON said, that he trusted that in making his motion [illegible] that he was actuated in the smallest degree by personal motives, but solely from a regard to the privileges of the House, who had shewn a proper sense of their own consequence in the [illegible] with which they had adopted the measure. He could not, however, consent to dispense with the attendance of the honourable gentleman, as the inquiry which he had in view was still in train, and he had but this day moved for a paper relative to the business.

The Order of the Day being read for the second reading of the bill to prevent the carrying off of dead bodies from church yards and other burying places, it was opposed by Mr Mainwaring and Mr M. A. Taylor, and supported by Sir John Frederick, and Mr. Jodrell, &c.

Mr M. A. TAYLOR moved that the House be counted.

There being only 34 Members present, the House of consequence adjourned.

*Wednesday, 1st April.*

Sir WATKIN LEWES presented a bill, which was read a first time, for widening and rendering more commodious, the entrance into the city of London, by way of Temple bar, and also for making some improvements on Snow Hill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that there were at present many able seamen serving in the different regiments of militia, whom it would be very proper to have transferred to the navy. It would likewise be expedient to draw away, for the service of the artillery, such men in the militia as were expert in working at the great guns. He would, therefore, move, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for augmenting the Royal corps of artillery, and providing seamen for the service of His Majesty's navy."

Leave was given, the bill presented, and read a first time.

On the second reading of the bill for granting an allowance to mi-

litia subalterns in time of peace, General Tarleton wished to know whether a certain clause relative to fencibles was omitted.

The SECRETARY AT WAR said, there was no such clause; and a conversation was beginning to be entered into upon that question, which the Speaker put a stop to, as foreign to any order before the House.

On the motion of Mr. Chancellor Pitt, the House adjourned till to-morrow se'nnight.

*Thursday, 9th April.*

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS gave notice that the digest of the articles of impeachment against Mr. Hastings would be brought forward on Tuesday next. He also gave notice, that to-morrow there would be brought forward a motion of congratulation on the late happy event of the marriage of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Mr. RYDER moved, "that the House should to-morrow resolve itself into a Committee, to consider of the Indemnity to be granted the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the West-India islands, for permitting the importation of foreign articles in foreign bottoms.—Agreed to.

Several petitions were presented from the freeholders, inhabitants, &c, of St. Clements Danes, stating the injury they would receive by the projected alterations for widening the passage to the city, by the removal of Temple bar, and praying to be heard by Counsel against the bill now pending in the House.

It having been suggested that those difficulties might be remedied in the Committee, the motion for hearing Counsel was withdrawn, and the petitions ordered to lie upon the table.

The House adjourned.

*Friday, 10th April.*

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, "that an Address be presented to His Majesty, to congratulate His Majesty on the happy event of the nuptials of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and that a Committee be appointed to draw up the same."

Resolved, "That the House do congratulate Her Majesty on these happy nuptials.

Resolved, "That a congratulatory message be sent to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, on this joyful occasion."

Mr. Chancellor PITT reported from the Committee, appointed to draw up an Address to be presented to His Majesty, that the

Committee had drawn up an Addrefs accordingly, which they had directed him to report to the Houfe, and he read the fame in his place, and afterwards delivered it in at the table, where the fame was read, and agreed to by the Houfe, and is as follows:

Moft Gracious Sovereign,

*WE, your Majefty's moft dutiful and loyal fubjects, the Commons of* Great Britain, *in Parliament affembled, moft humbly beg leave to congratulate your Majefty on the nuptials of his Royal Highnefs the Prince of* Wales; *and to exprefs the cordial fatisfaction which your Majefty's faithful Commons feel on an event, which promifes to gratify the wifhes of your Majefty's faithful fubjects, by augmenting the domeftic felicity of your Majefty and your illuftrious family, and by affording additional fecurity to the enjoyment of thofe bleffings which have been experienced in thefe kingdoms, under the aufpicious Government of the Princes of the Houfe of* Brunfwick.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS rofe to call the attention of the Houfe to the circumftances of the action which had lately taken place in the Mediterranean. He did not mean to fay that the victory was as fplendid and decifive as fome which we had obtained, but the Houfe would fee, from the very modeft account which the gallant Admiral had tranfmitted of the action, that with a fleet which had been expofed to very fevere fervice, he had done every thing in his power to compel the enemy to come to action It would alfo be recollected, that the enemy's fleet was but juft come from their own port. Under thefe circumftances the honour of the Britifh arms had been maintained, and two fhips captured from the enemy. He concluded with moving,

"That the thanks of this Houfe be given to Vice Admiral Hotham, for his late meritorious exertions in the command of His Majefty's fleet ftationed in the Mediterranean.

"That the thanks of this Houfe be given to Vice Admirals Goodall, and Sir Hyde Parker, Knight, for their late meritorious exertions in the command of His Majefty's fleet ftationed in the Mediterranean.

"That the thanks of this Houfe be given to Rear Admiral Linzee, for his late meritorious exertions in the command of His Majefty's fleet ftationed in the Mediterranean.

"That this Houfe doth acknowledge and approve the meritorious conduct of the feveral officers, feamen, and marines, under the command of Vice Admiral Hotham, in the late action with the French fleet."

General SMITH availed himfelf of this opportunity for ex-

preffing his concern, that no notice had been taken of the brilliant fervices of Captain Faulknor. After entering into a warm eulogium of Captain Faulknor, he noticed the fubfcription that had been entered into for erecting a monument to his memory, a fubfcription certainly honourable to thofe concerned in it, but difgraceful to the Houfe of Commons, which fhould have rendered any fubfcription unneceffary. He expreffed his hopes that the Houfe would fpeedily adopt fome meafure to perpetuate the memory of fo diftinguifhed an officer.

The motions were then carried *nem. con.*

The order of the day being read for the attendance of Sir Benjamin Hammet in his place,

General TARLETON moved, that the return which had been laid before the Houfe from the Poft-Office, ftating that Sir Benjamin Hammet had delegated his privilege of franking to his fon, on account of his ill health, in the year 1793, might be read; which being done, the General then moved, that Sir Benjamin Hammet be heard in his defence.

Sir BENJAMIN HAMMET faid, he heard no charge brought againft him.

General TARLETON faid, he conceived the paper which had been read, proved that the honourable Member had abufed his privilege of franking.

The SPEAKER then informed Sir Benjamin, that he might ftate what he pleafed in anfwer to the charge, and muft then withdraw.

Sir BENJAMIN HAMMET faid, he had certainly delegated his privilege to his fon, and he did it becaufe his health was in fo precarious a ftate that he could not attend to bufinefs. He could produce to the Houfe the evidence of moft refpectable medical gentlemen to prove the general ill ftate of his health.—[He here read two letters from his phyfician and apothecary.]—It was true that, at intervals, he was much better; but he did not conceive it neceffary to retract the delegation he had given, more efpecially as he had never franked a letter while his fon enjoyed that privilege. He had made fome inquiries upon the fubject, particularly at the Poft-Office, and the refult fatisfied him that his conduct had been regular. He affured the Houfe, that he was this very morning uncertain whether he fhould be able to attend the Houfe from illnefs. He hoped, therefore, gentlemen would take his cafe into their confideration, and protect him from perfecution. No man could be more anxious to preferve the privileges of the Houfe than he was, and if it fhould be their opinion that he had acted wrong in not re-

suming his privilege, he could only say, he was extremely sorry for it, and begged pardon of the House. The anxiety he had suffered since the honourable General had made his motion was inconceivable, and he should conclude with once more recommending his honour and his character to the protection of the House.

Mr STURT rising, the Speaker explained to the House, there was as yet no motion before the House, nor could there, conformable to their rules and orders, till after the honourable Member, whose conduct was under consideration, had withdrawn.

Mr. D. RYDER conceived there was no ground of censure laid before them. As he was entering on the merits of the business, he was called to order.

Sir BENJAMIN HAMMET then retired from the House.

General TARLETON rose and stated, that it was now their duty to decide upon the motion which he should submit to them; taking into their consideration the contents of the papers which were laid on their table, together with the explanation given just now by the honourable Member. For his part, nothing but a sense of the duty he owed to the House and his country had operated on his conduct. He had no personal acquaintance with the honourable Member whom he accused, and of whom he knew but little, beyond what the present occurrence had brought to light, it was certainly more agreeable to defend than accuse. With respect to the business before them, it was certainly palpable that there was either a mistake or a misuse in the exercise of the privilege of franking. The act of Parliament which bestows that privilege says, that nothing but bodily infirmity shall justify the deputation of it to another, but in the present instance it was apparent that the honourable Member was not less capable of franking for himself than other Members were. It was certain that great abuses have existed to a very enormous extent, as many as eighty or ninety franks by individuals in a day. For his part, he was representative of as commercial a city as in the kingdom, and yet he had never franked to the tenth of that number. In times like the present, when so much danger was to be apprehended from innovators of all descriptions, he conceived it peculiarly incumbent on them to defend the dignity of that House, and, by the wholesome correction of abuses, to hold up its respectability in the eyes of the people. Upon these grounds it was, that he offered his motion, "That Sir Benjamin Hammet do attend, in his place, on Monday next, and that he be there reprimanded by the Speaker for an abuse of privilege."

The SPEAKER informed him that it would be necessary for him first to make a motion of fact, as contained in the papers upon

their table; to which if the Houfe affented, that then the above motion might follow.

General TARLETON accordingly drew up and made the following motion: "That Sir Benjamin Hammet deputed his privilege of franking to another, not being entitled fo to do by bodily infirmity, conformable to the claufe for that purpofe in the act of Parliament, and that his fon has exercifed that privilege for two years."

Mr. D. RYDER afked, where does this fact appear? He was anfwered, "From the papers on the table." He faid, he expected to be told fo, but he infifted that nothing like it was to be drawn from them, and therefore he fhould give the motion his hearty negative, both as not having been proved, and as not being, in his opinion, worthy the attention of the Houfe, from its infignificance In fact, there was no charge whatever, for by the papers it fimply appeared that the honourable Member had delegated his privilege to his fon, and the honourable Member himfelf had, without contradiction, afferted that he had been generally incapable of exercifing it himfelf, and that, in fact, he never had exercifed it fince he firft fo appointed his fon. As to the extent to which it had been exercifed, that was quite a different queftion, and could never be charged as a crime, however, if proved, it might be an abufe of privilege. Upon thefe grounds he moved for the Houfe to proceed to the other orders of the day, in order to get rid of the prefent queftion.

Mr. GREY faid, that the fenfations of every gentleman, on the prefent occafion, could not be otherwife than unpleafant. The evidence before the Houfe certainly was deficient, and might not juftify the paffing of the motion propofed by General Tarleton, but furely the charge againft Sir Benjamin did not deferve to be confidered in fo frivolous a manner as Mr. Ryder had treated it. The privilege of franking had been granted, not for promoting the interefts of Members, but of avoiding thofe expences which a gentleman might be put to in his official capacity of a Member of Parliament. But if it fhould be found that the power granted by the act had been made ufe of for purpofes of private intereft and profit, could it be faid that a charge of fuch a nature was either a light or a frivolous charge? Bodily infirmity had been pleaded—the Houfe had heard the plea, and therefore he could wifh that an adjournment of the debate fhould take place in order to inftitute an inquiry. Sir Benjamin Hammet had produced letters which ftated, that it was neceffary for him to abftain from bufinefs. Was franking fuch a bufinefs as it was neceffary to delegate?

Mr. Alderman NEWNHAM declared, that, to his knowledge, the honourable Member, at the time of deputing his fon to frank

for him, was totally unable to do so himself. If he had not resumed it, it was because he was so frequently incapable of [illegible] himself, and also because he had not [illegible] himself [illegible]. At all events, if he had done wrong, it was not [illegible] intentionally, [illegible] for it, by [illegible]. After all, [illegible] should [illegible] know, [illegible] whether other gentlemen had [illegible] the [illegible] constitutional [illegible] for which [illegible] himself, he would own [illegible] any one had, there were [illegible] who had frequently delegated the privilege [illegible] and other [illegible] occasionally, [illegible] one of them [illegible], he therefore trusted that the House would not think it right to [illegible] the honourable Member [illegible].

Mr [illegible] stated, that [illegible] Member who had [illegible] for several years, that [illegible] very precarious [illegible] at different times from the [illegible]. He not only [illegible] this from his own knowledge, but from [illegible] very frequently from some of the first [illegible] in the kingdom, amongst whom he mentioned Sir W. [illegible], Mr. Pott, and Mr. Pitcairn. This, he said, he [illegible] of justice, which he thought it his duty to do, and not, he [illegible], from any motive of friendship or acquaintance. He should therefore give his vote for the order of the day.

Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL said a few words, [illegible] to support the original motion, but [illegible] on the statement of the honourable Baronet in his exculpation, he [illegible].

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS said, that, as he had seconded the motion of his honourable friend for the order of the day, he thought it necessary to give his reasons for having done so. He by no means thought the motion of the honourable General either frivolous or light in its importance. On the contrary, he was of opinion that he deserved the thanks of the House for having brought it forward. Nevertheless, he had thought it proper to support the motion for the order of the day, because he thought, that as the business stood at present, the House could not with propriety proceed farther on it now. The honourable General had not produced evidence which was sufficient to ground upon it, and justify, the adoption of the motion he had brought forward. At the same time he did not think the honourable Baronet, who had withdrawn, had altogether exculpated himself so clearly as might be wished. He had

however, assured the House, that he had not offended against the clause of the act of Parliament intentionally; that he had consulted gentlemen, his friends, upon the matter, and they all thought the same on that as the honourable Baronet himself had done. He said also, that if he had really offended against the principle of the act of Parliament, he begged pardon of the House. The honourable and learned gentleman then said, that the chief part of the charges alledged against the honourable Member who was withdrawn, was, in his having continued the delegation of his privilege to frank letters to his son, during those intervals of time when his state of health did not require it. This, he apprehended, arose from a wish not to give too much trouble to the Post-Office, as he knew that the returns of his indisposition were very frequent, and as it appeared from his assertion, in his exculpation, that only one person (his son) was employed in franking, he thought, that the present moment, when the abuse, or even the power of abuse in this particular, was on the point of being effectually put a stop to, there was no occasion for the House to take any more serious notice of the matter at present. He was extremely glad, however, that the motion had been brought forward, as it would shew the people of this country how feelingly alive the Members of the House were to any privilege entrusted to them for the public good—and how very jealous of the smallest abuse of them. For the reasons he had adduced, however, he had seconded and should support, the motion for the order of the day.

Mr. JODDRELL differed in opinion with the Master of the Rolls as to the point of the order of the day. He thought if the original motion was adopted and some censure conveyed upon the honourable Member, it would have a much greater effect on the minds of the people, as to the jealousy of the House, and their lively feelings for the privileges entrusted to them for the public good, than the adoption of the motion of the order of the day could possibly impress upon them. He was sorry his honourable friend who had brought forward the motion, had not produced stronger evidence in support of it, and he thought if the debate should happen to be adjourned, he would be able to do so to that extent which would justify the House in agreeing to the original motion. He should therefore oppose the order of the day.

General TARLETON said, that he should not take up the time of the House by saying many words. A right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ryder,) a sort of a Minister, had asserted that the present motion he had brought forward was frivolous and trivial. He wished that sentiment to be promulgated to the people, though the public

papers, and let them be the judges whether it was so or not. The question being called for, a division took place:

For the order of the day 39, Against it 27. Majority 12.

*Monday, 13th April*

Mr. BYNG presented a petition on behalf of the gardeners, maltsters, brewers, distillers, soapboilers, chandlers, and other tradesmen, stating, that if the bill now pending for the observance of the Lord's Day be passed into a law, they would be materially injured in their trades, and some of them ruined.

Referred to a Committee on the bill.

Mr. HOBART brought up the report of the Franking bill.

The amendments to the resolutions of the former Committees upon the bill being read,

Mr. DENT said, he had great satisfaction to see Government attentive to the object of correcting abuses in the privilege of franking—abuses which had subsisted to an alarming degree. He had no objection to this bill, but he wanted to abolish other abuses, namely, those which arose from the exercise of franking by clerks in the different offices. He must, however, observe, that there were some of the Members of that House who had abused the privilege of franking to a degree that made it shameful. He understood, that some Members had for their own emolument franked letters to a vast amount. He would suppose that a Member of that House had got another to assist him, who could write a better hand, and more expeditiously than himself, in that case some farther information should be had from the Post Office. He would suppose another case, that a Member, under the allegation of his being too infirm in body to write for himself, although he might come to the House in apparent good health, should appoint another to write for him a prodigious number of letters daily for a great length of time. He would then ask, whether some farther regulation than this bill provided was not necessary to check an evil on which the Public cried out shame. There was a circumstance to which he could not help alluding, because it was so applicable to the subject now before the House. He had lately read in a newspaper, that a Member of that House had sold his privilege of franking for 300l. a year. If this was true, the House ought to institute an inquiry into the fact. If it was false, the vengeance of that House ought to fall on the printer of so atrocious a libel. This he said, in order to call the attention of the House to the abuses that had so long and so shamefully subsisted in the privilege of franking, and although the bill now before them went to prohibit the sending by any one Member

more than ten letters each day, and the receiving more than fifteen; yet if ſome regulation was not adopted with regard to clerks in offices, he was ſure the Public would be greatly defrauded.

The amendments were then read a ſecond time, and agreed to.

Mr. LONG brought up a clauſe to continue the law as it now ſtands, with regard to poſtage on newſpapers, which was alſo agreed to.

He brought up another in favour of officers and men in actual ſervice, and writing upon their own buſineſs only. The clauſe contained various proviſions as to the manner of directing ſuch letters, &c.

General SMITH applauded the liberality of Government in this inſtance, [illegible] he hoped that the O[illegible] would [illegible] care that no improper uſe ſhould be made of the privilege.

The clauſe was then agreed to.

Mr. PORTER propoſed a clauſe which ſpecified various regulations of abuſe in the Public Offices, in the franking of letters, and appointing an inſpector, &c.

Captain BERKELEY doubted the utility of the clauſe.

The SECRETARY AT WAR thought the law ſufficient for the correction of the abuſes which the clauſe was intended to remedy. He obſerved, that there were various correſpondences which Government did not wiſh to ſuppreſs, and which had the object of expediting public buſineſs, and yet would be chargeable to poſtage by the clauſe in queſtion.

Mr. COURTENAY ſaid, he was glad that Miniſters were determined to remedy abuſes. But the abuſes of the [illegible] were great indeed, upwards of 30,000l. a year was [illegible] by the franking of the clerks, this was more than one third of the whole amount of franking by both Houſes of Parliament. Now, he wiſhed to know upon what ground it was that theſe gentlemen were to have a [illegible] [illegible], and the Members of the two Houſes to have [illegible]. He thought that too much truſt was put in the virtue of theſe gentlemen. Were they purified by ſome fixed air [illegible] themſelves? Indeed he apprehended that his bill would tend to increaſe abuſe in the privilege of franking in theſe offices; for ſome of the gentlemen belonging to them might become partners, not ſleeping, but writing partners, in Banking-houſes, unleſs ſomething like the clauſe now offered ſhould be adopted. It was idle to ſay that the abuſes would be corrected in the offices, he never knew any body of men who corrected abuſes among themſelves, either in Church or State. He ſaw ſomething already that tended to the reverſe of this, for when any abuſe of office was mentioned,

and an attempt made to do it away, some Minister or other was sure to step in to defend it, whenever any one attempted to approach the use of office, Ministers seemed to say, "Take off your shoes, for now you stand upon holy ground."

Mr. LONG observed, that there was a particular law in being to restrain the abuse of franking in public offices.

General TARLETON said a few words on the general abuse of franking.

The SECRETARY AT WAR moved, "That the act relative to the restraints laid on clerks in public offices in franking, be read," which being done, a conversation of considerable length took place, in which Mr. York, Mr. Dent, Mr Rose, Mr. Martin, Mr. Buxton, Mr. W Smith, Mr. Grey, General Smith, Mr. Thornton, Mr Hussey, and Mr. Robinson, took part, after which Mr Porter agreed to withdraw the clause, understanding that Mr. Dent was to make a motion upon the subject immediately.

The clauses being all agreed to, the bill was ordered to be read a third time on Friday, if then engrossed.

Mr. DENT then rose to move for a Committee of Inquiry into the abuses of the privilege of franking in the public offices. He stated, that the produce of the Post Office was about 627,000l. a year, and after deducting all charges, the net produce amounted to 390,000l a year. He then proceeded to enumerate some of the abuses of clerks in office, and to shew how they affected the revenue of the Post Office. He said, that by these means various pamphlets were carried all over the kingdom, free of postage, among others, Mr. Lackington's catalogue of books. He said, that hares and haunches of venison had been carried in this manner. These things he did not wish to rest upon his assertion, for he was ready to prove them at the bar of that House, whenever he should be called upon to do so. Such abuses, he maintained, ought to be done away as speedily as possible. He concluded with moving, "That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the several frauds and abuses, in relation to the sending or receiving letters free of postage, by clerks in public offices entitled to frank letters, that they do examine the same, and state their opinion thereupon to the House."

Mr. LONG thought that this inquiry was unnecessary, and that if it was gone into, it would not remedy the evil. He had heard of abuses in many of the offices, he inquired, and found that many existed, but he found also that these abuses had been greatly exaggerated. With regard to haunches of venison, he apprehended that the honourable gentleman misconceived the matter. If any

thing of that sort had been carried from the Post Office, the Public was not defrauded by it, although he had no doubt of the fact being as the honourable gentleman related, for he had heard of a turtle being sent in the same way. But the fact was this: by the contract of the Post Office, on mail coaches, these things were carried as parcels under the same right as that by which passengers were carried by the mail, and therefore this was no fraud upon the revenue. Now, with regard to this Committee being unnecessary, he must observe, that already many regulations had been adopted in these offices, and many others were about to be adopted, and would be carried into effect as speedily as possible. Another reason why he should vote against going into this Committee was this: he was convinced, that from the manner the accounts were kept of these franks, they could not be brought before the Committee. Taking the whole of the matter together, he saw no good that would result from the proposed inquiry, and therefore he thought it would be better to leave the matter to the operation of the regulations which had already been, and others that are about to be, adopted. If, after a fair trial, they should be found ineffectual, then some other remedy might be proposed.

Mr. COURTENAY said, it appeared to him that the chief reason for bringing this motion forward was, its being denied that any abuse existed in these offices. Now that these abuses were admitted to exist, and that it was said they were to be corrected, he, on that account, was rather inclined to agree with gentlemen on the other side, and therefore he hoped the sense of the House would not be taken on the motion.

Mr. BOUVERIE said, he should support the motion, on the ground that the honourable gentleman who made it, had pledged himself to prove the abuses which he stated, abuses which, indeed, seemed, to a certain extent, now to be acknowledged. Ministers ought to be obliged to the House for stimulating them forward in this business, for they seemed to want a stimulus.

Mr. WILMOT thought it was necessary to go into abuses, which were acknowledged to exist, because the question ought only to be on the mode of adopting a remedy; one remedy was now trying, if that failed, another might be tried hereafter.

Captain BERKELEY did not pretend to know any thing of any of the offices, except the Ordnance; he maintained, however, that there was no abuse as to franking in that office; if there was, he should be excessively obliged to the honourable gentleman for stating it to him.

Mr. DENT admitted he knew of no abuses in the Ordnance,

but in others there were abuses to an enormous extent, and particularly in the Customs.

Mr. W. SMITH wished the motion to be withdrawn, because he thought the notoriety of the abuses alluded to, superseded the necessity of inquiring into their existence. The best thing that could be done, was to apply a remedy as soon as possible, besides, there might be some difficulty in proving the abuses, although they were notorious, because when the House came to examine evidence, they must subject themselves to certain formal rules, and many gentlemen who had already furnished this information privately to Members, could not be called upon to give their testimony in public without a breach of faith.

Mr. I. H. BROWNE was of the same opinion.

Mr. PORTER was for going into a Committee.

The House divided,

For the motion, 53; Against it, 41.

Strangers were then excluded for a considerable time, during which we understand that the Sunday bill was brought on, and disposed of in the following manner:

On motion for going into a Committee on the bill, the question was put, "That the Speaker do now leave the chair." The House divided,

For the motion, 37; Against it, 50.

"That this bill be committed on Friday se'nnight." An amendment was moved, That instead of "Friday se'nnight," the words "This day six months" be substituted. The House divided,

For the amendment, 44; Against it, 43.

The bill was lost by one voice, and cannot be brought in during the remainder of the present session.

*Tuesday, 14th April.*

Mr. THOMAS GRENVILLE said, that if the subject to which he now rose to call the attention of the House was as new as it was important, he should feel considerable apprehension in bringing it forward. It was not, however, his intention to propose any new principles with respect to the mode of deciding in questions of controverted elections, but only to suggest some regulations in order to follow up more strictly, accurately, and usefully the provisions of the act already subsisting for that purpose. The principle of that act was acknowledged to be good; it had already rescued the House from that melancholy and disgraceful state with respect to disputed elections, in which it had before been placed, and it now only remained to remedy one or two inconveniences of a practical nature.

The principal inconvenience which had been felt, had arisen from the want of attendance of Members on the days appointed to ballot for Committees. Many modes had been suggested to obviate this evil. It had occurred to several persons, as well as to himself, whether it might not be proper to set aside five or six weeks at the beginning of the session, in order to try questions of controverted elections. It was certainly a most important duty to ascertain, in the first instance, those who had really a right to sit in Parliament. But the objection to this mode was, that there might occur duties of a nature paramount to that of deciding with respect to controverted election, and that the appropriation of five or six weeks for the purpose, might, in some instances, interfere with the dispatch of public business of the most urgent and pressing description. He was at the same time desirous, if possible, to avoid bringing forward any new mode of procuring, by compulsion, a sufficient attendance of Members. The House had already ample powers for that object, and it was only his wish by the bill which he should bring forward, that they should be restored to the full exercise of those functions, and that the authority which had been suspended in the 10th of the reign of his present Majesty, should again be revived. But while he secured the advantage of that authority, it was also his wish to afford some relief to the Members by the mode which he should adopt in forming the election Committees. In diminishing the numbers, however, he would by no means have it understood as if he intended to relax the duty. The diminution of numbers which he would suggest was, that instead of an hundred Members being required to attend, sixty might be sufficient, that instead of forty-nine, only twenty-seven might be drawn, and instead of fifteen, only eleven appointed as a Committee, including the nominees. This calculation would be found to be very nearly in the proportion of the former numbers. There were some other regulations which he should propose, namely, where out of sixty Members they should not be able to make a Committee, that those who had been excused in consequence of age or service, should be obliged to take their turn in the order in which they had been drawn in the ballot, and that a peremptory excuse should not be admitted, except as in the case of a Jury at the Old Bailey, the Member had attained the age of 70. There were some other regulations with respect to the renewal of petitions, &c. which would more properly come to be discussed in the Committee. He had mentioned only a few of the outlines of his intended bill, and if leave should be given to bring it in, he should move that it might be read a first time to-day, in

order that it might be printed, and a subsequent day appointed for its consideration.

Mr. BAKER objected to any diminution of the Members by the bill proposed to be brought in; he should rather wish that a clause might be introduced requiring them to be increased. He suggested, that on every day appointed to ballot for an Election Committee, there ought to take place a call of the House.

Mr. FOX was also of opinion that the numbers ought not to be diminished. He suggested that on the days appointed to ballot for an Election Committee, there might be a standing order to call over the House, and that when an attendance of three or four hundred was secured, they might proceed to appoint more Committees than one on the same day. Thus the House would be saved from the awkward predicament of being obliged, as in the present Parliament, to appoint Committees at the end of the third session, in order to try the right of gentlemen to sit there as Members. On days appointed for transacting public business they might choose at least one Committee, and on ordinary days they might proceed without delay or interruption to their first duty of correctly ascertaining those who were qualified to sit in the House.

Mr. RYDER objected to strong measures being adopted, in order to compel the attendance of Members, as it might prevent gentlemen who were in particular situations, such as lawyers, merchants, and persons in office, from taking seats in the House.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR said, that if gentlemen thought proper to accept of seats in the House, they ought to be prepared to discharge their duties; every man was equally bound to attend to the business of the public, and there ought to be no distinction.

After some remarks from Mr. Hawkins Browne, and Mr. Sylvester Douglas, and a few words in reply from Mr. T. Grenville, leave was given to bring in the bill.

Lord PARKER signified to the House, His Majesty's pleasure to receive their address of congratulation, on the nuptials of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, at three o'clock to-morrow.

General SMITH said, that pursuant to the notice he had given on a former occasion, he rose to make a motion to which he conceived that there could not be the smallest opposition. He must own, indeed, he was rather surprised to understand that there was some difficulty entertained with respect to the proposition which he meant to bring forward, as not being sanctioned by any precedent. He should have thought that it would only have been necessary to leave the decision to the justice of the House. They could not, within the space of three short months, have forgotten the distinguished

merits, and gallant services of the brave officer, to whose memory he now proposed to erect a monument. Here General Smith entered into a recital of the conduct of Captain Faulknor on different occasions, particularly the action in which he lost his life. Many for exertions less memorable had received the greatest rewards, and been elevated to the highest honours. He quoted the instance of the liberal provision which had been made for the numerous family of Captain Farmer. He concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions that a monument should be erected in the collegiate church of St Peter's, Westminster, to the memory of Captain Faulknor, &c.

Mr. GREY said, that he was anxious to second this motion, not because he feared it would want the support of persons of greater influence than himself, but because, from information which he had received from a particular channel, he was enabled to add some circumstances to the testimony which had just been borne to the merits of the gallant officer who was the object of the motion. If, indeed, as the General had suggested, there was some difficulty entertained on the present occasion, with respect to precedent, this was a case, in which, of all others, precedent might be dispensed with. A tribute of national respect and gratitude was due to Captain Faulknor, not merely for his behaviour in the action in which he fell, but for a long series of gallant services in the course of a life, which, though short indeed with respect to time, was not less illustrious from the number and brilliancy of his achievements. He was a man, the admiration of all who knew him, and in an expedition which, he might take upon him to say, was distinguished by military enterprize and conduct, had signalized himself beyond his peers. Mr. Grey here entered into a recital of the particulars of his conduct on different occasions. He trusted, that on this motion to erect a monument to the memory of an officer, who after having rendered the most eminent services to his country, had fallen covered with glory, that there would not be one dissentient voice, but that all would chearfully concur in paying a tribute not less honourable to him, whose merits it was intended to commemorate, than it would be serviceable to the nation, by inspiring in others an emulation of his virtues.

Mr WINDHAM said, that he felt himself placed in an unpleasant situation, in being obliged to oppose the motion—the more so, from the ardour with which it had been brought forward by the honourable gentleman, and which might give to his opposition the appearance of some difference in opinion, or in feeling. No man,

however, was more ready than himself to allow, that no actions could have been more brilliant, and no life more illustrious, than those of Captain Faulknor. He was not, however, from any thing that had been said, relieved from the difficulty with respect to erecting a monument to his memory. What had been the rule observed in the case of other meritorious officers? It was necessary either to look to the principle that had been followed in former instances, or to adopt some new rule of action. The rule hitherto existing in usage was in opposition to the motion now proposed, and forbade them to give way to their feelings on the present occasion. What, he asked, had formerly been the case, with respect to Captain Gardener, and more recently with respect to Captain Courtenay, who had both fallen gloriously in the service of their country? Neither of these officers had any public monument erected to their memory. The rule had been only to erect monuments to those officers who fell in great and general actions, though the merit of those who perished in separate actions might be equally, and perhaps, even more distinguished. Honours must go either by rules, or by discretion. If the principle was to be extended, why should not lieutenants and midshipmen, who signalized themselves, come in for a share of the same distinctions? What he then objected to in the present instance was, that the claims of individuals should be brought forward in that House for separate discussion. It was not true with respect to all other good, that it became improved in degree in proportion as it was more extensively communicated. He regretted the absence of his right honourable friend the Secretary of State, who was better acquainted with the rules and principles upon which such motions were brought forward. He had given his opinion, and in order to get rid of the motion in the most respectful way, should move that the other orders of the day be now read.

Mr FOX said, that he should have thought it wise, reasonable, and just, to have at once assented to a motion founded on the ground of extraordinary merit. The right honourable gentleman had, however, thought proper to answer it by a long story of a rule which no where appeared. The right honourable gentleman had laid down a very true principle, that honours did not become more valuable in proportion as they were lavishly bestowed, and he wished it had been more attended to in the distribution of the votes of thanks of last session. But would the honour of any of the British heroes be tarnished by having the monument of Captain Faulknor placed next to theirs? Would not the catalogue rather receive fresh splendor from the addition of so illustrious a name? When the right honourable gentleman laid so much stress on precedents, was he

afraid that the precedents for conferring honours on such singular and extraordinary merit might become too numerous? He was sure that there was no precedent in which such a motion as the present had been brought forward and refused; and he trusted that the House on the present occasion would attend to the dictates of their own feelings and the national honour, rather than the authority of the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. RYDER defended Mr. Windham; but expressed his wish that a resolution might be drawn up, stating the reason why the motion was negatived, that there might be no room to suspect that there was any difference of opinion as to the merits of Captain Faulknor.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY said, that the effusions of respect and gratitude, called forth by extraordinary exertions in the service of the country, were equally creditable to the parties, and to themselves. Were they to be fettered by rules and by precedents? No, it was impossible to restrain the feelings of men. He remarked the inconsistency of those who so highly extolled the merits of Captain Faulknor, and yet refused the motion, and blamed the niggardliness of honours, which characterised the system of this country. In the service seniority and money alone led the way to promotion, and that House had only the opportunity which they ought never to let slip, in an instance such as the present, to mark their feelings, with respect to exalted merit.

After some explanation, Mr. Windham professed his readiness to withdraw his motion for the order of the day, if some mode could be found of adjourning the original motion, in order to search for precedents.

Mr. WILBERFORCE supported this last proposition.

The question was then put, that the other orders of the day be now read, and negatived without a division.

The SECRETARY AT WAR said, the question of the order of the day being now disposed of, he would move that the debate on the original motion be adjourned for a few days—which being seconded,

Mr. FOX rose immediately and said, that after attending to all that had been spoken of rule and precedent, he must reprobate in the strongest terms the motion now made; a motion, which he would venture to say, was one of the most indecent, irregular, and disgraceful, that could have been made in that House. He wished to ask on the subject of rules and precedents, by what rule or by what precedent they were to estimate the merits of officers who had distinguished themselves in an extraordinary manner, how could simi-

lar services be compared?—and how could rules be made to direct and regulate the feelings of men upon such a subject? In his opinion it was impossible, and he hoped he would hear no more of that sort of argument. A sort of argument which he would venture to say never had been used in that House before, and one that he never thought could have been urged against the motion of his honourable friend. But when the conduct of Captain Faulknor was admitted and known to them all, to be as gallant, heroic and meritorious, as any that the page of history could boast of, it must seem rather extraordinary that upon so extraordinary an occasion, a motion should be made for a Committee to search for precedents, as if that Committee could search into the minds of the House, and the minds of the Public, for the degree of honour the country had reaped from the conduct of a brave officer; the degree of gratitude which his country owed him for his services, or the degree of warmth with which that House ought to express their feelings on such a case. The instance of the illustrious Lord Chatham might very properly be brought forward in the present occasion. Did it enter the head of any man at that time to talk of rules and precedents for granting rewards and honours so justly merited? Certainly not, and the case was somewhat similar even upon the arguments of the honourable gentleman who wished to search for precedents, for though there had been many able and good Ministers, whose services had passed unnoticed by monuments, yet that sort of negative rule was not even started, nor did he believe there was a man at the time that could have thought of it. As to getting rid of the original motion, he was extremely sorry that any such idea had ever been entertained; but of all modes that could have been adopted, that of appointing a Committee to search for precedents, was the most unworthy, and, he must add, disgraceful to the House, that could have been suggested. This Committee were to tell them, he supposed, what their feelings ought to be with respect to the merits of brave men, and what feelings were necessary to constitute a wish to express a sense of gratitude, either by honours or rewards, for services performed to the Public; to decide upon the original motion, was the only way to do justice to such a case. And if they did not, and went into this Committee of Inquiry, he wished to know how the result would affect the House. If upon this search no precedent is found, which might be very likely, what would they do then? Perhaps they thought they enhanced the value of this tribute of respect, by considering the case after inquiry, as one upon which only such a testimony of national gratitude ought to be bestowed. Again, upon the much-argued point of rule and precedent, he would say

once for all, that he knew of no fuch rule as had been alluded to, and he even denied that any fuch exifted. If it did, it never had been ftated. In the cafe of Lord Chatham, the Houfe had, much to their credit, in his opinion, gone greatly farther than voting a monument to his memory; they amply and liberally provided for his family, and fmall as the fhare he had in that tranfaction, there was no vote he had ever given that afforded him more fatisfaction. What was the conduct of the Houfe upon that occafion? did any body think of fearching for precedents? No, the only precedent mentioned was that of the Duke of Marlborough, but in his cafe it was becaufe he had been a fuccefsful General, and by his victories had effentially ferved his country; the Houfe of Commons, however, did not look to this as a rule or precedent, but confidering that Lord Chatham had likewife rendered effential fervices to the State, were unanimoufly of opinion that all who equally promoted the interefts of the nation were equally intitled to the honours and rewards which their fervices merited. He concluded by warmly exhorting the Houfe to fupport the original motion, and to refift the adjournment, for the purpofe of appointing a Committee of Inquiry, as derogatory to the honour and character of a Britifh Houfe of Commons, and highly unpopular and difgraceful in the eyes of the nation.

The SECRETARY AT WAR faid that gentlemen could find no difficulty in combating arguments which they themfelves created for the purpofe of oppofing them, yet nothing that had been faid could alter his opinion, that however meritorious and gallant the conduct of Captain Faulknor had been, and nobody felt more than he did a proper fenfe of that brave officer's merit, yet he muft contend and infift that in all former times our anceftors had been guided by fome rule and precedent, the queftion therefore was not now whether that was a good or a bad rule, which might be afterwards difcuffed, but whether it would not be wife to follow the line chalked out by thofe who had gone before us. Some gentlemen had defpifed negative rules, but he really thought a negative rule might be as ftrong as an affirmative rule. He recurred to the many inftances of bravery and good conduct that had paffed unnoticed, fuch as Captain Courtenay's —Why had that eagernefs to pay the tributes due to their valour never appeared? The words of this motion feemed to indicate that the gentlemen themfelves knew that fuch motions were not common in fimilar circumftances. With regard to the inftance of Lord Chatham, it ought to be remembered that there were few or no inftances of ftatefmen being rewarded in that manner then, and that inftances fimilar to Captain Faulknor's, of good and

gallant conduct in officers, were numerous, and happened daily both in this and former wars. He considered his motion as not only prudent and necessary, but as proper in every respect, and denied that the delay could be disgraceful to the House or dishonourable to the memory of Captain Faulknor, whether the result of the inquiry turned out that the object of the motion ought to be granted or refused.

General TARLETON said he had never been a servile observer of rules or precedents, particularly with respect to the conduct of officers, it had always been his wish that their conduct should be canvassed when living, and honoured when dead. It did not belong to their character to court obscurity; the more notorious and public their conduct was made, the more it would be to their honour if right, and the more to their disgrace, if wrong, the more beneficially would it operate as an example or a warning to others. He spoke warmly of Captain Faulknor's merits, and in support of the original question.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL made an high eulogium on the merits of Captain Faulknor, but thought the adjournment of the question proper [illegible] when the case was fully investigated. if it was found that [illegible] the House was to agree to the original motion, it would [illegible] to enhance than diminish the degree of respect paid [illegible].

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY was quite against the adjournment of the debate, the arguments he had heard respecting rules and precedents, he thought were too bad even to be listened to for a moment, and as to the other argument, that the friends of those who had been neglected, would have a right to complain if this tribute was paid to Captain Faulknor's memory, he denied it. However great their services had been, could those martyrs for the cause of their country rise from their graves to see this motion pass, he was sure their ghosts would say, "Certainly, erect a monument to this brave man's memory, though it is true, that we were neglected, yet none of us would wish that he should be so too." This was the military feeling, and he believed the feeling of the House. He very much disliked the idea of getting rid of such a motion as the honourable General's by a shew of good words, and a conduct so diametrically opposite to that which he thought the honour of the House and the country demanded.

Mr. COURTENAY said, that he could not help remarking, that from a speech of a learned gentleman, it was necessary that an officer, however gallantly he had behaved, or even if he had lost his life in battle, must make up some sort of title deed to his merits

before they could be recognized by that Houfe. And thus it was that the gentlemen oppofite thought it neceffary to check the glowing fpirit of that Houfe; eager to pay honour to the memory of Captain Faulknor, whofe conduct was loudly praifed from all fides, as if by waiting for three or four days, it might be found that fomebody elfe had acted as well, and not been noticed, which would be a precedent either for rejecting the motion, or enhancing its value by the inquiry. He gave his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham) full credit for his manly and liberal feelings, and believed that if he had been placed in the fame fituation with Captain Faulknor, there was no man more likely to have acted as he did. He rather felt the more for his honourable friend, who confidered it as a duty impofed upon him to oppofe the motion. He regretted this for two reafons; firft, the honourable gentleman being in no office which could make it his duty, and fecondly, the abfence of the Secretary of State; and by the way he believed he was purpofely abfent, wifhing to expofe his honourable friend to all the difficulty and odium that muft attend even an official oppofition to fuch a meafure in a Britifh Houfe of Commons. He adverted to the difference between Captain Courtenay's cafe and Captain Faulknor's; the firft was entirely the fingle cafe of an individual, the other was placed in a fituation in which it was thought not individually poffible for him to do what he had done. He followed his honourable friends in what they had faid of Lord Chatham's cafe, negative rules not being thought of in thofe days. It might have been faid that Lord Godolphin, Lord Sommers, and others, had been great and ufeful ftatefmen, and had paffed unnoticed by monuments or penfions, but no fuch arguments were ufed at that time, nor ought they to be liftened to by the Houfe in the prefent inftance.

General BRUCE was decidedly for the purpofe of the original motion, and would have voted againft the order of the day, but he could not fee any objections to the propofed adjournment, and thought, as the Houfe would be better attended, it would add refpect to the vote they gave.

Mr. ROBINSON faid a few words againft the adjournment.

Mr. LECHMERE entered into a warm eulogium on the merits, fervices, and general character of his much-lamented and intimate friend Captain Faulknor, whom he had long known, and whofe lofs this country would long have to regret. He was decidedly for the original motion; the pride of being handed down to pofterity for great and gallant actions, was one of the chief inducements to perform them. He reckoned it the glory of his family that an anceftor of his had fallen glorioufly in an action at fea, in the reign of Queen

Anne, and though he could not be positive, he rather thought that he might state as a precedent that a monument had been erected to his memory by Parliament.

General SMITH requitted himself of taking the House by surprise, he stated that an honourable gentleman had told him the Secretary of State would not be in the House, he asked then if it was wished he should postpone his motion, and was told no, therefore it was unfair to make any such charge against him. The House divided on the question of adjournment

Noes 29, Ayes 25 Majority 4.

After some conversation, during which strangers were excluded, the original motion was put and carried.

*Wednesday, 15th April.*

At two o'clock, the Speaker came down in order to transact the private business, after which, attended by several of the Members, he proceeded to St. James's, to present to His Majesty the Address of Congratulation, on the nuptials of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

*Thursday, 16th April.*

At four o'clock there being only twenty four Members present, the Speaker adjourned the House till to-morrow.

*Friday, 17th April.*

The SPEAKER stated, that on Wednesday he had waited on His Majesty, attended by several of the Members, with the Address of Congratulation on the nuptials of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to which His Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

" *I receive with the most cordial satisfaction this dutiful and loyal Address as a fresh proof of your attachment to my person and family, and of the warm interest you take in whatever concerns my domestic happiness.* "

Mr. M. ROBINSON said, that a noble Lord had sometime since mentioned that there were a great number of wounded sailors, and land officers confined in the prisons of France, if such was the fact, as he had good reason to believe, some means ought certainly to be adopted in order to procure their release, and if no other member who was better qualified thought proper to take up the subject, he should avail himself of an opportunity to bring it forward at an early period.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS ſaid, that he would not have it underſtood that the ſubject was at all neglected.

On the queſtion being put, That the Franking Bill be read a third time, Mr. Porter propoſed to bring up a clauſe to prevent the abuſes of franking at the Public Offices, on which a converſation of ſome length took place; but as a Committee had been appointed to examine into the ſubject, it was agreed that the debate on the clauſe ſhould be adjourned till Monday ſe'nnight.

The order of the day was read for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of Supply. The accounts of the diſtribution of different ſums for the ſervice of the year 1794, were ordered to be laid before the Committee.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR took notice of a charge made for a new Navy Board. He aſked whether it was ſeparate from the other?

Mr. ROSE ſaid that the new Navy Board was appointed for the tranſport ſervice, and that there was found to be buſineſs enough for both.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR ſaid that he was ſorry to obſerve that while the expences of the country were increaſing, the patronage of the Crown was alſo extended, and it was doubtful to him whether the country would long be able to ſupport the accumulating preſſure of expence and patronage. If nothing more ſatisfactory was ſaid on the ſubject, he ſhould think it neceſſary to make it the ſubject of a future motion.

Mr. ROSE ſaid that three Commiſſioners had been transferred from the one Navy Board to the other.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR ſaid that the Public derived no advantage from this diminution of Commiſſioners at the one board, if the whole arrangement was attended with an additional expence.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS ſaid the buſineſs at the Tranſport Board, had from experience been found to be done well and œconomically.

Mr. FOX ſaid that he was not ſatisfied with this general ſort of eulogium. He wiſhed to know whether this New Board was attended with an additional expence, and if ſo, in what manner it was defrayed.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS ſtated that the Board had been exiſting for ſome time, and had been regularly charged among the other accounts, the expence was defrayed by the different departments, with which it was connected.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that wherever any increaſe of expence was found neceſſary, it ought always to be ſtated to the Houſe, elſe an increaſe might in one way or other, take place in the Public Expenditure to an unlimited extent. A deſultory converſation then took place,

after which the different resolutions were voted, and the Report ordered to be received on Monday.

On the question that the Scotch Quota bill be read a third time,

General MACLEOD, after adverting to the thinness of the House, observed that the regulations of this bill operated in the nature of a land tax, and were therefore in direct violation of the articles of the Union, by which the land tax for Scotland was limited to 48,000l. and declared to be for ever fixed and irrevocable. Besides, the bill would operate differently in Scotland, from what it did in England, by the bill for England, the burden fell on all who inhabited houses not exempted from taxes, in Scotland it would fall entirely on the land-holders, his own share would amount to about a hundred and fifty pounds This was surely a partial and oppressive regulation. Not less oppressive was the mode by which the land tax was raised in Scotland, any person who should refuse to pay, was liable to have soldiers quartered upon him, till such time as he should submit to the demands of the collectors. When the land tax for Scotland was fixed at 48,000l it was in the proportion of four shillings in the pound for England, the additional expence of 34,675l to which the land holders would be subjected by the regulations of the present bill, brought it up to no less than a sum of seven shillings in the pound for Scotland. Such a gross infringement of the articles of Union on the part of Ministers, was by no means calculated to afford an encouraging example to the other country, (Ireland) with which they were fond at present to meditate a similar union. He concluded with moving that the third reading of the bill should be put off till this day se'nnight, in order to afford time to contrive some more equitable mode of carrying its regulations into effect.

The LORD ADVOCATE FOR SCOTLAND said, that these objections to the principle of the bill having been deferred to so late a stage, and full opportunity having been already afforded for the consideration of the bill, he could by no means consent to the proposed delay.

General MACLEOD said, that he had intimated his objections to the honourable and learned gentleman at a meeting in Scotland, but had been necessarily prevented from attending the House during the former stages of the bill.

The House divided on the question, that the third reading be put off till this day se'nnight.

Ayes 6, Noes 35.

The bill was read a third time and passed.

*Monday, 20th April.*

Mr. HOBART brought up the report of the Committee of Supply, this gave birth to a conversation betwixt Mr. Hussey and Mr. Chancellor Pitt.

Mr. HUSSEY wished to know if Mr. Pitt could satisfy him with respect to the deficiency of land and malt, the loan issues, discount and application of the different sums to the public service, according to the Appropriation act

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he wished he could gratify the honourable Member in those particulars, the accounts had been made made up as usual, and with as much accuracy as possible. The land and malt was such a fluctuating revenue, that it was impossible to make up the account with all the accuracy that might be desired. With respect to the loan, the abundant influx of ready money enabled the subscribers to pay in the subscription much earlier than usual, by which they were entitled to the discount, in future, he thought some limitation to the mode should be adopted, as to the issues, the items would be so minute, that it would render the accounts very voluminous. The resolutions were then put and agreed to.

Mr. HUSSEY moved, "That there be laid before this House the deficiencies of land and malt for the year 1794." Ordered.

Mr. Hussey also moved, "That there be laid before the House the different payments of the loan, the discount paid on each instalment, and the application of the said payments."

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he should not oppose the motion, but thought it would be very difficult to meet it.

Mr. HUSSEY said, as he had already troubled the House, he wished to say a few words. When the right honourable gentleman brought in his bill for imposing an additional duty on tea, it was understood that the tax was to attach on that article on the next sale after the introduction of the bill, which was not the case, by which it was insinuated, that those who were in the secret, availed themselves of purchasing large quantities—those wholesale purchasers laid the tax on the consumer, by which the Public lost 30,000l.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that the votes of that House were the only proper medium through which the proceedings of that House were conveyed to the Public, and that it was well known, that a tax never took place, till the bill imposing that tax received the Royal assent, unless it was otherwise expressed in the votes.

Mr. FOX observed, that this was not the case with regard to the bill for imposing an additional duty on wine, that bill was in-

tended to operate retrospectively, and he did not recollect that it was so stated in the votes.

Mr. HALHED gave notice, that on an early day he should move for a copy of the warrant from the office of the Secretary of State, under which Mr. Brothers had been apprehended; also the examination of Mr. Brothers before the Privy Council, the proceedings and verdict of the jury in his case. If those papers should be granted, he should then move for a Committee to examine the said papers, and to report how far the apprehension and detention of Mr. Brothers was legal.

*Tuesday, 21st April.*

Mr. T. GRENVILLE moved, "That Mr. Fox be one of the Managers appointed for making good the charges in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq."

Mr. FOX rose to object to this motion. He stated that he was very sensible of the honour which the House intended to confer on him, but that he was compelled, in justice to himself, in this stage of the business, to say, that he could not help observing there was something very extraordinary and particular in the mode of proceeding on this subject. There was a difference in the mode adopted in this case from that of any other. The proceedings in the Lords appeared to him very singular in the progress of this impeachment, and he should deem himself as giving cause of offence to the House, if he should omit to state what he understood to be the mode of proceeding in the Lords. He would not pretend to state in a regular manner any thing relative to the proceedings of that House, nor were there are any means of forming a precise judgement on the business, except by inspecting the journals of the House of Lords. Their Lordships, he was given to understand, had caused certain papers to be printed, under the sanction of their authority, containing the questions intended to be put to each of their Lordships. It was not his intention to discuss at present whether any particular proceeding was or was not necessary on this case; but when those concerned in this business came seriously to consider these papers, he fancied that some of the contents would considerably surprise them. To render the whole as intelligible as possible, several parts of the charges ought to be taken separately, particularly in the fourth and sixth articles, and those who had paid attention to the sixth, would see the peculiar necessity of its being divided into different heads. Respecting the sixth, they had not stated the question on some points of the first consequence in that article, those of bonds and presents. As to the second and third articles, their

proceeding was altogether different. They had stated the charges on the Benares and the Begums in the lump, and those consisted of a great number of articles, whether well grounded or not it was not for him then to say, but they, as well as the fourth and sixth articles, consisted of several charges. The Benares charge, in particular, was divided into different heads, but their Lordships had put them into a lump as well as the Begums, and, according to the manner in which they were now to be decided, their Lordships could not by any means give judgement distinctly. On the 7th and 14th articles, which it had been his lot to have the honour to state to their Lordships, it did not appear that any question was to be put on them, except in the way of a sweep It was not his intention to take any step himself, respecting the inspecting of the journals of the House of Lords, but he could not help bringing forward the subject, as he thought those proceedings might be attended with serious consequences in this country. He therefore thought it his duty to mention to the House the particular circumstances under which the Managers were obliged to enter upon the subject at present. Their Lordships had proceeded, on the present occasion, in a manner totally different to what had been adopted on any former impeachment that ever was submitted to their decision by the House of Commons. The novelty of the proceeding made it necessary for him to state it to the House, and a question might arise, whether it might not be deserving of attention in that House, or whether it would be better to pass it over without any notice. The House of Commons was the great guardian of the British constitution One of its highest duties consisted, among other things, of keeping a watchful eye on the proceedings of all Courts of Justice in the kingdom, and he was happy to reflect, that even the proceedings of the House of Lords were by no means paramount to that constitutional function of the House of Commons. He should not himself move any thing upon the subject, but in whatever way this affair might end, he was proud to say that the Managers had always been feelingly alive to the dictates of their duty, and had not omitted any exertion in the prosecution of it, or in the defence and maintenance of what appeared to them to be the honour of that House.

The question that Mr. Fox be a Manager, was then put and carried, as also the motion that Mr. Sheridan and other Managers be appointed, and that the standing orders of the House on the 6th of February, 1788, be observed.

Mr Chancellor PITT moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill for augmenting the corps of artillery, and

for transferring those of the militia, who are seafaring men, to the navy; which, after a short conversation between Mr. M. A. Taylor and Colonel Sloane, was agreed to.

Mr. GREY presented a petition, signed by the Common Office of the Guilding of Dumfermline, in Scotland, against the war.

He then moved, that this petition should lie on the table with the other petitions, which he was of opinion called for the immediate attention of the House. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) had formerly given notice of a motion which he intended to bring forward before the end of the present session, he would, he said, much rather see the subject remain in that honourable gentleman's hands, but if he did not take it up, Mr. Grey thought it necessary to say, that he himself would certainly do so. The petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HALHED addressed the House as follows:—When I had the honour to make a motion in the House, this day three weeks, relative to the books written by Mr Brothers, it cannot be supposed that the actual situation of the author was out of my mind, very far from it. I had, indeed, on that day, designed to bring forward the subject in the form and manner in which I now present it, but altered my plan, in consequence of advice from an honourable Member, my very particular friend, and whose opinion has always great weight with me. When I had so deviated from my original idea, I had the misfortune to be told, by the most respectable and most respected authority in this House, that the motion I was then about to make, was exceedingly objectionable in point of matter. In this situation, which way can I turn myself? What rule shall I adopt for my conduct? None, none but my own sense of duty. A conscientious discharge of those functions which the British constitution, so justly venerated by all of us, has consigned to that branch of the Legislature of which I form an unworthy part, must and shall be my guide. Independent on principle, and attached to no party, I will not flinch from the task imposed on me by circumstances, or pointed out to me by the hand of Providence, but I will certainly, by every conciliatory argument, and in the very spirit of humility, endeavour to divest disapprobation of its frown, and disarm prejudice of its severity.

Sir, the papers which, according to my notice of yesterday, I shall this day move to be laid on your table, are, first, A copy of the information, whatever it may be, on which was founded the warrant from the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by which Richard Brothers was arrested on the 4th of last month, on suspicion of treasonable practices, together with a copy of the said

warrant. 2dly, His examination before the Privy Council. And 3dly, The minute of the whole proceedings held at the King's Arms Tavern, Palace Yard, on a Writ *de Lunatico inquirendo*, together with the verdict of the jury there impannelled. If all, or any of these papers are granted, on these I mean to ground a motion for the House to resolve itself into a Committee, to take the whole matter into consideration, and give such relief thereon, as in its wisdom it shall deem requisite, and as to-morrow is an open day, I hope I shall be indulged with so favourable an opportunity for my purpose.

When I reflect on the subject of my motion of the 31st March, I own I am both surprised and concerned that it should have experienced so little attention. For it must have been demonstrably evident that I could have no private or personal views in the business, even if I had not so pointedly disclaimed them, and that the disregard, dislike, contempt, and abhorrence with which I have heard the books alluded to, occasionally branded, are neither just nor reasonable, I am still so ignorant or so obstinate as not to comprehend. But when I consider the exceeding variety of tempers, dispositions, characters, and pursuits necessarily existing among so many different persons, that I should not have found one gentleman to second me, is, I confess, a subject of much astonishment. For when a topic, pregnant with religious allusions, and professedly (even if we suppose it mistaken) founded on the grand basis of Christianity, claimed nothing more than a deliberate discussion, where were the promoters of the Sunday Reform bill? When the cause of a suffering and persecuted individual pressed (though obliquely, and by insinuation only) on the notice of the House, where were the meritorious defenders of Muir and Palmer? When dangers, however visionary, were announced as threatening this Parliament, and this nation, where were the indefatigable detectors of the affiliated Democratic Societies? When imputed insanity was offered for consideration, where were the invincible bulwarks that preserved regal delirium from an intrusive Regency? Alas! alas! they must all have been sick, or sleeping, or peradventure on a journey. When the subject of universal peace was offered as a matter of calm reflection, where were all the strenuous and able opposers of the present calamitous war? When bolts and bars, imprisonment and chains, were pathetically held up to view for commiseration and relief, men were persevering denunciators of the African slave trade!

Well, Sir, though my motion of that day did thus surprisingly fall to the ground, I must implicitly trust it did not wholly fail of its intended effect. Many gentlemen, I am convinced, did read

Mr. Brothers's books during the interval of the recess, and some I knew to have applied for and received them from the author himself previously to that period. Wherefore, though by my former ill success I am precluded from direct application to the contents of those books, I am perfectly warrantable in alluding to them, as of public notoriety: and indeed few compositions, since printing was first invented, have excited more general attention. Any man who considers my former motion, must at once discover that it led to those which I presume to offer this day, and I should have thought myself unpardonably negligent of my duty, whether as a legislator or a Christian, if I had suffered the business to evaporate after once taking it up, without at least straining every nerve to procure some substantial redress for the person who is known to have been the ultimate object of my exertions.

Had I in the former case succeeded, it would have been very natural, Sir, that I should beg of the House at large, to point out any passages in the books I have mentioned, from whence the slightest tendency of a treasonable intention could be inferred. I myself know of none. That alone which had been hinted to me, and which I had any reason to suspect as in the remotest degree liable to such an imputation, I clearly explained upon a former occasion. And the more pointedly to evince my perfect conviction of the innocence of these books, as far as treason is concerned, [illegible], in the face of the House, adopt the whole of them as my own, and subscribe to every assertion in them from the first to the last. I made myself a confessor, a willing accomplice in all the guilt contained in them—"*Habes confitentem reum*," and I desire nothing more than to be proceeded against legally and up to final judgement and sentence upon those grounds.

If now there be treason lurking in these publications, I am committed beyond all evasion, and gentlemen know what to think of me: but I am firmly convinced, no such accusation can be thought to attach, and that I am in no danger. And as, I trust, that hitherto, and up to the very instant of these assertions, I have ever maintained the character of a faithful subject, and true to my oath of allegiance, I shall, for the present, venture to assume it as a fact, that the writings in question, as far as they go, are not treasonable. Their author then must have incurred this dreadful imputation from some other circumstance. Is it offensive, is it indecent, is it unparliamentary, to inquire of what nature these damning circumstances may be?—for I neither know, nor have heard, nor can possibly conjecture any one. Last year, when various persons were taken up by a similar interference of the Executive Power,

we were fairly and candidly told the grounds of their arreſt; the formation of, or connection with popular ſocieties, formed on principles reſembling thoſe of the jacobin clubs in France, and deemed to be equally ſubverſive of all regular government, were the oſtenſible plea of their impriſonment. Here is a ground to ſtand upon. Here is a fact held up to the warning of every one. To be Member of a club, or at leaſt of a certain deſcription of a club, ſubjects a man to the ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices. Was Mr. Brothers the inſtitutor of any ſuch club? Was he even member of any club at all? I anſwer, authoritatively, No. Well, but it may be ſaid, if a number of perſons be collected together even without the form or name of a club, treaſon may ſtill be diſſeminated at ſuch aſſembly. If the names of Preſident, or Chairman, and Secretary, be committed for thoſe of Miniſter and Clerk, the miſchief may be no leſs ſerious and no leſs apparent. For do we not know, that Oliver Cromwell was himſelf a preacher, and ſubverted the Conſtitutional Government of the country by means of field preachers? I anſwer, Mr. Brothers was no preacher. he never aſſembled, nor thought of aſſembling any congregation whatever, and he had neither more intention nor more appearance of collecting an aſſembly for ſeditious purpoſes, or for any purpoſe whatever beyond that of general converſation, than you, Sir, have at your levee, or the Preſident of the Royal Society at his breakfaſts.

Mr. Brothers was generally at home a few hours in the morning. Inclination, curioſity, example, occaſionally belief in his predictions, induced various perſons to call upon him, and he was never denied to them. Members of Parliament, and ladies of quality, have met there without bluſhing, and without offence. Sometimes he was civilly treated, very often cavilled at, and not ſeldom abuſed, but he was uniformly calm, obliging, and conſiſtent with all. In this part, therefore, of his conduct I am totally at a loſs to diſcover any outlines of the traitor, and if others, more quickſighted than myſelf, have ſeen deeper into this particular, I hope it will be communicated to us this day for general information. Arguing, however, from my own perſonal knowledge of him, as far as it goes, I aſſert, with no leſs boldneſs of his way of living than of his books, that no treaſon whatever can be detected in either.

It follows, that if there be no treaſon, there muſt be much inſanity about him. For ſomething, undoubtedly, we muſt aſſume as the cauſe, originally, of his arreſt, and hitherto of his impriſonment. By what teſt ſhall we try him on this head? I ſincerely hope not by the inveſtigation at the King's Arms Tavern; for if the proceedings which I mean to move for, are fairly brought forward,

as doubtless they will be, I am sure I shall prove the evidence, on that head, to have been completely insufficient and nugatory.

Now, Sir, if the books I formerly moved for lay at present upon your table, I would desire neither more nor better evidence than they contain, to evince, to the satisfaction of every reasonable man, that the writer has not the slightest tincture of insanity about him. What is the object professedly proposed by those books? the restoration of peace. From one end to the other, in every page, and in every sentence, we may visibly trace this one grand prominent feature. Sometimes it is urged on the score of political advantage, sometimes on principles of religious duty: here it is recommended by a striking picture of its beneficial consequences, there contrasted by a terrific display of the calamities of war. The author shifts his arguments, and diversifies his representations, to suit every species of understanding, and accommodate himself to all the various classes of his readers, and is this madness? Is that versatility of thought and sentiment, which in all other writers is deemed one of the first essentials of genius, to be wantonly and unfeelingly misconstrued, as the wanderings of deranged intellect, because it may not exactly suit the temper of the times? Forbid it, every principle of virtue and justice. forbid it, every spark of humanity and philanthropy! In proof of what I have here faintly attempted to describe I might appeal to a thousand passages scattered over every part of Mr. Brothers's works, but I will produce only one, it is in the 41st page of the second book, and a more striking example of sound abilities and correct imagination, I am well persuaded, could no where be selected from Demosthenes or Cicero, or any other of the best of human authors, ancient or modern. It is a comment on the 27th verse of the 7th chapter of Daniel.

In what I have taken the liberty to state to the House on the present occasion, I hope, Sir, I shall not be so widely misunderstood, as if I endeavoured to throw an odium, or set up an accusation against any of the Members of Administration, or any other persons of respectability whatever, I have no such intention. If spies and informers, basely stabbing a man's fair fame in the dark, have misled the candid and unsuspecting minds of liberal gentlemen, let us unmask their hypocrisy, and rescue their victim from unmerited punishment.

If medical pretenders, by reliance on visionary theories, or with a deep-laid plot of systematic villainy have conspired to cry down a man's intellect, and rob him of Heaven's choicest inheritance, his sanity of understanding, let us expose their ignorance or chastise their depravity by effectual interference. All I wish, is, to procure

redreſs for an undeſerving ſufferer as I deem him, or to gain ſome conviction of the juſtice of his ſufferings. And that this, Sir, is not an eaſy matter, nor a matter attainable through any regular official channel, I hope to make fully evident, nor indeed do I know of any channel, but that of the inquiſitorial authority of this Houſe, by which the relief I ſpeak of, which gentlemen will allow muſt neceſſarily be prompt, if we would have it efficacious, can poſſibly be obtained. The perſon in queſtion is, as a ſuſpected traitor, in the power of the Secretary of State—as a lunatic he is immediately under the Lord Chancellor. If I apply to Chancery, I muſt expect to be told he is a State priſoner, under warrant from Government for treaſonable practices. If I refer to the Secretary of State's Office, I ſhall have the ſame anſwer as given to another friend of his, "that he is not properly under that department, but as a lunatic is to be ſent to ſome hoſpital, where, perhaps, by leave of the Governor, I may be permitted to ſee him." Between theſe two noble perſonages, while I am bandied about as a ſhuttlecock, Mr. Brothers may be transferred to a third or a fourth department whither all my induſtry may be exerted in vain to trace him. All I require, therefore, is to diſcover with preciſion whether this Mr Brothers be a traitor or a lunatic. He may poſſibly be neither but it is morally certain he cannot be both. I neither wiſh to palliate any crimes he may have committed, nor to ſcreen him from any merited puniſhment of the law.

A few words more, Sir, and I am done. I have cauſed to be delivered at the door, a printed paper, written, I confeſs, partly on another ſubject than perſonal controverſy, though bearing immediately alſo on my preſent motion. I moſt ſincerely apologize for its intruſion, and I hope I ſhall be forgiven, when I mention, that it is done preciſely for the purpoſe of taking ſhame to myſelf, in having there inſerted a propoſition which is not warranted by fact.

As far as that aſſertion goes, I can ſay nothing in my own defence. I admit it to be falſe, and I aſk pardon for its inſertion. I have there ſaid, that "the verdict of lunacy was brought in at the very meeting before ever the perſon to be decided on was examined at all," and I now know that his examination was previous to the verdict—they had only made up their minds to it, before they ſaw him. I eat my words.

Now with reſpect to the documents which I move for, they cannot, I think, betray any ſecrets of State. For if there exiſts a plot, of which Government wiſhed to explore the different ramifications, before they promulgate their information, I think the verdict of lunacy is effectually done away. A conſpiracy headed by a

madman can be no very tremendous object, nor do I think his accomplices could have so long lain hid, when their chief was in confinement, and if this supposed conspiracy lay in his books, why, after the open warning I gave three weeks ago, has no step been taken to impede their circulation?

The examination before the Privy Council I am pretty well assured, may be published without any danger. All was politeness, candor and good sense in that quarter and though curiosity might be gratified by the publication, no new article would from thence be added to the catalogue of treason.

Of the verdict of insanity I have little to say. The jurymen themselves are not very consistent in their accounts of it, which may a little palliate the error I have acknowledged, but if their proceedings be granted to my motion, opinion then will have something solid to rest on.

I now conclude, most earnestly entreating gentlemen to consider themselves as representatives of the whole British nation, to be meritoriously employed in redressing, where it may be possible, the accidental oppressions of any one British individual, however obscure, and I hope that a man who has creditably served his King and country in the Royal navy, the pride and the bulwark of the Empire, will never appeal in vain to a British House of Commons.

I therefore move, "that a copy of the warrant of the Secretary of State for the apprehending of Richard Brothers, be laid before this House, together with a copy of the information on which that warrant was grounded."

Mr. Halhed having given in his motion, the Speaker asked, who seconds this motion? There being no answer, the Speaker said, as this motion is not seconded, it cannot be put from the Chair.

Mr. WILBERFORCE alluded to what had been mentioned by Mr. Grey, when he presented a petition, the intention of which he had given notice, of bringing forward a motion in that House. He had made up his mind upon that subject, and he could now state, that his object was to facilitate the obtaining of peace. He could not tell precisely when he should move it. He thought that, perhaps, it would be as well to defer it to the latter end of the session. Several gentlemen whispered—When, when. In answer to which Mr Wilberforce said, perhaps this day fortnight. The House adjourned.

*Wednesday, 22d April.*

The House having resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and Means,

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, that the sum of 2,395,000l. be granted for the service of His Majesty from the surplus of the Consolidated Fund. Agreed —The House adjourned.

*Thursday, 23d April.*

A message from the Lords informed the House that their Lordships had agreed to several bills, and passed others, to which they desired the concurrence of that House.

The SECRETARY AT WAR gave notice, that to-morrow he should move for leave to bring in a bill to relieve innkeepers of part of the burdens under which they at present labour, and also that he should have a proposition to submit on the estimates which were now before the House.

General MACLEOD said, he understood from public rumour, that on account of the present dearness of provisions, His Majesty had given directions for an allowance of nine-pence a week to all non commissioned officers and privates. The General wished to know of the Secretary at War if that rumour was right. If it was, he should have something to observe to the House upon the subject.

The SECRETARY AT WAR did not precisely know to what order or direction the honourable Member alluded. It had been proposed that bread should be given to the soldiers in kind, instead of money to purchase it, by way of avoiding the inconvenience arising from the dearness of it, and that was the only thing he knew of, that seemed to apply to the subject to which the honourable Member alluded.

General MACLEOD said, that the allowance he alluded to, was supposed to have been ordered within this week.

The House went into a Committee on the Dutch Property bill.

Mr RYDER then opened the general nature of the bill. It was an amendment of the bill of this session for regulating the importation, &c. of Dutch property.

General MACLEOD did not oppose the bill, but he wished the House to observe that Ministers had been most culpably negligent in not bringing it forward sooner, if they had, great advantages would have arisen to this country out of it, for by the general derangement of the public affairs of almost all the powers of Europe, England might have become the depot of almost all the moveable property of Holland.

Mr. RYDER said, that if the honourable gentleman had happened to attend his duty in Parliament, early in the present session, he would have known that Administration had done the very thing which he now accused them of neglecting. They had taken the earliest possible opportunity for regulating the mode of legally importing property from Holland. They had gone farther, for they had advised the issuing an order in Council for that purpose, before an act could be passed, a thing in itself illegal, but which was justified by necessity, and therefore the parties concerned in advising it were indemnified.

General MACLEOD felt no difficulty in believing the account of the illegality of the conduct of His Majesty's present advisers, but he would still assert what he wished the Public, through the medium of that House, to know, that in consequence of the negligence of Ministers, a great deal of Dutch property, which ought to have come to England, went to Hamburgh and Dantzic. He defied Ministers to deny this assertion

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved the order of the day, which was to go into a Committee of the whole House on the bill for augmenting the Royal corps of artillery, and for providing for the navy, seafaring men out of the militia.

The House being in a Committee, he proposed three clauses. The first had for its object, the regulating the power of officers, during the absence of the Commander. The second for regulating the law, with regard to those who were officers in the militia, and officers also in the fencibles. The third, restoring to His Majesty, the power of dismissing officers, in certain cases out of the militia, a power which the Crown had had ever since the establishment of that body until the passing of the bill in the year 1786. That power of the Crown was then omitted, whether inadvertently, or by design, he was unable to learn, but he saw no reason for the omission, on the contrary, he thought it a necessary power.

Upon each of these clauses there was some conversation. On the last, General Macleod said, it was a dangerous power to be in the hands of the Crown. It was well known that one of the most splendid orations that were ever made by the late Earl of Chatham, was against the use of the prerogative of the Crown, in dismissing an officer in the regulars. If it was a dangerous power over the regulars, what must it be over the militia?

Colonel Sloane, Mr. Bastard, and other officers in the militia, approved of the clause, Mr. Courtenay was against it, after a short conversation, the Committee divided,

For the Clause, 45; Against it, 8.

The bill then, with all the clauſes, paſſed the Committee.

*Friday, 24th April.*

Mr. ERSKINE preſented a petition from the Mayor and inhabitants of Portſmouth, claiming the attention of the Houſe to the preſent high price of proviſions. The petition ſtated, that the preſent high price of proviſions was attended with great diſtreſs to the lower claſſes, and had a tendency to excite public diſcontent, and prayed that the Houſe might adopt ſuch meaſures as to their wiſdom ſhould ſeem meet, in order to remedy the evil, and prevent the tumult which it might otherwiſe occaſion.—The petition was ordered to lie upon the table.

The order of the day was read for the Houſe to go into a Committee upon the bill to regulate the law, with reſpect to ballots in caſes of controverted elections.

Mr. [illegible] objected to the clauſe diminiſhing the number of Members required to be preſent, before the Houſe can proceed to ballot. He ſaid, that he could wiſh the number rather to be increaſed than diminiſhed, and at the ſame time ſuggeſted, that ſome mode ought to be adopted in order to compel the attendance of Members.

Mr. GRENVILLE ſaid, that it appeared to him that the number of 75 would be, in many reſpects, more convenient for the Houſe, inſtead of the 100 Members, who formerly were required to be preſent. The number he ſhould propoſe to form the Committee would be 11, to which 75 bore nearly the ſame proportion, as 100 to 15.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that he did not object that the proportion of 75 was not great enough to the number of 11 Members propoſed to be choſen, but that it was not great enough to 558 Members of the Houſe, whoſe duty it was to attend on ſuch occaſions. Out of the whole number it ſurely was not unreaſonable to compel the attendance of 100. He thought that there was a very great objection to the deciſion of caſes of controverted elections falling into the hands of a few Members.

Mr. FRANCIS ſaid, that he ſhould conſider it as diſgraceful to the Houſe, if when Members were found to neglect their duty, inſtead of ſeeking to provide a remedy for the inconvenience, they ſhould be intent only, under the ſhape of a regulation, to introduce an apology for their own remiſſneſs. After a very long and deſultory converſation, it was underſtood that the number ſhould continue as formerly to be 100. It was then debated whether the number

ſtruck ſhould be retained at 49, or reduced to 27, a diviſion took place, when there appeared

For the original number 53; Againſt it 37. Majority 16.

The Chairman reported progreſs, and the Committee was appointed to ſit again on Thurſday.

Lord MILTON ſaid, that he wiſhed for a moment to call the attention of the Houſe to a circumſtance which had lately taken place in a neighbouring kingdom—the diſmiſſion of Earl Fitzwilliam from the high ſituation which he held in the Government of Ireland. He underſtood that on a former occaſion a right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Pitt) had ſaid, whatever might be the cauſes of the removal of the noble Lord, no blame whatever attached to His Majeſty's Miniſters in this country; an aſſertion which ſeemed to imply, that the blame muſt neceſſarily attach elſewhere. It was proper that there ſhould be ſome inquiry made into the grounds of this inſinuation, in order to aſcertain to what quarter the blame really belonged. He wiſhed therefore to know, whether Miniſters were prepared to appoint a day for the inveſtigation of the ſubject.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, that all who had heard him on the former occaſion would be ſenſible that he had then ſaid nothing which called upon him to appoint any day for the inveſtigation of the ſubject, or made him feel it as any part of his duty to enter at all into the diſcuſſion.

Mr. JEKYLL ſaid, that he could not help feeling ſome degree of indignation, that Miniſters ſhould come forward to aſſert that no blame attached to them, and afterwards decline to appoint a day of inquiry, in order to afford an opportunity of exculpation to thoſe who were the objects of their inſinuated cenſure. The whole of the tranſaction alluded to by the noble Lord was now before the Public, and perhaps Miniſters acted wiſely in ſhrinking from inquiry, as they muſt be well aware that their ſhare in the buſineſs was of ſuch a nature as could by no means bear inveſtigation. But though they might be diſpoſed to flinch from the queſtion, it became that Houſe to adopt a different conduct. When ſuch ſerious conſequences had been produced; when a whole country had been thrown into a ſtate of extreme agitation, and an opening afforded for the worſt conſequences of political diſſention; when the union of the Britiſh empire had been endangered, at a period too, when its moſt important intereſts were at ſtake, it was proper that there ſhould be ſome inquiry into the cauſes of theſe alarming evils, in order to aſcertain who were the men from whoſe miſconduct they originated. With this view he ſhould propoſe ſome day to be appointed for the conſideration of this momentous ſubject. And he truſted that the

House would feel it to be their duty to enter into the discussion from whatever quarter the proposition might proceed. He concluded with giving notice that on the first open day he should move for a day to be appointed for the House to institute an inquiry into the grounds of the dismission of Earl Fitzwilliam from the situation of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—Friday next was the day appointed for the motion.

Mr. SECRETARY AT WAR brought in a bill to regulate the quartering of soldiers upon inn-keepers, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Thursday next.

*Monday, 27th April.*

Mr. MAINWARING presented a petition from the British servants, complaining of the encouragement given to foreigners, but no Member appearing to second it, it could not be laid upon the table.

Mr. POWYS gave notice of his intention to move for leave to bring in a bill for more effectually preventing deficient weights and false balances.

Mr. Chancellor PITT brought down the following message from His Majesty, which was read by the Speaker:

" GEORGE R.

" *His Majesty relies on the liberality and affection of his faithful Commons, and in the cordial interest which they have manifested in the happy event of the nuptials of the Prince and Princess of Wales, that they will be ready to concur in such provision as they may judge necessary, to enable His Majesty to settle an establishment for the Prince and Princess, suited to their rank and dignity.*

" *On an occasion, in all other respects so satisfactory, His Majesty feels the deepest regret in being under the necessity of communicating to the House, that the benefit of any settlement to be now made, cannot be effectually secured to the Prince of Wales, without providing the means of freeing him from incumbrances to a large amount, to which he is now subject.*

" *Anxious as His Majesty must necessarily be, particularly under the present circumstances, to relieve the Prince of Wales from these difficulties, His Majesty entertains no idea of proposing to his Parliament to make any provision for this object, otherwise than by the application of a part of the income which may be settled on the Prince; but he earnestly recommends it to the House, to consider of the propriety of thus providing for the gradual discharge of these incumbrances, by appropriating and securing for a given term, the revenues arising from the Dutchy of Corn-*

*wall, together with a proportion of the Prince's other annual income; and His Majesty will be ready and desirous to concur in any provisions which the wisdom of Parliament may suggest, for the purposes of establishing a regular and punctual order of payment, in the Prince's future expenditure, and of guarding against the possibility of the Prince being again involved in so painful and embarrassing a situation.* "G. R."

Mr. Chancellor PITT then moved, that this message be referred to a Committee of Supply.

Colonel STANLEY desired, that His Majesty's message of the 21st May, 1787, be read.

Mr. GREY observed, that it was very important for the House to hear that Message, and the Address of the House in answer to it.

They were both therefore read.

The Message was as follows:

"GEORGE R.

"It is with great concern His Majesty acquaints the House of Commons, that from the accounts which have been laid before His Majesty by the Prince of Wales, it appears that the Prince has incurred a debt to a large amount, which, if left to be discharged out of his annual income, would render it impossible for him to support an establishment suited to his rank and station.

"Painful as it is at all times to His Majesty to propose an addition to the heavy expences necessarily borne by his people, His Majesty is induced, from his paternal affection to the Prince of Wales, to recur to the liberality and attachment of his faithful Commons for their assistance, on an occasion so interesting to his Majesty's feelings, and to the ease and honour of so distinguished a branch of his Royal Family.

"His Majesty could not, however, expect or desire the assistance of this House, but on a well-grounded expectation that the Prince will avoid contracting any debts in future.

"With a view to this object, and from an anxious desire to remove any possible doubt of the sufficiency of the Prince's income to support amply the dignity of his situation, His Majesty has directed a sum of 10,000l. per annum to be paid out of his Civil List in addition to the allowance which His Majesty has hitherto given him; and His Majesty has the satisfaction to inform the House, that the Prince of Wales has given His Majesty the fullest assurance of his determination to confine his future expences within the income, and has also settled a plan for arranging those expences in the several departments, and for fixing an order for payment under such regulations as His Majesty trusts will effectually secure the due execution of the Prince's intentions.

"His Majesty will direct an estimate to be laid before the House, of the sum wanting to complete, in a proper manner, the work which has been undertaken at Carlton House, as soon as the same can be prepared with sufficient accuracy, and recommends it to his faithful Commons to consider of making some provision for that purpose.

"G. R."

The Address was dated the 24th of May, 1787, and the House

of Commons complied with the wiſhes, and reiterated the ſentiments expreſſed by His Majeſty in the Meſſage. [Vide the Parliamentary Regiſter, Vol. XXII.]

Colonel STANLEY ſaid it was with regret that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſaying any thing upon the ſubject now before the Houſe. That Houſe had already very liberally come forward to pay the debts of his Royal Highneſs. They were now called upon to diſcharge his debts a ſecond time. This being a buſineſs of the firſt importance, he thought the Houſe ought to be fully attended, and for that purpoſe he thought a call of the Houſe ought to take place. He wiſhed that the eſtabliſhment of his Royal Highneſs ſhould be as ſplendid as poſſible. But he would leave it to his own feelings, whether in the diſtreſſed ſtate of the country, without inquiry and due deliberation, he could again expect that Houſe to diſcharge theſe debts. He did not wiſh to ſay any thing bordering on diſreſpect to his Royal Highneſs, or any one branch of the Royal Family; but ſurely that Houſe ought to proceed deliberately on a matter of this magnitude. He therefore wiſhed for a full attendance on the diſcuſſion of the ſubject. The ſituation of the country was ſuch as to demand it. A number of the Members of that Houſe had gone into the country under an idea that no more burdens, for the preſent ſeſſion, were to be laid on their conſtituents. In all points of view, therefore, a call of the Houſe appeared to him to be neceſſary.

The SPEAKER obſerved, that, in point of order and regularity of proceeding, it would be neceſſary to diſpoſe of the queſtion now before the Houſe, previous to any thing being ſaid on the ſubject of a call of the Houſe. When a motion ſhould be made with reſpect to the day of taking His Majeſty's Meſſage into conſideration, it would then be regular to bring forward the ſubject of the call, to which the honourable Member had alluded, but the rules of the Houſe required that His Majeſty's Meſſage ſhould be referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, it was his intention to move, That the Houſe ſhould go into a Committee of the whole Houſe this day ſe'nnight, to conſider of the meſſage from His Majeſty. If the Houſe ſhould be of opinion, that the meaſure recommended ought to be adopted, he ſhould hope, he confeſſed, that the honourable gentleman would not preſs the motion for a call of the Houſe. He did not wiſh in any degree to diſguiſe the magnitude and importance of the ſubject now before them; nor did he mean to expreſs leſs regret than was felt in common by every Member of that Houſe, as to the occaſion which called for their deliberation. At the ſame

time he wished to say, that it was evident from the message, that His Majesty's intimation went not to the length of requiring a specific sum to be advanced for the present, in order to discharge the principal of the debts of his Royal Highness. It was only to set apart a certain portion of that income which might be granted by the liberality of Parliament, to the gradual discharge of the debts of his Royal Highness. Whatever, therefore, Parliament, out of that liberality, might be disposed to grant, was to be applied to free his Royal Highness from the demands of his creditors, a circumstance the most essential to the real splendor and dignity of his Royal Highness. If Parliament were to grant an income to his Royal Highness, for the purpose of supporting that dignity and splendor, the first step certainly ought to be to enable him to remove from his affairs all clogs and embarrassments. If it was the desire of the House that this should be done, they would reflect that it could not be done effectually, either to the satisfaction of the creditors of his Royal Highness, to his own ease and comfort, or with any view to certainty, except by enabling him to allot out of his income a certain part, as much as might appear necessary for that purpose. If it should be found that the whole sum which should be proposed for the establishment of his Royal Highness, was no more than the House would have been disposed to grant him, if his debts had never existed, in order to support his household, and to maintain his dignity, he trusted that the feelings of honourable gentlemen would be fully satisfied. When he looked at the grants made to the Prince of Wales, the grandfather of his present Royal Highness, at a time when the scale of expence was not in any respect, to a person of any rank, nearly so high as it was at present, he owned, at the same time, that he lamented the necessity of the occasion, that the sum to be proposed for his Royal Highness now must be comparatively small. It would be but little more than had been granted to his grandfather, from the affection and the liberality, and he might add, the wisdom and the prudence, of Parliament. The House was under the unfortunate necessity of either determining to leave his Royal Highness without relief, or adopting the mode now proposed, or some such mode of relieving him; and under all the circumstances, he trusted they would not be much inclined to narrow the amount. He thought it necessary to state thus much of the outline; a more particular discussion he thought it would not be proper for him to enter into in the present stage of the proceedings. But this he would add, that on the best consideration he had been able to give to this subject, and to every thing connected with it, he was ready to say, that it was not only the inte-

reſt of the Royal Family, but alſo the public duty of that Houſe, which they all felt ſatisfaction in diſcharging, to be liberal in allowances of this deſcription; becauſe the people were materially intereſted in the comfort, and even in the ſplendor and dignity, of the Royal Family in all its branches. He thought, therefore, that when theſe points came to be conſidered, there would appear no neceſſity for that delay which a call of the Houſe muſt neceſſarily occaſion. It could not be ſaid to be a thing brought forward on a ſudden, for an eſtabliſhment for his Royal Highneſs had long been a matter of general expectation. Beſides, there were other queſtions of great public importance relative to the political ſtate of the country remaining to be diſcuſſed about the ſame time that the meſſage would come under conſideration. On the great queſtion of peace and war, notice had been given of a diſcuſſion, ſo that there was no doubt that a full attendance would take place without a call of the Houſe, to enforce which would be attended with ſome inconvenience to individuals, and attended with ſome delay of buſineſs He ſhould therefore hope that the honourable gentleman would not perſiſt in his intention, and preſs for the call. He now moved, "That this meſſage be taken into conſideration this day ſe'nnight." This queſtion being put,

Mr. GREY ſaid, that no Member of that Houſe who felt it his duty to give oppoſition to any part of the eſtabliſhment of his Royal Highneſs, could help feeling the moſt unpleaſant ſenſations, at the ſame time, however that might be, he was perſuaded that no Member who felt that to be his duty, would paſs it by, becauſe the taſk was diſagreeable. In his opinion, a more important ſubject than this could hardly come under the conſideration of that Houſe; particularly under the circumſtances of the country at this moment.—This was the ſecond application to Parliament to pay the debts of his Royal Highneſs, and that too after a ſolemn promiſe had been made that no future debt ſhould be incurred. He did not mean to ſay that the right honourable gentleman who brought this ſubject forward had any improper intention, but the manner in which he had brought it forward was, he feared, calculated to create a miſunderſtanding in the Public. The right honourable gentleman had treated this as an additional income to his Royal Highneſs. Now he muſt ſay, that let it be done in what ſhape, or under what colour it might, it was in ſubſtance neither more nor leſs than a proviſion from Parliament to pay the debts of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, and he thought there could not be a more improper mode of doing it than that of adopting a plan by which the Public were likely to miſunderſtand the thing to be done. It would

make no difference to the Public ultimately, and it would be more eligible at once to pay the debts of his Royal Highneſs in a ſum of money, and to create a tax avowedly and ſpecifically for that purpoſe; it muſt come to that at laſt, and what was the uſe of diſguiſing it? He wanted the thing to be plainly, fairly, and diſtinctly done, that the Public might clearly ſee what burdens they were to bear for his Royal Highneſs. Under theſe impreſſions, he could not help thinking, that the mode now propoſed was objectionable; and, that after all that had been ſaid, Parliament would be called upon, and that at no very diſtant period, to provide for an immenſe debt, on account of his Royal Highneſs. The right honourable gentleman who brought this buſineſs forward, had ſaid, that, conſidering all things, the ſum propoſed was not greater than the Houſe would be diſpoſed to grant to his Royal Highneſs, to ſupport his ſplendor and dignity, even if he had no debt. Now, when the Houſe came to conſider the diminution of the national income, the increaſe of our burdens, and the ſtill greater increaſe of them that we are to expect, conſidering how very heavily the Public are taxed already, how much more heavily they muſt ſtill be taxed, he could not help ſaying that the right honourable gentleman's was not the beſt way of conſidering the ſubject. When the cries of the ſtarving poor were aſſailing them on all ſides, he thought that the Houſe would not be doing its duty, by granting eſtabliſhments to Princes, with a profuſion unparalleled in former times. He had heard much of the dignity of his Royal Highneſs. Now he was of opinion that the beſt dignity of the Prince of Wales would be maintained by his ſhewing a feeling heart for the poor, and an unwillingneſs to add to their diſtreſſes. This would be dignity ſuperior to any thing he could gain by ſplendor of appearance. He left gentlemen to judge whether they had any pleaſing proſpect from what was now propoſed. He ſhould ſay no more at this moment, he was afraid of proceeding, leſt he ſhould be betrayed into any thing that might have the appearance of diſreſpect. He did not wiſh to give offence to that auguſt perſonage, he hoped, however, the call of the Houſe would be enforced.

Mr. CURWEN regretted, as much as any Member of that Houſe, that there ſhould be any objection to this meaſure, but he muſt perform his duty as a Member of Parliament. He muſt ſay he was not ſatisfied. He wiſhed to ſee ſome proviſion, on which the Houſe could rely, that no farther debt ſhould be incurred on the part of his Royal Highneſs. Some meaſure ſhould be adopted to put that out of his power, and that meaſure ſhould be brought forward for the conſideration of the Houſe. As to the obſervation

of the right honourable gentleman, that Parliament were to grant no more to his Royal Highness than should have been given to him if he had no debt, he must observe, it was not the way to proceed under the present condition of affairs. He wished gentlemen to turn their eyes to a neighbouring country, and recollect what brought on its great convulsion, it was not from the exercise of tyrannical power, for the late Government there was comparatively mild, but it arose out of a lamentable negligence about the finances and the extravagance of the Princes of the Blood, it was that which plunged that country into its calamities. He was decidedly in favour of a call of the House.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the honourable gentleman who spoke last seemed to have forgotten part of the Message of His Majesty; by the last paragraph in it, he would see that the very provision against incurring farther debt was expressly recommended; he therefore desired that that part of the Message might be read, which was done.

Mr. POWYS said, that though he could not agree with the honourable gentleman (Mr. Grey), that the mode proposed by his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt), was the most exceptionable measure that could be adopted, yet he thought that the House ought to mark their sense of the novelty and importance of the occasion, by adopting the motion for the call of the House. He was averse to much at large in the present stage of the business. He hoped the right honourable gentleman would more fully explain the nature of the whole transaction, before he called upon that House to come to any decision. Notwithstanding his reluctance to make any declaration, he could not help joining in the feelings which His Majesty himself had expressed in the message. He must say that he felt the deepest regret, that, notwithstanding the paternal liberality of His Majesty, notwithstanding the loyal zeal which the House had manifested in making provision for the former debt, and the pledge which had then been given on the part of the Prince, that no future application of that sort should be made, that fresh obligations should have been contracted to so large an amount. It became matter of interesting inquiry by what means the King, the Prince, the Parliament, and the Public, had all been so grossly deceived. It would be proper that the persons from whose neglect or misconduct this glaring abuse of confidence had proceeded, should be pointed out. The right honourable gentleman had stated no degree of inconvenience that would be incurred from the delay that would be necessary for the purpose of a call of the House. He had admitted that it was a subject which called for the fullest and most

mature deliberation. He could not then see any reason why the motion for the call should not be adopted. There were some inquiries which, he remarked, ought to precede any measure that might be adopted by the House. Ought the Public to be called upon to pay the price of indiscretions? Ought they to be rendered liable for expences, which perhaps ought never to have been incurred? Was there no part of the burden which could be removed from the shoulders of the Public, already so severely smarting with the necessary load of taxation, in order to be laid on the civil list? All these were questions which, in his opinion, ought to receive a satisfactory answer before the House pledged themselves to any resolution on the subject.

Mr. MONTAGU declared that he coincided in opinion with the honourable gentlemen who had already spoken; that the importance of the subject was such, as called for the fullest attendance that could be obtained: he should therefore approve of a call of the House. He did not wish, on the present occasion, to anticipate any thing that might more properly belong to the discussion of the message itself. The only reason stated by the right honourable gentleman why a call should not take place was, that other important business, which would be likely to secure a full attendance, was appointed to be discussed about the same time that the message would come under consideration: But if other important business was to be thrown into the scale along with this, which he should contend to be, of all others, the most important, this was only an additional reason why the call ought to be adopted. The subject acquired a peculiar importance from the circumstances of the times. But he considered it altogether as of too grave and weighty a nature for him to say any thing further without the fullest deliberation. He should endeavour to come to the discussion without partiality and without prejudice, prepared to act with an equal attention to the rights of the Prince, and the interests of the people. Such was, in his opinion, the line of procedure, which the solemnity of the occasion required, though he could not help confessing, that he felt himself to a certain degree prepossessed as to that part which the dignity of the House required them to take in the present instance.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that so many gentlemen seemed to be impressed with the propriety of the call of the House, that he would readily concur in meeting their wishes. At the same time it would be desirable that as early a day as possible should be appointed for that purpose. When he proposed that the discussion should take place this day se'nnight, it was not because he did not consider it to be an object entitled to the most ample and mature delibera-

tion, but, because, he conceived that the discussion at that period might have had every advantage of previous consideration, and a full attendance, without having recourse to the expedient of a call. In order to afford the necessary time for the call, it would be proper that he should withdraw his original motion, and a delay of at least ten days or a fortnight be allowed to take place previous to the discussion.

Mr. SUMNER said, that before the House consented to make any provision for discharging the fresh obligations of his Royal Highness, he thought it was incumbent upon them to know how their former grants had been applied. Before too they consented to any alienation of the income of his Royal Highness for the purpose of gradually defraying the debts, it would be necessary for them to know what sum would be adequate for that purpose, and whether the application of thirty or forty thousand a year would be sufficient to extinguish them within any reasonable time. With that view it would be proper to ascertain the extent of the debts, with respect to which public report so much fluctuated, that he had at different times heard them stated to amount from six hundred thousand, to seventeen hundred thousand pounds. He objected to the phrase that had been used by an honourable gentleman, "that the measure was the most exceptionable mode that could be adopted," as if the provision to be made was granted for the personal gratification of the Prince of Wales, and not for the public purpose of supporting the splendour and dignity of the heir apparent to the British Crown. He thought also, that it would be proper to inquire for what period of the time during which an income had been granted to his Royal Highness, for the purpose of supporting an establishment suitable to his rank and dignity, that establishment had actually been kept up, in order to ascertain for what purposes, the debts which they were now called upon to provide, had been contracted; and whether they were necessarily contracted by his Royal Highness, in order to maintain the credit of his exalted rank, and the munificent character of the British nation.

Mr. BUXTON said, that he had never, at any former period, experienced, in addressing that House, sensations so painful as were those which he felt in the present moment. There was no man who entertained more ardent loyalty to the King, or attachment to the Constitution, than himself, and on this account his feelings were only the more acute on the present occasion. He should proceed no farther—but he must express the deepest regret, that after the message which had been inserted in the journals of 1787, and

read to the House, such a message as had been that day sent down should have made its appearance.

General SMITH said, that it appeared to him that the matter was taken up in a point of view which it by no means merited.—He was astonished at one comparison that had been drawn between the situation of his Royal Highness and that of the Princes of another country. He could take upon him to say that there was nothing in point of extravagance in the present instance, which could, in the remotest degree, justify such a comparison. He was sorry indeed, that after a pledge had been given that no future application should be made, that it should have been found necessary to come forward with a second demand upon the House, to make provision for the payment of his debts. He was struck with one thing that had fallen from the right honourable gentleman—namely, that the provision to be granted to his Royal Highness would be little more than what had been granted to his grandfather, though the difference of times, and the advance upon all articles of living, was such as to render 150,000l. now not more than equal to the value of 100,000l. then. He was afraid if, out of the income to be now granted to his Royal Highness, a provision was to be set apart for defraying his debts, that the consequence would be, that he and his Royal consort would be continually involved in expence and embarrassment. It would be impossible for them indeed to support suitably the dignity of their rank and station, without at the same time running in debt. He disapproved of gentlemen holding out the idea that the provision now to be granted would have the effect of pinching the poor and loading them with taxes. It was agreed on all hands, that a liberal provision ought to be made for his Royal Highness, and if he should stand single on that point, he should contend that the provision granted in the first instance ought to be such, as would be fully adequate to support him in the splendour of his situation.

Mr. BUXTON thought that the right honourable gentleman ought to explain to the House and to the country, how his Royal Highness should have been so committed by his former pledge, and so unfortunate as to have afforded occasion for the present application.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that as the motion for the call of the House, would be attended with the delay of a fortnight, there would be sufficient time during the interval for the fullest deliberation, and for every explanation which the subject might require. This was not the day for that purpose. Some topics however had been suggested, on which he should make a few remarks. If the House thought it wise to make the provision which was required,

he would appeal to their own feelings and judgement, how far it would be prudent to enter into a retrofpect of that fort which had been fuggefted, and whether fuch a retrofpect would not increafe the difficulty and embarraffment, which muft already be felt from the nature of the bufinefs. After what was paft, it would indeed be proper for the Houfe to take the provifion for the extinction of the debts into their own hands, and he fhould fuggeft a propofition for that purpofe. As to the extent of the debts, about which the public reports had been faid to be fo fluctuating, he could ftate, that the total amount of the debts was fomewhere between fix and feven hundred thoufand pounds, fo many charges had lately fallen on the civil lift, that there was no part of the burden which could poffibly be defrayed from that quarter. As to what had been fuggefted by the honourable General, that the provifion for defraying the debts, would be attended with a defalcation of income to his Royal Highnefs, he certainly admitted that fuch would be the fact,—but in all the circumftances of the cafe, there was no alternative by which the inconvenience might be avoided, which in his confcience he could propofe to the Houfe. As the provifion for defraying the debts muft neceffarily be continued till the object fhould be accomplifhed, it was only in the event of the demife of the Prince, that it would become a burden to the Public. After the general outline which had been prefented to the Houfe, he would recommend to them to paufe upon the fubject: much as they might regret, and, to ufe the fevereft term, much even as they might difapprove what was paft, they had all an intereft in looking forward. They had an intereft in preferving the hereditary fucceffion, and in fupporting the character of the hereditary Houfe of Brunfwick. They had an intereft in maintaining the character and dignity of the Prince of Wales, as a branch of that illuftrious Houfe, and before they gave way to any fentiments of heat or refentment on the occafion, they would do well to reflect, that in the iffue of the difcuffion were involved the credit of the hereditary Monarchy, and confequently the fafety of the country.

Mr. MARTIN. "I have only one word to remark on what has fallen from the right honourable gentleman who has juft fat down. He has profeffed much zeal for the prefervation of the hereditary Monarchy. I feel that zeal as ftrongly as he does, but the way which appears to me the beft calculated to preferve the hereditary Monarchy, is to prevent it from being oppreffive to the people."

Monday fe'nnight was appointed as the day for taking the meffage into confideration.

General MACLEOD adverted to a queftion which he afked on

former day of the Secretary at War. Whether or not, there had been any additional allowance by the order of His Majesty to non-commissioned officers and privates of ninepence a week, on account of the dearness of provisions. He understood since that such directions had been given, and sent from the War Office to the different Colonels of regiments on duty. His object was to know the terms of that order, letter, or whatever it was, and therefore he moved "That a copy of it be laid on the table."

The SECRETARY AT WAR said, that when the honourable gentleman had asked the question on a former day, the order was not made. He had not the smallest objection now to comply with the motion, which was then of course agreed to.

*Tuesday, 28th April.*

Mr. HENNIKER MAJOR moved for leave to bring in a bill, giving a discretionary power to Courts to grant Costs to prosecutors in cases of Misdemeanor. Granted.—The bill was brought in, and read a first time.

Mr. POWYS moved for leave to bring in a bill to remedy deficient Weights and false Balances.—Granted. The bill was brought in, and read a first time.

The SPEAKER stated that he had been at the Upper House, where the Royal assent had been given, by commission, to several public and private bills.

The Franking Bill was passed.

Mr. BARHAM gave notice of his intention to make a motion, on Monday, for papers relative to the conduct of the Commanders, Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey, towards the French in the West-India islands, after they had submitted themselves to the British troops. He should also move for the instructions given to those Commanders for the proclamations which they had issued, and for the memorials which had passed between them and their officers, and between them and Ministers. He should move for these papers with a view to a subsequent motion, that the House should enter into an inquiry with respect to the transactions to which they related, an inquiry which, in the present moment, became peculiarly important.

Mr. GREY expressed his satisfaction at the notice which had been given to the House. He would only repeat what he had said, that nothing could be more agreeable to the persons, whose conduct had been unjustly attacked, than the inquiry which was now proposed. He had no objection to the production of the papers, on the contrary, he thanked the honourable gentleman for having moved to bring them forward. He should himself have occasion to move

for other papers, and likewise that living witnesses might be called upon in the course of the inquiry. He wished that the notice had been given at an earlier period, when all the documents, which were now required, were equally in existence. Some of the officers, whose testimony was material, were at present on the point of leaving the country, but he trusted that the delay, which would be necessary for the vindication of the Commanders under whom they had served, would not be found incompatible with the public service.

*Wednesday, 29th April.*

General MACLEOD gave notice, that he would to-morrow move for a return of the British forces, including the fencibles.

On the question being put, that the bill to prevent the stealing of dead bodies be read a second time, Mr Mainwaring moved, that the House be counted, when there being only 23 Members present, the House adjourned.

*Thursday, 30th April.*

The SPEAKER informed the House, that the royal assent had been given to the Hair Powder and Indemnity bills, and to several private bills.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE stated, that as it was not his intention to give the House any farther trouble with respect to the bill for amending the act for the trial of controverted elections, he conceived it to be necessary to state the reasons which had induced him to adopt this intention. It had been generally complained, that the attendance of Members on the days on which Election Committees were to be balloted for, had been extremely lax. This was a grievance which he wished to remedy, without, however, injuring the great and beneficial provisions of Mr Grenville's Act. To rigorous measures for enforcing an attendance of Members he did not wish to recur. As so many gentlemen, however, had expressed a wish that Mr. Grenville's Act should remain without alteration, and such a spirit had discovered itself in the House with respect to enforcing attendance on Election Committees, that he conceived the standing orders would be sufficient for the purpose; and, consequently, that the regulations which he had proposed by the new bill would no longer be necessary. He therefore moved, that the bill be postponed for six months. Agreed to.

General MACLEOD moved for a return of the number of troops in Great Britain. He anticipated one objection to his motion, namely, that such a return would have the effect to give information to the enemy. But he was assured that the enemy were

already in possession of more accurate information on the subject, than even the Members of that House. Besides, such a disclosure, however, could not be detrimental to the country, if that force were on a proper establishment. He concluded by moving, that there should be laid before the House an account of the latest general return of land forces serving in Great Britain, including cavalry, infantry, fencibles, militia, &c.

Mr WINDHAM said, that the honourable gentleman had certainly anticipated the objection which he meant to have made. Such a motion as he had now proposed, was by no means common in time of war.

Colonel MAITLAND said, that he supposed the object of his honourable friend in bringing forward the motion, was, to apprize the people of Great Britain of the extent of the burden which they had to bear. He hoped, however, that he would withdraw it for the present, in order to bring it forward in a more confined shape.

General MACLEOD said, that as he had moved only for a return of the number of the troops, and not for any information with respect either to their station or the manner in which they were to be employed, he had hoped there would have been no objection to his motion.

Mr. WINDHAM stated, that he still persisted in his objections.

Mr FOX said, that the motion was highly proper both in a political and economical point of view. He adduced several instances in the American war, in which such motions had been made, and had always been granted.

The motion was negatived.

The bill for granting a relief to innkeepers was committed.

Mr. WINDHAM stated, that the object of the present bill was to give some relief to the innkeepers, who were much aggrieved by the quartering of soldiers upon them. A Committee had been appointed to inquire into the amount of the losses sustained by the innkeepers; the Committee had presented their report, and it had been referred to the present Committee on the bill. The charges to which the innkeepers had been subjected by the quartering of soldiers on them, had existed for more than a century. A great addition, however, had been made to their charges, and it was from this additional expence that it was his wish to relieve them. The charges divided themselves into the following heads:

1. Troops stationed in quarters. On this head there was a loss to the innkeepers of 3d. on each man.

2. Expence of furnishing lodgings.

3. Expence of furniſhing ſalt, pepper, fire, and cooking utenſils to the ſoldiers.

There was alſo another ſpecies of expence—expence of maintaining the horſes. On this head there was a loſs to the innkeepers of 6d. on each horſe. The innkeepers were under the neceſſity of furniſhing to ſoldiers three meals a day—to the cavalry for 6d. a day, to the infantry for 4d a day, the amount of the pay of each. This regulation was founded on the original laws, by which it was intended that the innkeepers ſhould bear part of the burden. The loſs ſtated to accrue on the boarding of each man was ſixteen pence, a ſtatement certainly not immoderate, when gentlemen recollected the great increaſe in the price of the neceſſaries of life. In the conſideration of this ſubject, the Houſe, however, would not forget that ſome advantages had been obtained by the innkeepers by the erection of barracks, and that no loſs accrued to them while the troops were in camp. If the Committee acted ſtrictly, they would grant an addition of three pence where the loſs amounted to ſix pence—of five pence where it amounted to ten pence, and of ſix pence where it amounted to one ſhilling. On each horſe, the ſum of three pence where the loſs amounted to ſix pence, and of ſix pence where it amounted to one ſhilling. This the Committee would do, if they acted ſtrictly, but from a conſideration of the loſſes of the innkeepers, he wiſhed to turn the ſcale in their favour. On this account he meant to propoſe an addition of two pence, where the loſs was ſtated to be three pence: on infantry, an addition of ſix pence, where the loſs was ſtated to be one ſhilling; on each horſe, an addition of four pence halfpenny to the ſixpence already allowed by Government. There were ſome regulations alſo that would tend to prevent recruiting parties from living, as he underſtood they did now, nearly on free quarters.

Mr. PLUMER thought that the bill ſhould continue in force for a year after the war.

Mr. HUSSEY wiſhed the bill to have a retroſpective effect.

Mr. WINDHAM ſaid, that he did not know how to produce this effect.

Mr. BAKER conceived, that as the Mutiny bill was annual, the preſent bill ought alſo to be annual. In the general principle of the bill the Committee ſeemed to concur.

Mr. WINDHAM ſaid, that Mr. Baker's ſuggeſtion was a very proper one.

After ſome farther converſation,

Captain BERKLEY propoſed, as a clauſe to the preſent bill,

that Magistrates should be authorised to regulate the price of post-horses.

It being objected to this proposition, that the clause was not at all connected with the present bill, it was withdrawn, and Captain Berkeley said that he would bring in a separate bill for the purpose.

The Innkeepers' bill was then committed, and ordered to be reported to-morrow.

General SMITH moved, "That an address to His Majesty should be presented, for the erection of a monument to Captain Faulknor in St. Paul's, instead of Westminster Abbey." Agreed to.

Mr. JEKYLL said, that some unforeseen circumstances had occurred since he gave notice of a motion relative to the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, which induced him to defer his motion to a future day. He therefore moved for the discharge of the order of the day for taking the subject into consideration to-morrow, and gave notice that he would make his motion on Tuesday se'nnight.

*Friday, 1st May.*

Proceeded on the private bills before the House.

The report of the Eau Brink Drainage bill was brought up. On the question that the amendments be read a second time, the House divided.

Ayes, 38, Noes, 10.

A division also took place on the question that the bill be re-committed, after which the report was agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time.

*Monday, 4th May.*

Mr. LUSHINGTON presented to the House, a petition of the planters and merchants of the British West-India islands, which was read, setting forth,

That, with deep regret, the petitioners observe, that, having repeatedly delivered memorials to His Majesty's Ministers, respecting the proclamations of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, issued in May 1794, an answer was officially communicated to the Chairman of the West-Indian meeting on Friday the 1st of May, stating, that retribution being directed to be made of sums paid as contribution under the proclamations alluded to, those proclamations may be considered as annulled, and thus implying that no farther step is thought necessary to be taken; and the petitioners conceive, that principles and declarations of so extraordinary and alarming a nature, as those promulgated by Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, May the 10th and 21st, 1794, by proclamation (the ordinary and authentic vehicle of national authority), sentiments, and resolutions, when addressed to foreign powers and to a hostile

people) cannot be done away, or, as to their effects and consequences, annulled by simple retribution of exactions, and by mere forbearance of farther oppression: That the petitioners consider the proclamations and acts alluded to as having renewed, if not originated, a system of warfare throughout the West Indies, novel as unjust in its principles, ruinous in its operations, and terrible in the consequences, which the malignant spirit of retaliation ever superadds to the original example of wrongs: That former apprehensions entertained on this subject by the petitioners have already been verified, hostile attacks have been made on British West-Indian islands, and the animosity with which invasions appear to have been conducted, in agreement with the vindictive spirit shewn in the proclamation issued by the French Commissioners in February 1795, refers, in a manner not to be mistaken, to those proclamations, to which the petitioners have presumed repeatedly to call the attention of His Majesty's Ministers, and of which they hope for a disavowal, of a nature the most public, and from authority the most respectable, and the petitioners humbly conceive, that the national character and public interests are deeply concerned in such disavowal, and pray for such relief as to the House may seem meet.

Ordered, That the said petition do lie upon the table.

Mr. FOX moved, "That an humble Address be presented to "His Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, "that there be laid before this House, an account of the different "sums of money that have been paid to the Emperor, or the "Commanders of His Imperial Majesty's forces, at different "times, during the present war, together with the dates of such "payments." Ordered.

Mr BARHAM said, that impressed as he was with the importance of the task he had undertaken, and feeling, as he must, the weakness of the hands into which it had fallen, he rose, not indeed without anxiety, on his own account, but in confidence that the strength of the cause would out-balance the weakness of the advocate, and that at any rate he could not fail in calling the attention of the House to a subject, on which no man would deny that there existed doubt enough to justify inquiry. He had been asked why he had so long delayed bringing this business forward, and why those supposed to be implicated in it had been suffered so long to remain under imputation, but without an accuser. To this he must answer, that neither had such imputations been cast by him, nor did he now stand up as an accuser. When he had mentioned the subject first, he stated that he did so on public report merely, as to the truth of which he could say nothing, but which being so generally diffused, even if false, he considered it as highly important to the country that it should be publicly examined, in order that it might be publicly refuted. If calumny, then, there had been, it was no calumny of his, whose object was to bring the matter to fair

inveſtigation and proof. He owned, that mentioning this ſubject in this manner, he was ſurpriſed to find it received with ſome degree of aſperity by thoſe who profeſſed to have the ſame object. Such aſperity was by him little felt, and readily forgot. On his ſide, he muſt however ſay, that aſperity there had been none, and none there ſhould be, and whatever mode of proceeding could be pointed out as the moſt reſpectful to the parties concerned, would be that which he ſhould moſt approve. On the preſent night, he certainly did not offer himſelf as an accuſer, for till the papers were produced, it was impoſſible to ſay what they might prove.— They might, perhaps, ſhew at once, that all that had been reported was fabrication and falſehood, and that the Commanders had on this occaſion done nothing to tarniſh their laurels or ſully their fair fame. Should this appear on their production, few men would rejoice more than himſelf, and the Houſe would hardly think its time had been waſted, which had given an opportunity of removing reproach from the characters of thoſe whoſe lives were devoted to their country, and reſcuing the country itſelf from imputations hardly more fatal to its honour than injurious to its intereſts. He proceeded to ſtate the ſeveral conſiderations which, in moving for papers, ought to be chiefly regarded. Firſt, whether ſuch papers could be granted without danger or inconvenience diſproportioned to the advantage expected from their production. On this occaſion, he was ſatisfied that no ſuch objection could be made.

Next it ſhould appear that they were moved for with ſome object; either the immediate ſatisfaction of the Houſe, or with a view to ſome ulterior proceeding, and ſuch was evidently the preſent caſe.

The Houſe ſhould moreover be ſatisfied that the ſubject had not been brought into doubt on light and idle ſurmiſes, but on ſolid and ſubſtantial grounds. What were the grounds on the preſent occaſion? The unanimous voice of the Colonies, who, though uſed in time of war to be in the front of danger, declared, that by the treatment of the French iſlands, they were now expoſed to apprehenſions unknown before, and that by this treatment a new kind of war had been kindled among them, in which they had to fear not only for their temporary ſafety, but their very exiſtence. Concurring with theſe was the voice of our enemies who accuſed us, in the face of the world, of ſuch acts as the laws of war altogether diſallow. There were beſides various applications which were known to have been made to His Majeſty's Miniſters on the ſubject, both by the parties aggrieved and thoſe who feared to be the victims of retaliation, and there was this day laid on the table a petition from

a very numerous and respectable body, and presented by the Member for the city of London

But above all, in asking for papers, it should appear that the subject to which they relate was of sufficient importance. Would this be denied on the present occasion? Did it not involve the fame, honour, and humanity of the British character? Its fame, never to be so justly estimated as by its use of victory, its honour, to be tried by its fidelity to engagements, its humanity, by its conduct to the oppressed and unfortunate. Painful as the question might be, it was to be asked, whether or not those solitary successes which, in the last campaign, alone relieved us from the contemplation of uninterrupted disasters, have not, by the use that has been made of them, brought us into more disgrace than could have happened from any failure or defeat? Such were the considerations with regard to our character, with regard to our interest, they were hardly less forcible. To this conduct it was alledged we owed already the loss of one of these islands, purchased at the expence of our blood, and possessed at the expence of our character From the same cause it was alledged that we might shortly expect the loss of the rest, while our own islands were left under the dreadful apprehension of an aggravated retaliation.

One more consideration he could not help pressing on the House. At a time when the war seemed to be carried on rather from feelings of animosity than from inducements of interest, nothing could tend so safely, so honourably, and so directly, to the attainment of peace, as that which would serve to diminish the inveteracy of the war. It was not here unworthy of us to look at the example even of an enemy, when it was an example of humanity and moderation.— Had they not shewn this, with regard to their army in Spain, victorious, indeed, but which had disgraced their victories by the ill use of them? He did not say that this was our case, but when we were accused of it, it was fit we should inquire, which, at any rate, would shew our enemy that if the war was to be continued, it should be continued for the sake of justice, and not for the sake of plunder and spoil. Mr. Barham concluded with making his motions for copies of the proclamations, &c.

Mr. MANNING rose to second the motion. In order to shew that no charge of delay attached to them in bringing forward the subject, he mentioned that he was one of the Committee of West-India merchants, that they had presented one memorial on the 28th of August, 1794, and a second in the month of February, 1795, and had received no answer from Ministers till within these four days. The proclamation issued by the Commanders led to a system

of general confiscation. Measures had indeed been taken to restore the property, but these had been conveyed in a private and confidential way. The persons concerned were not satisfied with this mode of proceeding: they asked why a direct and open avowal of the original system was not adopted, in order that it might be conveyed to foreign nations. At present the obnoxious proceedings were still considered as public acts, and the object of the proposed investigation was to attain a clear and distinct disavowal of them on the part of this country. Mr. Manning here referred to the proclamation of the Commanders on the 10th of May, 1794.— He quoted the King's proclamation of the 1st of January, which promised to the colonists, which should submit themselves, personal security, and security for their property. How well the latter promise had been kept, would appear from the proceedings that had actually taken place. He had last year concurred in the vote of thanks to Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, for their naval and military conduct, in the capacity of Commanders, he highly approved of their gallantry and exertions. Their subsequent conduct, however, appeared to him to call for inquiry. In that conduct, something might be traced like a justification of the late proclamation of the French Commanders, and probably the new system of war carried on in the islands, was only a retaliation of the proceedings which had [illegible] in other places. If we looked to Conde and Valenciennes, nothing like confiscation or contribution had been adopted, with regard to the inhabitants of those places. Nothing of that sort had taken place in Tobago.— The proclamation, with respect to its local operation, had indeed been annulled by the measures taken to restore the confiscated property, but with respect to the character of this country, it could only be annulled by a public disavowal.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, he was aware that if his Majesty's Ministers were to give their negative to the honourable gentleman's motion, the conduct of these gallant officers would be liable to this construction—that "the imputations which had been circulated were well founded, and that Ministers wished to stifle inquiry. With respect to these meritorious commanders, he was ready to declare that nothing could bring him to concur in any insinuation that might be made against the characters of either of them. It was impossible for him to forget the pleasant moments he had spent in contemplating the trophies they had sent home, or to consent to tear the laurels from their brows, which they had so gallantly acquired. If any part of their conduct was not strictly correct, he should feel a strong inclination to put the most liberal con

ſtruction upon it. A correct account of the memorial had not been given by the honourable mover and ſeconder of this motion. So early as May or June laſt year, repreſentations, it was true, had been received by Miniſters relative to the conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, but as no information had been received from either of theſe Officers, the facts that had been laid before Miniſters were returned to the Weſt Indies, accompanied with comments ſtated hypothetically. It gave him ſingular ſatisfaction to reflect that the anſwer was hypothetical, becauſe the event had proved that there was no foundation for the moſt weighty of the charges adduced againſt theſe two Commanders. No alluſion whatever had been made to the cauſe of the proclamations in queſtion. The firſt, in point of date, was made with a view to the immediate ſubmiſſion of the iſlands. Protection to perſons and property was of courſe promiſed, as an inducement to an immediate ſurrender. The inhabitants did not however comply with the terms of that proclamation, on the contrary, they made a deſperate reſiſtance, and every inch of ground was obtained by dint of fighting. Theſe iſlands were not therefore taken poſſeſſion of in conſequence of this invitation, but by conqueſt. [illegible] made the application of the laws of war to them ſtrictly juſtifiable. Under theſe circumſtances, he believed it would not be diſputed that there exiſted a right of booty on the part of the captors. On the extent to which this booty had been carried, and the laws of conqueſt had been or might be carried, he ſhould be totally ſilent.

Although he acceded to the motion as it now ſtood, he begged leave to enter his proteſt againſt inſtituting an inquiry to the extent that had been hinted at, or what would probably be expected by an honourable gentleman oppoſite to him (Mr. Grey). Such a meaſure would lead to a tedious inveſtigation, and to an examination of the officers who had ſerved under the Commanders alluded to, and could not be productive of any practical good. It was natural to ſuppoſe that ſuch an examination would be propoſed by that honourable gentleman, whoſe father had acquitted himſelf in a manner that had produced the thanks of the country; but it was his duty to ſtate, that thoſe officers were employed on ſervices of the moſt ſerious nature, and that any call on them would, at this critical moment, deprive the country of their ſervices. Beſides, the Gazette accounts of the proceedings in the Weſt Indies would ſuperſede the neceſſity of ſuch an examination. His reaſon for objecting to a public diſavowal was, that he was confident it would be impoſſible to publiſh any general propoſition on the ſubject of the rights of war, which depended ſo much on circumſtances and ſituations. In

addition to this, he faid, many actions on the fubject of thefe captures had been inftituted in the Admiralty Court. It would, therefore, be highly improper to prejudge thofe proceedings, by coming to a decifion in this place. He did imagine that the letter written by a noble Duke (his Grace of Portland) would have been final and fatisfactory on this fubject. This letter, in anfwer to the memorials that had been tranfmitted to the noble Duke on the fubject of the proclamations above mentioned, affured the memorialifts, that as foon as Government were acquainted with the import of thefe proclamations, they fent directions to the Weft Indies, which were fo clearly underftood, that the money that had been levied was immediately reftored, and the proclamation could not but be confidered as annulled. Notwithftanding the petition that had been prefented, and the private letters that had been quoted in proof of the alarm that pervaded the Weft India iflands, the Affembly of Martinique, fo far from entertaining any afperity againft Sir Charles Grey, had come to a refolution expreffive of their gratitude, and had voted him a fervice of plate and a fword. It was therefore incredible that fuch animofity exifted as had been afferted. No man would, he hoped, have the effrontery to contend, that the infurrection of the French inhabitants of St. Vincent's, and the rebellion of the Caribs, originated in the proclamations of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis. Neither could the defcent of a privateer's crew on the ifland of Grenada, for the purpofes of plunder, be imputed to thefe proclamations. In agreeing to the prefent motion, Mr. Dundas faid, he defired he might not be underftood as concurring in the flighteft degree in any meafure that had a tendency to convey a cenfure on the conduct of two gallant officers, who had fo juftly obtained demonftrations of the gratitude of their country for their meritorious fervices.

Mr. FOX faid, that there appeared to him that a confiderable degree of difficulty had been introduced into the difcuffion of the fubject before the Houfe, by the manner in which it had been treated. He certainly was a friend to inquiry in general, but he was not fo blindly, he thought that it was neceffary at all times that fome reafons fhould be ftated to fhew the propriety of inquiry into the conduct of any perfons whom the Houfe were called upon to bring under difcuffion. The honourable Mover of the prefent motion had ftated no points in the conduct of the two gallant Commanders, which had led him to inftitute an inquiry, or had afforded him grounds of condemnation. The honourable Seconder of the motion had indeed advanced fome objections to their conduct, fome of which he had founded on what appeared to him to be facts, and

others on matters of [illegible]. With [illegible] to the objections on the grounds of opinion, the [illegible], that he considered booty as by no means the proper reward for the [illegible] and services of the military, but that [illegible] honorary rewards ought to be granted to them.— [illegible] general and abstract proposition, [illegible] to agree with that honourable [illegible] considered that the House of Commons [illegible] guided by a [illegible] the code of the law of nations [illegible] conduct of those who were to [illegible] what was proper, or what [illegible] but what had been admitted [illegible] regard to the rights of war. [illegible] inclined to agree with the honourable gentleman, that the laws of nations might be considerably ameliorated, and brought nearer to the perfect standard of justice, by preventing the seizure of booty in all cases, yet as confiscation and booty had been invariably the practice of war in all ages and in all countries, it was impossible to judge of the present case otherwise than on the maxims which had been so universally admitted. The reasoning of the honourable gentleman would equally apply to the Manilla ransom and to every other case of conquest, either made by this country or against this country, as to the present case. As to the facts brought forward by the honourable seconder of the motion, if the statement he had advanced were accurate, and the facts themselves true, there would indeed be ground of blame. If, as it had been stated, specific promises had been made in the proclamation of January, which were afterwards broken by Sir C. Grey and Sir J. Jervis, then indeed there would be serious cause of condemnation, but it appeared to him after an attentive perusal of that proclamation, that all the promises contained in it were perfectly conditional, it was equally clear to him that none of the inhabitants of Martinique had been induced to come in under those promises, and that the conquest of that island was a conquest by force and by storm, this then being the case, no promise was left, and no breach of faith could be laid to the charge of the Commander in Chief. An allusion had been made to the different mode of conduct observed at Valenciennes: to this a very short answer only was necessary, Valenciennes was not taken by storm and Martinique was. If any man doubted of the truth of this fact, he should certainly be for an inquiry, the assertion of such a doubt appeared to him a sufficient ground for investigation, because when any person thought it necessary to move for an inquiry into the truth

of any fact, it was not proper to deny the inquiry, by assuming the truth of the fact. He was, however, somewhat discouraged by what had fallen from the Secretary of State, the weight of whose opinions he well knew in the House; that honourable gentleman had said, that he was not averse from granting the papers, but should certainly oppose the inquiry demanded, he was of a contrary opinion, and thought that if any step were taken in the business, the House ought to go fully and largely into the most extensive inquiry on the subject, as a Parliamentary opinion ought not to be partially given, nor without a complete investigation of all the circumstances of the case. Mr. Dundas had said, that it would not be prudent to declare distinctly what were the rights of war: there might be some justice in the observation, and he thought there were considerable difficulties attending such a declaration in any war, but this war had considerably increased those difficulties, he need not travel farther than the case under the consideration of the House to prove that assertion. Great stress had been laid on the danger of retaliation; nay, some persons had gone so far as to say, that all the horrors that were, and were likely to be committed by the French in the West-India islands, would not be unjustifiable on that principle. He should wish to know to what extent this could be carried, upon whom retaliation could be exercised. It should be recollected, that this contribution, which had been the cause of complaint, had not fallen on all the French proprietors, those who had adhered to the French Convention had been sent out of the island, no complaint had been uttered with regard to them. In order, therefore, for the English, who might be subdued by the French, to take the advantage of a similar mild treatment with those upon whom a contribution had been levied in Martinique, they must state, that they never had any affection for this English Government, that they never approved of its measures, and that they cordially received their French conquerors. The French Commander, who had been educated in that excellent school of justice, the African slave trade, had not complained on the grounds which had been stated, but on the grounds of the injustice done to the Republicans. He could not perceive with what justice the loss of Guadaloupe could be considered as owing to the proclamation of the English Commanders, it appeared to him that that loss was owing to the system of arming the slaves; whether this were justifiable in war, in which so many dreadful things were held to be justifiable, he should not attempt to determine; but it was not likely that the inhabitants should chuse voluntarily to surrender their property on account of the proclamation. As he had no doubt that Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis were

materially intereſted in the inquiry, he certainly ſhould lean to the granting it. One of the gentlemen who had wiſhed for the inquiry, had accuſed the Commanders of a breach of promiſe; he could not therefore be ſurpriſed at that gentleman's wiſhing for an inquiry. He ſhould upon every conſideration vote for the inquiry, but certainly was not inclined to limit it, but thought that if upon the production of the proclamations any doubt ſhould ariſe or any ground of diſſatisfaction ſhould appear to any perſon that the inquiry ought to be gone into fully and completely, he ſhould certainly meet it not with any prejudice againſt the Commanders, but certainly ſhould feel a diſpoſition in favour of men, who, during a very long period of their lives had ſerved their country with zeal and ardour, upon whoſe characters, whether in their private or public ſtations, not the ſlighteſt reproach had ever been caſt, and whoſe reputation was unſullied by the ſmalleſt ſtain or blemiſh.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, he ſhould not have riſen on the preſent occaſion, were it not for the ſake of deprecating any farther diſcuſſion of the ſubject in the preſent ſtage. The preſent motion was not for inquiry, but merely for the production of papers which had been much the ſubject of converſation, the contents of which were not accurately known, any diſcuſſion, therefore, on them, was evidently premature. One of three things muſt neceſſarily be the conſequence of their production, and either of them might follow it. The papers might clearly afford grounds for blame and condemnation, or they might give ſo ſatisfactory an explanation of the tranſactions, as would ſhew that the rumours which had been circulated were perfectly void of foundation, and ſupplied no reaſons for ſuſpicion of the Commanders, or to believe that any public inconvenience would be the conſequence of not going into the inquiry, or laſtly, it might leave cauſe for doubt in the minds of gentlemen, with reſpect to the behaviour of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, ſo as to make them overcome the ſenſe of public inconvenience, and wiſh for the inquiry. He ſhould therefore hope, that as the Houſe ſeems generally diſpoſed, for various reaſons, to agree to the production of the papers, that they would not enter into a debate upon what might be inferred from them previouſly to their being produced. He himſelf, perhaps, might be offending againſt this recommendation, when he ſaid, that the facts brought forward by the gentlemen who moved for the production of the papers were not accurately ſtated; he ſhould not, however, diſcuſs thoſe points at preſent, but reſerve his opinions till the papers were produced, to which he ſhould not object for the ſake of all parties, for the ſatiſ-

faction of the Public, and the gratification of the honourable feelings of those who were more immediately concerned.

Colonel MAITLAND was of opinion, that those gentlemen who came forward upon this occasion ought to have taken pains to ascertain some facts, upon which to found afterwards an inquiry, and to shew that there was some reason for inquiry before they proceeded to call for any papers such the House in general expected upon motions for the production of papers, but, instead of this, they called for the papers, and left the matter to be disposed of afterwards, according as they might be able to fish for information out of the papers so produced He had no objection to the inquiry, and he hoped they had none, but he must also express a hope, that these gentlemen would follow these motions for papers with others of some importance, which would afford to Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, an opportunity of laying all of the circumstances of their conduct in the West Indies before the House. When these circumstances were brought fairly forward, he had no doubt but that the conduct of these gallant officers would reflect on them the highest honour —This would refute all the calumny that had been so industriously circulated against them He hoped, that gentlemen who seemed so desirous at present of entering into the discussion of this subject would keep nothing back, but come forward fairly and candidly Here he proceeded to take notice, under different heads, of the various reports that had been circulated to the prejudice of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, and then explained the points that had been erroneously stated, on each of which he argued at some length, and came to conclusions highly favourable to these gentlemen. He maintained, that as they took possession of the different places mentioned by force of arms, and by storm, as had been truly stated by the Secretary of State, all the property became forfeited, and all the inhabitants were subject, by the law of nations, to a military execution. This doctrine, he maintained to be consistent not only with the spirit of the law of nations, but also with the practice of war in the most modern, as well as ancient times, and viewing the subject in that light, they were, in his opinion, highly meritorious. The circumstances of these places being taken by assault, did away all the objections which had been taken against the principle of the proclamation which had been so much complained of These objections were built upon the idea that the parties on whom contribution had been levied had surrendered to the British arms, for so some of the memorials stated, but it was ridiculous to talk of the surrender of the inhabitants of a place which had been taken by storm. All that he had heard, and all

that he knew upon this subject, led him, as a friend to Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, to wish for this inquiry, because he was sure that the more their conduct was examined, the more it would appear to their honour; but he could not help expressing some regret that persons who had merited so much honour, who had so deservedly received the thanks of the House for their conduct, who had been so victorious, should not yet have received some mark of His Majesty's approbation, especially as others, who no doubt had acted bravely, had not been equally successful, had received Royal favour. He concluded with saying, that as this business had been brought forward in this manner, he hoped the House would not be content with having a few papers on its table, but that a fair and full investigation of the whole matter would be entered into.

Sir W. YOUNG observed, that in the beginning of the session, a gentleman on the other side of the House said, that he should bring forward a motion relative to the conduct of the war in the West Indies, and, when he heard that honourable Member say so, he said, he hoped that he would not forget the subject on which the House was now engaged. With regard to the proclamations, he believed there was not a West-India merchant that had received letters from their agents without bitter complaints against them; he wished, indeed, that the question had been narrowed to these proclamations—he had only seen the two printed proclamations. He entertained a very high opinion of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis; one of them was his intimate acquaintance, and he was certain that their gallantry entitled them to the gratitude of their country, not only for the islands which they had subdued, but the preservation of our own from the diffusion of French principles in them. He was not afraid of these proclamations in the hands of Sir Charles Grey or Sir J. Jervis, but he was afraid of them in the hands of Hugues.

*Mr. GREY said, that many circumstances had induced him to speak in this debate,* at as late a period as he possibly could. He wished to have heard fully stated all the objections and all the articles of accusation brought forward on this occasion, against the two officers whose conduct had now become the object of discussion. He was anxious to learn what part should be taken on this occasion by His Majesty's Ministers, for they had long been in possession of every proceeding that related to the subject. He must say, he felt himself now under a considerable embarrassment, in consequence of some part of the conduct of Ministers, and of the explanation given on their behalf. He agreed, however, in this, that the question, in its present shape, was not adapted for minute detail,

He owned, that this proceeding appeared to him in some respects singular. It had been usual, when inquiries were talked of, to lay some grounds for entering into it. To state some charge that was to be made out. To state that the papers called for would tend to make out that charge, and that witnesses might be examined to prove it. In the present instance the reverse was the case. Honourable gentlemen, with a vague censure and indiscriminate rumour, seemed to assert they had some idea that if these papers were produced, some inquiry might, in the event, be necessary. This mode of proceeding distressed him considerably. There was no specific charge exhibited, but something by way of implication. Did he know that this was to be followed up, he might remain silent for the present. But as he did not know the case would so turn out, he could not be sure that he should have another opportunity of saying any thing, for if after these papers came to be laid upon the table, no inquiry should be moved for, the business must end. He had some idea that this might be the case from what he heard to-night from His Majesty's Ministers, one of whom had given the House to understand that he was not pledged to any thing upon this subject. If, therefore, no farther proceeding should be had than merely laying these papers before the House, he should be deprived of any opportunity of giving any explanation upon the matter. The Secretary of State had entered his caveat against pledging himself to any inquiry, because it might be very inconvenient to the service to call for the testimony of officers who might be called abroad, and, indeed, that, to a certain degree, was true, for he knew many whose evidence would be essential if this inquiry be entered into. But was that his fault, or was it the fault of the Commanders in the West Indies? Certainly not.—But if there was to be an inquiry, would it not be an hardship on these Commanders to be deprived of the advantage of the testimony of these officers whose evidence was so essential? He should have imagined that if gentlemen had the feeling they ought to have for the character of officers who had been 50 years in the service, and whose honour was hitherto without a stain, they would not have been so forward in making charges, as it were, by implication. A memorial was presented by a Mr. Thelluson against the conduct of these officers in the West Indies. Who that Mr. Thelluson was he did not know, but his memorial breathed nothing but direct and positive falsehood: this he was ready to prove at the bar of that House, if the inquiry was instituted. He should prove also every thing that was necessary to justify Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis in their conduct in the West Indies—that they had merited

and received the thanks of the inhabitants for what they did. Here he entered into an account of the manner in which the captured islands in the West Indies had been treated by Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis—that they were taken, as the Secretary of State himself had stated, by force of arms, and that therefore, by the law of nations, they were liable to be put under contribution as they had been. And farther, that it was the duty of these Commanders to act as they had done, that they were bound to do so by the rules of war, for His Majesty and his forces. The very proclamation which had been complained of so much, was not even acted upon. That they gave up the idea of enforcing it even before orders came to that effect from hence, under the hand of the Duke of Portland, as Secretary of State. After reciting all the circumstances of these captures, and making many observations upon them, he said, he wished, and he knew that Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis wished, as much as any man in that House, that an inquiry should take place, but that should be a full and fair inquiry, for which purpose a great number of living witnesses must be examined, and many points of evidence would be necessary, which he did not see how effectually they could be laid before the House.

Mr. THELLUSON justified the memorial of a near relation of his, which had been alluded to by the honourable Member who spoke last.

Mr LUSHINGTON would not have risen, if it had not been insinuated that the whole proceedings against the gentlemen in question were incited by calumny. He then stated what had passed at the meeting of merchants, where he attended, and he wished that their opinions might be confirmed by His Majesty's Advocate General, and the law officers of the Crown, who had, he understood, delivered their sentiments in private, and then a full opportunity might be given for explanation. He was not surprised at the defence of the honourable gentleman, (Mr. Grey) but he considered the inquiry as expedient for public honour, and for public justice, and equally necessary for the preservation and security of the property of His Majesty's subjects. It was just also, according to the principles of humanity, upon which the happiness and comfort of so many individuals are dependent. If any country could be particularly interested in an inquiry of this nature, where commerce is so materially interested, it must be Great Britain, for her admirable Constitution is so supported and dignified by her commercial engagements, that to endanger them in any degree would be to risk the loss of all her foreign dependencies, and ultimately shatter the

pillars of her Conſtitution to atoms. He was aſtoniſhed at the opposition which had been made to the production of the papers, because he only wiſhed for ſome authoritative opinion to direct the judgement of the Houſe, which thoſe papers alone, or principally, ſeemed capable of affording. A right honourable gentleman upon the floor had obſerved, and with great truth and penetration, that "the character of the country is her great reſource," and he ſo perfectly coincided in this obſervation, that he ſuſpected the want of this character occaſioned the loſs of Guadaloupe. Nor had the want of attention to this character ended here, for he feared the diſcontents and animoſities it had excited would be the cauſe of future loſſes. Commenting then upon the proclamation, he remarked, that as it was afterwards reſcinded, there were reaſons of aſſumption that it was neither grounded in policy or principle. If the gentlemen in queſtion withdrew the proclamation ſix weeks after it had been iſſued, it indicated ſurely that they felt it was improper. He called upon the Houſe therefore to eſtabliſh that character of the country which is its greateſt and radical reſource. Whatever miſconſtructions might be put upon his zeal and perſeverance in this affair he diſregarded, for he was ſenſible of the arduous ſituation in which the gentlemen had been placed, and the truſt committed to their charge. He was as eager as any gentleman preſent to render gratitude to merit, and whenever rewards and honour were obtained, he was deſirous they ſhould be recorded. It was not, however, for a victorious army to fix the mode and extent of their depredations, and he never would admit it. If the Houſe ſhould either ſanction, or refuſe its authority upon this queſtion, he conceived it would eſtabliſh a precedent of more dangerous conſequences than could be inſtantly foreſeen. Declarations might be made with an intent of good faith, to keep trade and property ſacred, but notwithſtanding ſuch declarations, if the enemy altered their ſyſtem, it would be incumbent upon us to alter ours alſo.

Sir WILLIAM SCOTT objected to the opinions of himſelf and His Majeſty's law officers, becauſe theſe opinions were merely hypothetical, and founded on *ex parte* evidence. He concurred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it would be more proper to diſcuſs theſe opinions when the papers were laid upon the table. At preſent he conſidered the queſtion to be prematurely agitated; but when the papers were produced, he did not heſitate to pronounce, that all farther proceedings in the buſineſs would be conducted with candour and with care. He ſubſcribed to the declaration of the honourable gentleman, that the character of the country is her great reſource, but he reminded him alſo, that the character of the great

and eminent perſons in it formed likewiſe a very material part of it.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS declared, that there was ſcarce one paper in exiſtence which had any application to the ſubject.

Mr. BARHAM in reply, proteſted that the copy of a memorial preſented to Sir Charles Grey in the Weſt Indies had been ſeen in ſome office, though in what office he could not ſay. It was a paper containing many material allegations. As to the other papers he had moved for, he ſtated his authority from an anſwer of the Duke of Portland to a memorial of the Weſt-India planters and merchants, which alledged, that no farther explanation could be given until the law officers had been conſulted, and had made their report. This anſwer was delivered by his Grace to Lord Penrhyn, who preſented the memorial as chairman of the meeting. Adverting to what had been urged by different gentlemen in the courſe of the debate, he firſt noticed, that a learned and honourable Member had accuſed him of premature agitation when the queſtion was brought coolly and deliberately forward, and another honourable gentleman had interpreted his object to be an intention of cenſure, which he moſt tenaciouſly diſclaimed. He thought no complaint could with propriety be made of preliminary accuſation, when they were indeterminately arguing upon papers they did not poſſeſs, nor could ſuch a complaint be made, while they adverted to papers which they had not read. One opinion muſt be taken upon the view of the proclamation, and another on the documents. They could not indeed paſs without the notice of the Houſe, if they were like the papers in his hands. He concluded by obſerving, that he merely moved for the copies of the memorials themſelves, and not for any farther proceedings upon them.

Mr. FRANCIS ſaid, "before the Houſe comes to a deciſion on a queſtion ſo important in itſelf, and ſo particularly important as it is perſonal to men, to whom we owe not only juſtice to their merits, but caution and delicacy in every thing that touches their reputation, I wiſh to ſtate my own embarraſſment, and to requeſt the Houſe to look forward and conſider the difficult ſituation, in which they may find themſelves, if that ſhould happen, which is very likely to happen, in a ſubſequent ſtage of the preſent proceeding; that is, if the motion ſhould be carried, and if the right honourable the Secretary of State ſhould adhere to the declaration he has made this night. He has fairly told us, that, in yielding to the preſent motion for papers, he does not hold himſelf engaged to ſtir another ſtep in the buſineſs; that the parties are not to expect him to concur in any prepoſition for an inquiry into the tranſactions to which theſe

papers relate; that such inquiry might go to a length incompatible with the actual state of the session, and could not be carried on at all without the personal attendance of many officers, who were actually employed or appointed on foreign service of the utmost importance to the Public, from which they could not be spared. Now, Sir, if, when these papers are before us, these objections to any farther proceeding should be urged by that right honourable gentleman, and urged with success, as I suspect they will be, from his great weight and authority with the House, let us consider in what situation we shall then leave the character and honour of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis. On that subject, gentlemen here speak with great mildness and delicacy, but what, in fact, will be the impression abroad, if a motion for papers, in which the conduct of these gentlemen is so materially concerned, should be agreed to? No man will deny that it is of itself an imputation, that it creates or supposes some doubt at least, which, to men of their character, must be equivalent to an accusation, and that it is, or ought to be, a subject of inquiry. But, when you have admitted the imputation, will you refuse the inquiry? Sir, for my own part, I do not think that sufficient ground, or any ground, has been established for acceding to the motion, but if I thought otherwise, I never would agree to it without holding myself at the same time bound, in justice and honour to the parties, to give them every possible means and opportunity to clear and vindicate their character from the effects of that imputation. It is not a light or indifferent matter for this House to accede to such a motion. It is not a thing to be taken up or abandoned without solid reasons, and serious consideration; and I own I should have thought that His Majesty's Secretary of State would have acted with more justice, prudence and consistency, if he had given a negative to the motion, as I shall do, rather than have consented to it, as he has done, with an express caveat against any farther proceeding. He consents to a leading step, but he will consent to no other. If the House should follow him in that conduct, the result will be that possibly a most unjust imputation may be admitted, while the means of refuting it are denied. I am, therefore, against the motion."

Mr. GREY explained. He complained of the hardship attending the discussion of a question of this nature so late in the session, when officers were upon the point of sailing whose oral testimony was so very requisite. The evidence of General Myers, he observed, as one person in particular, was indispensible; and yet General Myers was about to quit the kingdom, nor would he stop without an express

order from the Duke of York or General Dundas. Referring to the General's letter, it ſtated, that he would moſt readily make his affidavit in the vindication of the Commanders' conduct; but this, Mr. Grey contended, could never be ſo efficient, or ſo full as a perſonal allegation and interrogatories by counſel. He referred alſo to ſome exculpatory letters of Colonel Preſcott and General Dundas, and ſo far he aſſured the Houſe was the conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis from being without a precedent, as it had been pretended, that it was directly the reverſe, for when the French made a conqueſt laſt war of the iſland of Grenεda, the property was all confiſcated, and a file of muſquεteers were ſent on ſhore to annul all debts on Engliſh mortgages or to Engliſh merchants, although he acknowledged that upon the remonſtrances of Mr. Pigot and Mr. Scott, who were diſpatched to the French Court for that purpoſe, ſome remiſſions were made.

Mr. LUSHINGTON in explanation aſſerted, that what had been called an act of confiſcation in the iſland of Grenada was nothing more than an act of ſequeſtration from all the abſentees.—Some miſconduct, he confeſſed, was uſed in the enforcement of this act, but ſatisfaction was ſoon given. He did not diſpute, without the authority of Generals and Majors, but what the victors in ſuch a caſe of conqueſt had ſuch a right to the application of the property, for the memorials of the planters, and the merchants had not diſputed it, but it was thought that in Martinique and Guadaloupe, the rights of war had been extended with too much rigour.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG explained.

Mr. JEKYLL ſupported the motion for the production of the papers, becauſe, notwithſtanding the affectation of delicacy, the Commanders were repreſented to be virtually criminal. He differed from Mr. Francis, becauſe he did not believe the production of the papers to be tantamount to an act of crimination, or even of accuſation. On the contrary, if it ſhould hereafter be determined not to proceed any farther, he conceived there could be no crimination. In regard to the expediency of inquiry, too, he could not but conſider the Houſe as a tribunal which would enforce the attendance of every neceſſary witneſs; and as to the abſence of the troops, when it was ſaid they were going to action, he believed it to be nothing more than that they were going to be put in motion. He ſuppoſed no perſon was diſpoſed to contravene the rights of war, which have been inſiſted on by every writer on the laws of nations, from Puffendorff down to Vattel. Although His Majeſty's Advocate had pronounced on partial facts, none ſuch would be produced

before a tribunal competent of inquiry. He made obſervations on the point, that if this matter deſerved inquiry, no conſideration of inconvenience ought to prevent it, for that the word accuſation ought not to be coquetted with, under an affectation of candour and liberty to the Commanders. He was confident, however, that if an inquiry was inſtituted, it would redound to the honour of theſe two Commanders.

The queſtion on the firſt motion for a copy of the proclamation of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, was then put and carried.

The following reſolutions were then put and carried.

Reſolved, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, tha He will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions, that there be laid before this Houſe, copies of ſuch memorials, or other papers, as have been preſented to theſe, or other of His Majeſty's officers, relating to the conduct which was obſerved to the French iſlands after they came under the Britiſh Government.

Reſolved, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, that He will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions, that there be laid before this Houſe, copies of ſuch memorials as have been preſented to His Majeſty's Miniſters on the ſame ſubject, together with the anſwers given by them to the memorialiſts.

Reſolved, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, that He will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions, that there be laid before this Houſe, a copy of the memorial preſented to the Duke of Portland, in anſwer to the memorials of the Weſt-India merchants and planters and others, by Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis.

Reſolved, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, that He will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions, that there be laid before this Houſe, copies of the ſeparate inſtructions tranſmitted to Sir Charles Grey, relative to the diſtribution of any booty taken on land, by His Majeſty's army and navy, in the iſlands of Martinique, Saint Lucia, and Guadaloupe.

Reſolved, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, that He will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions, that there be laid before this Houſe, a copy of the letter of Mr. Secretary Dundas, of the 7th of March, relating to the plan of diſtribution propoſed by Sir Charles Grey, &c.

PAPERS presented to the HOUSE OF COMMONS, pursuant to Addresses, relative to Sir CHARLES GREY and Sir JOHN JERVIS.

No. I.

COPY of a PROCLAMATION at Martinique, the 30th March 1794, by General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the West Indies, &c. &c. &c.

MARTINIQUE.

(L. S.)

By his Excellency Sir CHARLES GREY, K. B. General of His Majesty's Army, and Commander in Chief of His Forces in the West Indies, &c. &c. &c.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS it is necessary, for the good of His Majesty's service, and the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants of this colony, that some temporary regulations should be made for the civil Government thereof, 'till such time as His Majesty's pleasure is known, and such a regular system is adopted for the future arrangement of all matters, civil and military, as to his wisdom may seem most meet, for the maintenance of his own authority, and the happiness and prosperity of his new subjects; I DO think fit, in His Majesty's name, hereby to publish this MY PROCLAMATION, recalling to the exercise of their several functions all such officers of the Courts formerly established for the Administration of distributive justice during the Government of his late most Christian Majesty, the respective duties of whom do not in any respect interfere with the authority which, under the present circumstances, it is necessary to leave whole and undivided in the hands of the General in command of this island. This is therefore to give notice to the inhabitants thereof, that all Courts which were formerly established under the authority of their late Sovereign, for the determination of causes between individual and individual, will be permitted to exercise their several functions, without any application of the forms in use in the other British islands subject to His Majesty, until his Royal will and pleasure shall be expressed to the contrary: And accordingly the several persons who may be now in this island, and were formerly officers of any of the Courts above-described, are hereby required to give in their names, with the nature of their several employments, to Lieutenant General ROBERT PRESCOTT, that the proper steps may be taken to restore them to the exercise of their several duties, and to supply such deficiencies as may have taken place. Given under my hand and seal at arms, at head quarters, Fort Royal, this thirtieth day of March 1794, and in the 34th year of His Majesty's reign.

CHARLES GREY.

By his Excellency the General's command,

*G. Fisher*, Sec.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

No. II.

PROCLAMATION at St. Lucia, by General Sir C. Grey, K. B. &c. &c. &c. 5th April 1794.

St. LUCIA.
(L. S.)
CHARLES GREY.

By his Excellency Sir CHARLES GREY, K. B. General of His Majesty's Army, and Commander in Chief of His Forces in the West Indies, &c. &c. &c.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, since my proclamation at the island of Martinique, bearing date the 30th day of March last, whereby the officers of the Courts formerly established for the Administration of distributive justice during the Government of his late most Christian Majesty, now necessary to the exercise of the several functions thereof, have been directed to be recalled until His Majesty's Royal will and pleasure shall be known; the British arms have spread farther conquest, and this colony is also added to His Majesty's Empire, the reduction and possession of which make it necessary to resort to some tempory regulations, in like manner, for the good of His Majesty's service, and the comfort and convenience of his new subjects of this island. I DO therefore think proper to issue this my PROCLAMATION, allowing and commanding all civil officers of the Courts above mentioned and herebefore established under the legally regulated Government of their late Sovereign for the determination of causes between individual and individual, to give in their names to Sir CHARLES GORDON, Colonel, commanding this island, that the proper steps may be taken to place them in the execution of their ancient duties. And inasmuch as this colony and its Government were under the superior controul of the Administration of the island of Martinique, to which references and appeals were made in the prosecution of civil causes; and it may be consistent to restore the same forms to the same channels; I do farther make known, that when the usual Courts shall be duly established in Martinique, those of this island are to be regulated thereby accordingly, until the King's pleasure be signified relative thereto; but the restoration of civil employments above mentioned, and the regulation herein expressed, are not in anywise meant or intended to interfere with, or to be independent of the authority reposed in the military command of this island. Given under my hand, and seal at arms, at head quarters, in the island of St. Lucia, the 5th day of April, 1794, in the 34th year of His Majesty's reign.

By his Excellency the General's command,

*G. Fisher*, Sec.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

## No. III.

*London, 28th August* 1794.

COPY of a MEMORIAL presented to his Grace the Duke of PORTLAND, praying for an additional and military naval force in the West-India islands, and on the contributions imposed on the inhabitants of the French captured West-India islands.

To his Grace the Duke of PORTLAND, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

The MEMORIAL of the West-India planters and merchants;

Sheweth,

THAT your Memorialists are not insensible of the attention of His Majesty's Government to the security of the British possessions in the West Indies; and when they presume to intrude upon your Grace with a representation of their opinions and wishes upon a subject so importantly interesting to the Public Revenue, and to the private fortunes of many of His Majesty's subjects, they are not induced thereto by a distrust that the same exertions will not be continued to maintain and secure such valuable dependencies; but they humbly conceive that their local knowledge may enable them to suggest some useful ideas respecting the particular protection of the several islands.

That your Memorialists, fully satisfied that the necessary measures for maintaining the ascendency of the British arms in the British sugar colonies collectively will be pursued by His Majesty's Government, have only to express the anxiety they feel in consequence of a late event in the West Indies, by which it is proved that an armament may sail undiscovered from the enemy's ports, sufficient in point of naval and military force to do irreparable injury in any of the British islands, against which the attack may be directed. This anxiety is not a little increased, when they reflect upon those principles and opinions propagated by the agents of the French Convention, which have a direct tendency to disturb the settled colonial system of all the islands; to impair, if not destroy, the necessary respect and attachment to all established government; and to convert to hostility those who on former occasions, previous to the promulgation of the doctrines already noticed, were active in their co-operations to resist and defeat the common enemy.

That the nature of all property in the West Indies makes it peculiarly necessary at this juncture that each island should possess a force sufficient for its protection against predatory attacks of an active and destroying enemy, fully acquainted with the strength or resources of all our West-India colonies.

That the possession of an island for a few days by the enemy, by such an enemy as the whole civilized world has now known for the first time, might produce the destruction of private property equal in value to many millions, and which at this time contributes largely to the support of the Public Revenue.

That your Memorialists are sensible the possession of the French islands, is a solid security against permanent conquest of those belonging to Great Britain; and that if unfortunately any particular island should be cap-

tured, the enemy would not be able to hold it long; they therefore do not solicit protection for such island against powerful armaments employed to contend for empire in those seas, but only wish to be prepared against predatory attacks.

That your Memorialists are given to understand the number of troops in each separate island is at this time far short of the peace establishment, and unequal to resist an enemy not more powerful than the armaments which have lately made a descent on Guadaloupe, unless early measures be taken to provide for the respective security of all the islands, by increasing the garrisons of each, by stationing a naval force at those islands, where it may be safe during the hurricane season, so as to be ready at all times for purposes of defence, or to convey intelligence of any hostile attempts to the place where the main British force may be stationed.

That your Memorialists feel deep and unfeigned regret in being obliged to present another essential matter to the consideration of your Grace, imposed upon them by a just and reasonable regard for their own interest, and by a duty equally urgent upon their feelings, which they owe to themselves, and friends and correspondents resident in the colonies.

That when the information was first received in this country that a contribution or commutation for relinquishing an assumed right to a general plunder of all property in the captured French islands in the West Indies was claimed and inforced, your Memorialists did not give perfect credit to it, especially as the communication was confined to one or two more mercantile houses: That they however felt so much alarmed, as to desire the gentlemen who had received the letters respecting it would lay before His Majesty's Ministers the information they had received; when they had the satisfaction to understand from Mr. Pitt, that this proceeding, in the shape in which it then appeared to him, was subject to much objection, and would in his opinion be disapproved by His Majesty's Government; that since that period the fact is established beyond a doubt, and the ruinous detail of these acts of rigour clearly ascertained.

That your Memorialists, not as public censors, but as a body deeply interested in the due observance of those distinctions between public and private property, by which in modern times the rights of conquest have been qualified, humbly conceive, that the man who in the moment of danger exerts himself for the protection of his country, does not thereby subject to military execution all his property, wherever situated, within the range of the conqueror's sword; and that the late deviation from the general rule of public warfare hitherto observed by civilized nations, is of a nature eventually to have very fatal consequences to your Memorialists.

That if the fortune of war should give to the enemy the possession of any of our islands, the severe measures lately enforced against the inhabitants of the French conquered islands may be retaliated, and extended to the ruin of your memorialists, and the inhabitants of such islands as may be taken.

That when Grenada, one of the British islands, was taken by storm the last war, the confiscation of private property, or a commutation providing it (which is nearly the same thing) was not attempted, and the private exertions of individuals exercising public power were redressed in all cases which were proved; that the brave and successful exertions of the British officers and soldiers entitle them to the grateful praises of your Memorialists and of the Public in general; but that their pecuniary compensation should not originate in an act injurious to the rights of individuals, and of dangerous example for your Memorialists, whose property

will be exposed to similar invasion if the fortune of war should subject any of our islands to the power of the enemy.

That your Memorialists will not presume to enlarge farther upon the injurious tendency of such a rigorous and unexampled exertion of the right of conquest against private property; but they cannot forbear to suggest, that if Great Britain means to derive advantage from the conquest of the French islands, it must be the highest impolicy to deprive the proprietors of those islands of the very limited means for cultivating their lands, which their internal distractions have left them.

That whether in any and what degree the honour of the British nation may be affected by this alarming change in the mode of carrying on war, the confiscation of the property of the inhabitants of the conquered places is a question of too much delicacy for your Memorialists to enter on; but that they are impelled by their own interest to make this representation against an act, which, if adopted as a precedent, must eventually prove ruinous to your Memorialists themselves.

Your Memorialists therefore pray your Grace, to represent to His Majesty the necessity of immediately sending such additional military and naval force to the West-India islands as may secure them from the danger with which they are menaced; and of giving such orders, respecting the contributions imposed, and other exactions on the inhabitants of the conquered islands, as may conciliate their minds, and prevent the conduct of their conquerors being hereafter, in case of a reverse of fortune, quoted as a precedent to authorise the ruin and destruction of His Majesty's faithful subjects, who by the fortune of war may happen to fall under the power of an enemy which they may be unable to resist with success.

No. IV.

*London, 6th February 1795.*

MEMORIAL of the West-India Planters and Merchants, to his Grace the Duke of Portland, respecting the proceedings of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, Military and Naval Commanders in the captured French West-India islands.

To his Grace the Duke of PORTLAND, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

The MEMORIAL of the West-India Planters and Merchants;

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT on the 28th of August last they had the honour to present to your Grace a Memorial, in which they stated their lively apprehensions of eventual injury and ruin to the British interest in the West Indies, from the violent and unprecedented assertion and exercise of power, said to have taken place by orders of the Commanders of the army and navy, against the private property in the captured French West-India islands; to which Memorial they beg leave to refer.

That, with deep and unfeigned concern, they now repeat their representations to your Grace upon this very important subject; and in support thereof entreat your Grace's attention to the official proclamations

issued in the names and by the orders of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, the military Commanders in the West Indies: That it is not necessary for your Memorialists to advert to every minute part of those several proclamations; it being sufficient for their present purpose to submit to your Grace the marked inconsistency between the proclamation of the 1st January 1794, preceding the capture of the island of Martinique, and those of the 10th and 21st May subsequently issued.

That by the former, "full and immediate enjoyment of all lawful "property, according to their ancient laws and customs, and on the "most advantageous terms," is solemnly pledged and assured to them, in the name of His Majesty; whilst by the latter, this pledge of protection is violated, without a single act assigned, by which the right to such protection has been forfeited, and a sum adequate to the value of the conquest, to compensate the soldiery, is demanded, under the penalty of a general confiscation, to be enforced with military rigour.

That neither is it necessary for your memorialists to enter into a detail of particular acts of violence committed, since they understand that a Committee of merchants, acting on behalf of some of the individuals aggrieved, has already made application to your Grace, and it is stated that proof is ready to be produced of such facts as are alledged in the memorial which has been lately presented to your Grace by that Committee.

That your memorialists are unwilling to make the obvious comments upon proceedings so repugnant to their opinions to established laws, to national character, directly contrary to the terms of the Proclamation of the 1st of January 1794, to the general interest of the British empire, and to the peculiar policy of the present war, but that they cannot forbear most earnestly to solicit your Grace's attention to the dangerous predicament in which the properties of your memorialists are placed by this extreme act of military rigour, against the private rights of the French Colonists, since, should the fortune of war be reversed in that quarter, and any of the British islands be captured by the enemy (an event to be apprehended from the reduced state of the British forces in those islands, and from the untoward accidents which have retarded the departure of the reinforcements provided) retaliation, however temperate in its principle and extent, will be little short of total ruin to the fortunes of your memorialists, and to a very considerable portion of His Majesty's subjects.

Your memorialists therefore humbly pray that your Grace will be pleased to represent to His Majesty the probable dangerous consequences (particularly when applied to the West-India islands) of those principles and acts which have been assumed, declared, and practised under the authority of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, the military and naval Commanders in the West Indies, and that an inquiry into the public conduct of those Commanders may be made, in order to ascertain how far the national character, and the public justice of the country, have been duly and properly supported by them, in such high and responsible stations; and that your memorialists may be at all events relieved from their present anxieties and just apprehensions of eventual injury and ruin by a public declaration, disavowing the principles so assumed, declared, and acted upon: which they humbly conceive will be found to be contrary to the honour, justice, and policy of the British Government.

(Signed)

*W. Young,*

Chairman of the Meeting.

No. V.

MEMORIAL of the AGENTS, on behalf of the inhabitants and proprietors of the island of MARTINIQUE.

To his Grace the Duke of PORTLAND, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department.

MEMORIAL of the AGENTS in behalf of the principal inhabitants and proprietors in the island of MARTINIQUE,

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT your memorialists are instructed by many respectable inhabitants and proprietors of the island of Martinique, loyal subjects of His Britannic Majesty, to represent to His Majesty's Ministers the injustice and oppression exercised towards the said inhabitants and proprietors by General Sir Charles Grey, and Vice Admiral Sir John Jervis, the Commanders in Chief of His Majesty's forces, employed in the conquest of the above-mentioned island.

That the persons represented by your memorialists were not the adherents of the pretended National Convention, nor did they oppose the declaration given on board the Boyne, the 1st of January 1794, but on the contrary, your memorialists are instructed to state, as facts, which either from their notoriety need no farther proof, or which can be substantiated by indubitable evidence, that when the Mayor of the town of St. Pierre, in the island of Martinique, received the first summons from His Majesty's Commanders, the town and forts were so absolutely at the disposal of the negroes and people of colour, that the white inhabitants could not manifest their desire of surrendering; but that immediately on the retreat of the people of colour and negroes from the town, they did, in a quiet and peaceable manner, submit to the authority of the King, and put themselves under His Majesty's protection.

That your memorialists are farther instructed to state, that the said inhabitants and proprietors whom they now represent, relied with the most implicit confidence on the security held forth in the above-mentioned declaration of His Majesty's Commanders, whereby a full and immediate enjoyment of all their lawful property was solemnly promised, granted, and insured to them.

That your memorialists are farther instructed to state, that in defiance of the above-mentioned declaration, in violation of the British faith, thus solemnly pledged, and contrary to all the rules of war, as carried on by civilized nations, all the produce and provisions in the town of St. Pierre, as well as in some other parts of the island, were shortly after seized by order of the Commanders, and without any Court of Admiralty being first held, without any previous adjudication or form of trial whatsoever, sold for the benefit of the captors.

That your memorialists earnestly entreat the attention of His Majesty's Ministers to the terms of the declaration issued the 1st of January 1794; and humbly submit, that the solemn promise held forth in that declaration was directly addressed to individuals, not to the armed force by which the island was held in oppression; and that if the voluntary and early submission made by the white inhabitants of this island is not to be

considered as giving them a title to the benefits of that solemn promise, unless a formal capitulation had preceded their submission, this declaration of the Commanders in Chief must have become a cruel mockery, in case the adherents of the pretended Convention had precluded the possibility of capitulation: and has, in fact, proved an unwarrantable delusion to the loyal and unsuspecting inhabitants, whose eager submission overlooked what they had reason to consider as a needless precaution.

That your memorialists are concerned to state, that the seizure and confiscation of the property found at St. Pierre and elsewhere, took place under the pretended sanction and authority of the British Government: But confiding in the well-known justice and lenity of that Government, and anxious for the honour and interest of the nation, that the inhabitants of the island of Martinique, and of the other conquered islands, should continue attached by all the ties of duty and affection to that Legislature, which they have ever regarded with respect and admiration:

Your memorialists humbly pray, that the case of the respective inhabitants of Martinique, for whom your memorialists are agents, and whose claim of confiscated property shall be substantiated to your Grace, may be taken into consideration by His Majesty's Ministers as soon as convenient, and that such reliefs may be granted to each of them, as shall upon full information appear consistent with the justice and liberality of a British Government.

*Geo. Woodford Thellusson,*
Chairman.

## No. VI.

MEMORIAL. ——— Merchants of Liverpool.

(No Date.)

To his Grace the Duke of PORTLAND, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c. &c. &c.

The MEMORIAL of the Merchants of Liverpool, whose names are hereunto subscribed;

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT your memorialists have very considerable property and debts due to them in the several islands in the West Indies, lately subject to the Crown of France; and which, in the course of the present hostilities, have fallen under the dominion of Great Britain.

That the said property and debts originated and were due to them prior to the commencement of the war, in consequence of commercial transactions and dealings with those islands; authorized and sanctioned by the Free-Port acts, and particularly by the commercial treaty with France in 1787.

That the late indiscriminate seizure and general confiscation of West-India produce found in the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, with their several dependencies, also the heavy contribution levied upon the unfortunate planters and merchants of St. Lucia, who willingly submitted to the first summons from the Commanders of His Majesty's land

and sea forces, is matter of most serious concern to your memorialists, and will grievously affect their property.

That your memorialists, conceiving that the horrors of war, at all times dreadful, are by such severities rendered doubly distressing and destructive; and, in fact, they apprehend, if it were humane and political in His Majesty's Ministers to prohibit the continuance of such violent proceedings, and the levying of farther illegal contributions in the conquered islands, as it most undoubtedly was, it is not the less necessary, your memorialists humbly conceive, to order a restitution of the inglorious booty acquired by our Commanders, and now in the hands of their agents in the West Indies and in Europe, because it will still farther tend to confirm the confidence of newly-acquired subjects in the wisdom, equity, and moderation of His Majesty's Councils and Government, and in the good faith of the British nation.

But were all these considerations laid aside, your memorialists beg leave to recal to your Grace's recollection the declaration issued on the first of January 1794, before any hostile attempt was made on any of these islands; by which, with all the solemnities of the most imposing formalities, Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis guaranteed to such of the inhabitants of the different islands as should peaceably submit themselves to the authority and protection of His Majesty, not only the most uninterrupted personal security, but the most ample and immediate enjoyment of their legitimate rights and properties.

Your memorialists, therefore, upon any known principles of reason and justice, cannot conceive that the inhabitants of the conquered islands have merited such an imposition, which in its consequences equally and indiscriminately involve in one general confiscation British and French property—the friendly with the hostile, and the peaceable and well-disposed subject with the turbulent and seditious.

Therefore, relying on the justice and humanity of His Majesty's Ministers, your memorialists flatter themselves, on a consideration of the premises, they will be induced to give the necessary orders for a restoration of the payments made on account of their illegal contribution, and a public disavowal of the principle upon which such impolitic proceedings are founded.

*John Shaw*, Mayor.

James Bold,
Geo. Dunbar,
William Rigges,
William Dobson,
William Ewart,
J. P. Richard,
John Houghton,
Joseph Ward,
Thomas Twemlour,
J. Bolton,
Ash Byrom,
William Leigh,
Benjamin Thomas,
John Lightbody,
John Thomas,
John Conway,
Henry Brown,
Edgar Parrie,

R. Downward,
Robert Jackson,
Henry Bowles,
Thomas Dickinson,
Edward Rogers,
John Wilson,
Thomas Barton,
Walter Scott,
John Stanton,
John Hewley,
William Syer,
James Ashcroft,
George Mercer,
John Thornhill,
Richard Houghton,
James Quick,
James Percival,
Thomas Gleaves,

Thomas Frankland,
H. Moore,
V. Pearce Ashfield,
Daniel Backhouse
William Harper,
William Neilson,
Joseph Birch,
Edward Atherton,
Elijah Cobham,
Thomas Harrison,
Moses Benson,
A. Stewart,
Edward Newsham,
William Dickson,
James Astley,
William Harding,
Joseph Deare,
John Watson.
John Fergusson,
B. Chifney,
Peter Leicester,
Robert Wilock,
John Drinkwater,
Michael Humble,
Tarletons and Backhouse,
John Backhouse,
John Tarleton,
John Hornby,
John Sibbald,
William Jones Calcott,
William Miller,
William Blake Tharp,
William Harding, jun.
Andrew Dodson,
Joseph Leay,
Thomas Rodie,
Ellis L. Hodgson,
William Begg,
Thomas Cartwright,
James Michell,
Thomas Welsh,
John D'Aguilar,
John Palmer,
Alexander Carson,
George Bowdon,
William Sircar,
John Knox,
Richard T. Tatham,
John Thompson,
Henry Newsham,
Thomas Newsham,
J. W Jones,
J. Gardner.

No. VII.

COPY of a Letter from the Duke of PORTLAND, to the Gentlemen of the Committee of West India Planters and Merchants; dated Whitehall, 30th April 1795.

Whitehall, 30th April 1795.

GENTLEMEN,

IN answer to the memorials which have been transmitted to me from the West-India planters and merchants, on the subject of certain proclamations issued during the command of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis in the West Indies, I beg leave to inform you, that His Majesty's Ministers, the moment they were informed of the nature of those proclamations, sent directions respecting them, in consequence of which, no farther proceedings were had upon them; and information has since been received, that those directions were so clearly understood, that the money which had been paid as contribution has already been returned; so that the proclamations in question cannot but be considered to be, as in fact they are, annulled.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PORTLAND.

To the Gentlemen of the Committee of West India Planters and Merchants.

## No. VIII.

COPY of a Letter from the Duke of PORTLAND, to the Merchants of Liverpool, subscribing the Memorial to his Grace, presented by John Tarleton, Esquire; dated Whitehall, 2d May 1795.

Whitehall, 2d May 1795.

GENTLEMEN,

IN answer to your memorial presented to me by Mr Tarleton, relative to the proceedings of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, under certain proclamations issued during their command in the West Indies, I beg leave to inform you, that His Majesty's Ministers, the moment they were informed of the nature of those proclamations, sent directions respecting them, in consequence of which no farther proceedings were had upon them; and information has since been received, that those directions were so clearly understood, that the money which had been paid as contribution has already been returned, so that the proclamations in question cannot but be considered to be, as in fact they are, annulled.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

PORTLAND.

To the Merchants of Liverpool subscribing the Memorial to his Grace, presented by John Tarleton, Esquire.

## No. IX.

COPY of a Letter from General Sir CHARLES GREY, and Sir JOHN JERVIS, to the Duke of PORTLAND, dated 7th March 1795.—With Copies of Inclosures therein.

MY LORD,

WE take the liberty of troubling your Grace on the subject of the memorials, which have been presented to your Grace by the West-India planters and merchants, and others, respecting our proceedings and conduct, as Commanders in Chief, upon and subsequent to the conquest of the French West-India islands. Some of those memorials were presented during our commands in the West Indies; and, if we are correctly informed, they were preceded by personal communications, made to His Majesty's Ministers, upon the authority of private letters from merchants and traders in the West Indies. How far these representations and memorials have been acted upon by His Majesty's Ministers, we are uninformed; but from the nature of the allegations contained in them, and the objects which the Memorialists profess to have in view, we assure ourselves that they cannot be countenanced; if they are, it places us in this singular dilemma, that in the discharge of our public duty, as Commanders in Chief in the West Indies, we could not avoid either disobey-

ing the instructions and frustrating the views of His Majesty, or exposing ourselves to censure, by disappointing the wishes and expectations of merchants and traders connected with the West Indies.

The West-India merchants appear to be apprehensive only of the consequences which may result to them from any precedent established by our conduct, upon which the French Government may act towards them, in case of a reverse of fortune:—"Should the fortune of war (they say) "be reversed in that quarter, and any of the British islands be captured "by the enemy (an event to be apprehended from the reduced state of "the British forces in those islands, and from the untoward accidents "which have prevented the departure of the reinforcements provided) "retaliation, however temperate in its principle and extent, will be little short of total ruin to the fortune of your Memorialists, and to a very "considerable portion of His Majesty's subjects."

The ground upon which this complaint is founded, we take to be totally distinct from that which has been more generally and most loudly urged (which we shall observe upon afterwards) viz. That the property of emigrants, or those who were friendly to the British Government, and contributed their assistance, as far as they were enabled, or allowed to do, to the conquest of the French islands, was subjected to indiscriminate confiscation. The fear of retaliation must arise, not from our treatment of the enemies but of the friends of the French Government. The apprehension stated is, that in case of a reverse of fortune, that Government may treat our subjects as we have treated their's. To this we can give no other answer, than that the peculiar nature of the war, and the orders transmitted to us by His Majesty's Ministers, left us no discretion as to the treatment either of that Government or its supporters. Upon a reference to our secret instructions, your Grace will perceive that Government to be qualified as an usurpation, having no legal authority, and its supporters as rebels and traitors. We are directed by an order of Council to prevent foreigners resorting to the islands without licence; and that order, by a letter from one of His Majesty's confidential servants, is explained as "clearly marking the intention of the British Government, "to keep out of the conquered islands all persons whose principles were "in the least degree to be suspected;" and he adds, "I hope you have "driven out of them all persons of this description." We certainly acted in conformity to the policy here laid down in many instances:—The subjects of the French Government, or the pretended National Convention, as it is termed in the proclamation, were in many instances sent away, and their estates sequestered; this became necessary for the security of those islands, which in all our letters and instructions we considered ourselves directed to secure, as a permanent acquisition to the Crown of Great Britain. It became the more necessary, as our force became weaker; but for the precedent established by these proceedings, we are not responsible, and to the sequestered estates receivers were immediately appointed for the benefit of Government; they still continue, we believe, to receive for Government the profits of those estates, from which the captors have in no one instance derived any advantage or emolument of any kind to themselves.

Having made these observations on the principles avowed by the Memorialists, we must beg leave to call your Grace's attention to a statement of our proceedings in the conquered islands.

For a detail of our proceedings in the conquest of the islands, we must beg leave to refer your Grace to our public and private dispatches: His

Majesty's forces were resisted in all of them so long as resistance was practicable. No town or district, nor any body or description of the inhabitants, ever signified an intention to accept or accede to the terms of the proclamation of the 1st of January, 1794. On the contrary, in many places, the inhabitants manned batteries to oppose the attack of His Majesty's troops, and in every other respect contributed to resist them, they even fired upon our flags of truce. Upon the conquest of islands, under such circumstances, we conceived it to be our duty to secure such property as appeared to us unquestionable booty. We apprehend it was our duty to do so, upon two grounds, viz. 1st. To protect the rights of His Majesty.—2dly. To secure to the officers, and seamen and soldiers, such booty as His Majesty had or might think fit to grant them as a reward for their services. The booty taken on shore we conceived to be given to the navy and army by His Majesty's separate instructions to Sir Charles Grey, and by Mr. Secretary Dundas's confirmation of our plan of division of booty, in his letter to Sir Charles of the 7th of March, 1794. This idea was communicated to the army in public orders, with a view to encourage the troops, and promote good discipline, by removing all inducement for plunder.

Having submitted to your Grace our ideas respecting booty, we request your Grace's attention to the nature and extent of the seizure actually made. The principal estates in the island were in the possession of Republican agents, as confiscated property, and the produce had been sent to the towns of St. Pierre and Fort Royal, (which were both taken by assault) in order to be shipped to France, or otherwise disposed of, on account of the Republic. The planters resident on the island had likewise sent produce to St. Pierre to be shipped or sold. The former description of property we considered as belonging to the French Government, and, as such, to be lawful prize. The latter we considered as subject to confiscation, in consequence of the proprietors having either resisted His Majesty's forces, or declined accepting the terms offered by the proclamation of the 1st of January. The towns being taken by storm or assault, the property in them, according to the common practice of war, was exposed to plunder, but the troops were restrained from any act of that kind, by the assurances given them, that they would be much more benefited by a fair and equal distribution of booty, than by indiscriminate pillage. Under the circumstances in which the towns were taken, it was the opinion of the navy and army, that all the property found in them was to be considered as prize or booty. We declined sanctioning seizures to this extent; but being of opinion that the produce of the island found at St. Pierre was unquestionable prize, as belonging either to the Republican Government or to individuals who had resisted the British forces, or rejected the terms offered by the proclamation of the 1st of January, we directed the seizure of it. No other private property, of any description, was molested. Although the town of St. Pierre was taken by assault, yet the shops in it were publicly open the next day, and the inhabitants employed in disposing of their property and transacting their business as usual. The provisions and necessaries supplied to the navy and army were regularly paid for, and every species of general merchandize (provisions included) was left in the uncontrouled disposition of the inhabitants. The property seized on shore consisted only of the following articles, the produce of the island, viz. sugar, rum, coffee, cotton, and cassia.

At the time of the seizure no man intimated the smallest doubt either

of the legality or propriety of our conduct: on the contrary, it was the general opinion that, in point of strictness, all the moveable property in the island was liable to seizure: in this opinion we have since been confirmed by better advice than any we could then obtain. Your Grace will not suppose us to have deliberately weighed in legal balances every measure we took in executing the arduous services committed to our care: if that had been expected from us, we ought to have been furnished with learned civilians as advisers or assessors. Unassisted as we were with any legal advice, we are extremely happy to find that, instead of exceeding, we have fallen very far short of exercising, to their legal extent, the rights of the Crown, in seizing the booty which fell to the disposal of His Majesty.

If your Grace will have the goodness to refer to the representations first made by the merchants to His Majesty's Minister upon this subject you will find that the complaints against us were originally suggested by British adventurers, who went to Martinique for the purpose of purchasing prize property, and who found themselves extremely disappointed upon discovering that the captors had taken such measures as were most likely to obtain a fair price for it. Many of these adventurers had been long in the habit of carrying on commerce with the French islands, (whether illicit or legal is not for us to determine) and were deeply connected with merchants and planters in Martinique, who, by their resistance to the British forces, or by disregarding the proclamation of the 1st of January, had subjected their property to confiscation. By way of reminding your Grace of the source of these complaints, and of the regard paid by the persons making them to truth and candour, we beg leave to submit to your Grace's perusal the following extract from one of the first representations sent to this country upon the subject, and which we are informed, was laid before His Majesty's Ministers on an authority not to be questioned.

Extract of a Letter to Messrs. GEORGE BAILLIE and Co. from their Correspondent at St Vincent's; dated 14th April 1794.

" Our Mr ——— only returned last night from Martinique, where he went to see what could be done in the way of speculation. He found a wonderful collection of people from all the islands, but every one equally disappointed. All the produce on board the vessels and in the stores, even to the length of powder and pomatum shops, are confiscated.

" The sale began with sugar on the 10th day. Fine clay'd sold from 60 to 67 per cwt. and being captured goods, goes home subject to the foreign duty. The produce has been all appraised by gentlemen from the different islands, and it's the directions from the Admiral and General, that the agents do not let a cask of it be sold under that appraisement, so the full value will be obtained, otherwise it is bought in for the capturers, and it is thought the greatest part will fall into their own hands; they so much expect so themselves, that the ships will be the last of the sales, in order that they may buy in what is wanting to carry home their produce. After this is all over, the sum of 250,000l. sterling is to be demanded from the towns in Martinique; and all the produce on estates made previous to the day of surrender is to be made prize

of. Such extraordinary plunder (for we cannot give it a better name) was never known before on the like or any other occaſion in civilized countries. At St. Lucia they are to levy immediately the ſum of 300,000l. ſterling, in lieu of every thing elſe, and no produce of any kind to be ſhipped off the iſland by the inhabitants until this money is raiſed, ſo that, independent of half the ruin of the people in both places, no payments can this year be expected by the merchants in the Engliſh iſlands, who have very large ſums due to them for negroes, &c. ſold before the war."

No man who reads this letter can be at a loſs to diſcover the motive in which it originated. After all the reprobation it contains of the conduct of the captors, and the wonderful degree of philanthropy diſplayed for the unfortunate ſufferers, it ſhews a pretty ſtrong diſappointment at the writer's not being able to derive advantage from the plunder he execrates, by purchaſing it at an inferior price. In ſhort, if the captors had permitted the adventurers who wiſhed to ſpeculate in the captured property to have purchaſed it at half its value, the confiſcation would have been approved by them, and the complaints now urged againſt us would never have been heard of. It never occurred to the inhabitants of the iſlands that any thing more had been done by the captors than what was uſual in ſimilar caſes, or that complaints to His Majeſty's Miniſters would be likely to benefit them, until theſe notions were inſtilled into their minds with a view to gratify the reſentment and promote the interеſted views of diſappointed Britiſh adventurers. But, independent of the very laudable motives in which the repreſentation juſt ſtated originated, the eſſential parts of it are in point of fact totally falſe. Inſtead of all the produce in the ſtores at St. Pierre, even to the "length of powder and pomatum ſhops," being confiſcated, not a ſingle ounce of property of any deſcription, except the produce of the iſland found in the town, was meddled. We were ſo rigid in enforcing a ſtrict diſcipline in the army, that two men who had acted in breach of orders, in plundering or attempting to plunder ſome of the inhabitants of St. Pierre, were tried by a Court Martial, convicted, and executed.—What is ſaid as to all the produce of the eſtates made previous to the capture of the iſland being taken as prize, is equally unfounded in fact, as not a ſingle hogſhead of produce was taken from any of the plantations.—As to the allegations reſpecting the contributions intended to be levied on the iſlands of Martinique and St. Lucia, we ſhall preſently take the liberty of requeſting your Grace's attention to a correct ſtatement of the facts. From the inſtance we have given of the regard paid to truth in the repreſentations made from the Weſt Indies, your Grace will not be ſurpriſed at thoſe ſtatements being followed up by memorials from the merchants and agents here, equally unfounded in fact, and deſtitute of candour.

The tranſactions which we have hitherto detailed or referred to, relate principally to Martinique, that being the only iſland from whence the captors have derived any advantage from the captured property. After the conqueſt of that iſland, St. Lucia was the next object of attack, and was regularly ſummoned to ſurrender. The ſummons was rejected. The Britiſh troops landed in different places on the 1ſt of April, 1794, and all the different forts and batteries were completely taken poſſeſſion of on the fourth. But although there was no force on the iſland to make an effectual reſiſtance againſt that ſent to attack it, and the inhabitants had known for near three months that it would be attacked, yet every

resistance was made that the force of the island was capable of, and no town, fortress, or any description of the inhabitants, either capitulated, surrendered, or proposed to surrender upon the terms offered in the proclamation of the 1st of January. The island being conquered by force, the navy and army did not consider the inhabitants as entitled to the terms offered by the proclamation, but, on the contrary, as liable to be treated as enemies, and subjected to all the consequences of conquest. Under this impression the navy and army conceived they had a right to treat all the produce of the island that had been manufactured and sent to the town of Castries (the shipping port) and also that upon the plantations in the possession of the agents of the republic, as liable to confiscation, which at the time of the capture extended to a considerable part of the crop of the year. Some merchants, who had been appointed by the Commanders in Chief to act as prize agents, suggested to the principal planters and merchants, that it would be a beneficial measure for them to offer the navy and army a sum of money to waive their claims to a confiscation of the produce; and that it would easily be raised by way of assessment or contribution on the different towns and estates in the island, in proportion to their property or value, and paid by instalments at different periods. Two commercial houses in Grenada, that were very much connected in St. Lucia, took an active part in promoting this arrangement.

The first sum mentioned as an equivalent for the captors waiving their claims to all confiscation whatever was 300,000l. which fell infinitely short of the value of the colonial produce then upon the island.—This sum was, however, by negociation and explanation, reduced to a moiety, and an agreement was entered into by the principal inhabitants for the payment of 150,000l. by instalments (viz.) 50,000l in 1794, the like sum in 1795, and the remainder in 1796.—The houses of Baillie and Co. and Munro and Co of Grenada, proposed to come forward as sureties for the island, and to give bills on London, dated First August 1794, payable at 6 months sight, for the amount of the first 50,000l.—This proposal, which held out to the captors the certainty of a large sum of money, without the trouble attending the seizure, condemnation, and sale of enemies property, was accepted under the idea that they would experience no farther trouble or difficulty about it. The gentlemen, who had proposed to give bills for the money, suggested from time to time such orders or proclamations as they thought would be most likely to carry into effect the arrangement agreed upon, but instead of the captors deriving any advantage whatever from this plan of a contribution, not a single shilling ever did or will come into their hands from it. Instead of gaining any thing, the captors were completely defrauded of every ounce of property taken on the island, except the arms and military stores, that were applied to the service of the Public.—So far from having pillaged or plundered the inhabitants of St. Lucia (with which they are charged) the captors have not to the present hour received, nor have they any probability of receiving, a single farthing arising from prize or booty taken on shore, except the value of the military stores.—We believe a sum of 10,000l. or 12,000l was collected in the island in part of the proposed contribution, and towards payment of the first instalment thereof, but not one shilling of it was ever received by the captors; and upon its being intimated to us, that the receipt of any sum of money under the denomination of contribution would not meet with His Majesty's approbation, we directed whatever had been collected to be re-

turned, which was accordingly done in November 1794. Suppoſing our conduct, in originally acceding to the idea of a contribution, to have been ever ſo unwarranted by the practice of war and the law of nations (which we apprehend is not the caſe) yet we have been very unfairly dealt with by the inhabitants of St. Lucia and their inſtigators.—For not content with ſecuring the property which was clearly liable to ſeizure and confiſcation, and afterwards getting relieved from the contribution which was propoſed as the conſideration for reſtitution, they have loaded us with every ſpecies of odium and reproach, which the moſt rigid exaction of the contribution, or the moſt general confiſcations could have excuſed. In all the repreſentations made from the Weſt Indies, and followed up by memorials to His Majeſty's Miniſters, the intention has been ſubſtituted for the act, and urged [illegible] as ſuch, even long after it was notorious that the idea was totally abandoned.—In doing this the Memorialiſts anxiouſly ſuppreſſed the immenſe property liable to confiſcation, which was given up by the captors, who certainly have the greateſt reaſon to complain. The value of the property found on ſhore, which was fairly to be conſidered as prize or booty, was very large.—The captors have been defrauded of the whole of it, by an inſidious offer of a contribution, their acceptance of which is afterward turned againſt them, as an exaction of the moſt tyrannical kind.—In acceding to the idea of a contribution, they loſt ſight of their real intereſts.—They did not foreſee the fraud artfully meditated to be practiſed upon them, they did not foreſee that, letting the property eſcape without any preſent or actual conſideration for it, they gave time for partial and *ex parte* repreſentations againſt them, and gave thoſe into whoſe [illegible] they had fallen an opportunity of procuring a revocation of the whole proceedings: by permitting the removal of the prize property, the captors furniſhed the inducement, at the time they removed all ground for the clamour that has been raiſed againſt them.

The preparatory arrangements gave time to ſhip away the produce that was the ſubject of conſideration, and the period ſtipulated for the firſt payment gave an opportunity for communication with the mother country, ſo as to try whether, by calumny and clamour, ſupported by falſehood, and miſrepreſentation, a diſapprobation of the meaſure on the part of Government could be obtained. The plan ſo completely ſucceeded, that the only reſult experienced by the captors from the projected contribution is a heavy expence, charged by ſome of the agents who firſt planned and then defeated it, for commiſſion and charges, and every ſpecies of opprobrium and obloquy that intereſted malice or reſentment could ſuggeſt.

The idea of contribution firſt originated at St. Lucia in the manner above ſtated. It was afterwards ſuggeſted, that the planters in Martinique ought to pay a certain ſum in conſideration of the produce upon eſtates poſſeſſed by Republican agents, or by perſons who had taken an active part in reſiſting the Britiſh forces, or who rejected the terms offered by the proclamation of the 1ſt January, not having been ſeized or confiſcated. This ſuggeſtion originated from the ſame quarter, and in views of the ſame nature, that produced the plan of a contribution at St. Lucia. Various preparatory orders were iſſued, but the memorials preſented to your Grace ſeem principally to confine their animadverſions to thoſe of the 10th and 21ſt of May, upon which we beg leave to lay a few words by way of explanation.

The iſland of Martinique having been conquered by force, without any capitulation or compact having been entered into with its inhabitants,

we apprehend the whole property of the island became liable to seizure, and at the disposal of His Majesty. As Commanders in Chief, we have already said, that we conceived it to be our duty to protect His Majesty's rights; but in doing so, we did not enforce them to any thing like their full extent. The property that was in fact seized. was confined to the produce of the island found in the towns carried by assault. It was afterwards suggested to us, that if we gave up the remainder of the property liable to confiscation, we should deprive His Majesty of an opportunity of rewarding the navy and army to that extent which his rights afforded the opportunity of doing. Anxious to do justice to the fleet and army, and at the same time desirous of alleviating the situation of inhabitants, who by their conduct had incurred a forfeiture of their property, we listened to the proposal of a composition to be raised by way of contribution. In doing this, we perhaps overstepped the strict legal line of conduct we ought to have pursued, as the composition ought to have been confined to and received from the proprietors of the property liable to confiscation. But it ought to be remembered, that it was our wish to alleviate and not to aggravate the situation in which the inhabitants had placed themselves, by rejecting the terms offered by the proclamation of the 1st January; and by acceding to their proposal of a contribution, we were told we should do that. By the terms "general confiscation," we must be understood to mean a confiscation of the property of the inhabitants who had not entitled themselves to the protection offered by the proclamation of the 1st January. In short, none of them acceded to or accepted the terms offered by it; and we believe your Grace will find the legal consequences resulting from that conduct placed their whole property in the discretion of His Majesty. That being the case, we were called upon, as His Majesty's representatives, to secure it, so far as we should deem it consistent with his Royal intention. The claim, therefore, to a general confiscation will not be found unwarranted, according to the rights of war. So far therefore from complaining against us for having stated such a right, we think the inhabitants ought to consider themselves as favourably treated in its not having been enforced.

The proclamation of the 21st of May was founded upon the same idea as that of the 10th. But there is one expression in it, which seems either to have been misunderstood or strangely perverted by the merchants, &c. who have made complaints against us. We mean the part where it is proposed "to raise a sum of money adequate to the value of the conquest." We trust we are not to have our conduct decided on by a rigid criticism upon the language of our public orders. That the acts done by us, and not the phraseology of a paper we may have signed, will be attended to. But if we are to descend from the stations of General and Admiral to answer verbal criticisms, we need only suggest a small variation in the language of the paper we are speaking of, to render it perfectly consistent with the idea above suggested, viz. that of accepting a composition for the restitution of property liable to confiscation. If, instead of the words, "adequate to the value of the conquest," your Grace will be pleased to substitute the words "adequate to the value of the property "liable to confiscation," nothing will be found in that paper inconsistent with our ideas of the rights of the Crown, and the plan of accepting a composition upon declining to enforce them. It can never be supposed that by the words "adequate to the value of the conquest," we meant the value of the island, and all the property in it. Even the gentlemen who complain against us do not impute to us so extravagant an idea.

"The value of the conquest" must be understood as referable to the property, which the conquest of the island had made the subject of booty, and which the captors conceived had been conferred upon them by His Majesty's separate instructions to Sir Charles Grey. But whether the contribution which these proclamations proposed to levy was just or unjust, either in principle or extent, we did not expect that it would now be made a subject of inquiry, as not a single farthing was collected. The project was in fact abandoned long before it was known that His Majesty disapproved of contributions, no loss or injury of any kind was in point of fact sustained by the inhabitants; nor have they themselves expressed any discontent or dissatisfaction, though advantage has been taken of these proceedings to load us with every sort of malevolent misrepresentation and abuse.

We shall now request your Grace's attention to the memorial signed by Mr. Thellusson. By way of impressing your Grace with a just idea of the candour of the memorialist, the first paragraph charges us with having exercised injustice and oppression towards the inhabitants, without giving the name of any one person that has been injured, or instancing a single fact or transaction to warrant so strong an imputation. It is not usual for men in high responsible situations to be charged, in general terms, with the exercise of injustice and oppression, without a foundation being laid for such a charge by a statement of facts, from whence it can be fairly deduced. Here the charge is boldly made at the outset, and when the subsequent detail of facts (if any thing stated in this paper deserves that appellation) comes to be examined, it will be found composed of either positive falsehoods or wilful misrepresentations. It is not a little singular, that the name of no one inhabitant of Martinique should be brought forward as having authorised this complaint. As to the supposed sufferers, whether they were planters, merchants, or traders, whether they were Frenchmen, Creoles, or persons of colour, what is the nature or extent of their losses, and how sustained or occasioned, the memorial is totally silent. Mr. Thellusson states, that the persons he represents were not adherents to the National Convention, nor did they oppose the proclamation of the 1st January. Whether that fact is true or false, depends merely upon his assertion, which in the terms in which it is made cannot receive an answer. If their names and residence had been mentioned, we should have had an opportunity of answering this allegation, by shewing what part the persons named took in the contest and how far they suffered from the seizure that took place. The silence observed upon this subject pretty clearly shews, that the principals wish to shrink from personal inquiry and minute investigation, and prefer the mode of circulating their calumny in the name of an agent, who does not hold himself responsible for what he states. The allegation with respect to the state of St. Pierre, when first summoned, and the quiet and peaceable submission of the white inhabitants, is positively and absolutely false. To prove it to be so, it is only necessary for your Grace to refer to the answer given by the Mayor of St. Pierre to our summons, and the detail of the conquest of the island contained in our public dispatches. Your Grace will find that the town of St. Pierre was the last place taken, except Fort Bourbon and Fort Royal. The aid-de-camp, who carried the summons to St. Pierre on the 6th of February, instead of being received and listened to, was insulted, and not permitted to enter the town, and the Mayor gave the watch word for resistance and defiance. So far were the inhabitants from being well affected to the British Government,

that they manned some of the batteries near the town, and several armed vessels were under the necessity of firing upon the town, to deter them from giving farther support to the adjacent forts, at the time they were attacked by the British forces. Their supposed quiet and peaceable submission extended no farther than to their not engaging the British troops when they entered the town sword in hand, after having taken the surrounding forts by assault, and when farther resistance would have been fruitless. To the allegation that states the inhabitants represented by Mr. Thellusson to have relied with implicit confidence on the security held forth by the proclamation of the 1st of January—loose and general as it is—we feel no difficulty in giving a positive contradiction, as no description of persons in the island ever intimated, at the time, the most distant idea that they considered, or were in condition to consider themselves entitled to the benefit of the proclamation. It was public and notorious to every man in the island, both British and French, that every foot of it was conquered by force, but relying upon these facts not being so generally known in this country, and encouraged by their connections in the British islands, and those which they have recently formed in Great Britain, it is not improbable that some of the inhabitants may have been since induced to authorise these false representations, in the hope of obtaining restitution of the property which their resistance to the British forces exposed to seizure and confiscation. Not content with stating the conduct of the inhabitants to have been the direct reverse of what it in fact was, the memorialist proceeds to allege, that all the produce and provisions in the town of St. Pierre, and in some other parts of the island, was seized and sold for the benefit of the captors. The property that was seized on shore we have accurately stated. Not an ounce of provisions was included, except the produce of the island, such as has been named, should be deemed so. In short, the whole memorial is founded on falshood and misrepresentation. It is neither sanctioned by names, nor supported by any document or evidence of any description, and yet, upon such spurious and anonymous authority, we are grossly calumniated, "as having violated British faith solemnly pledged, and acted contrary "to all the rules of war, as carried on by civilized nations."

Whether the terms offered by the proclamation of the 1st of January 1794, are to be considered as addressed to individuals only, or to the body of the people, is perfectly immaterial; for no individual from whom an ounce of property was taken ever intimated a wish to accept the benefit of it until after his place of residence was in possession of the British troops. His professions of regard for, and attachment to, the British Government, might perhaps then become vociferous, but what would have been said of us if we had given credit to the professions of such men? Had the same opportunity offered at Martinique that afterwards occurred at Guadaloupe, all these professions would have vanished, and the persons making them have been found amongst the supporters of the invading enemy.

The first memorial of the West-India planters and merchants appears to us to be rather a remonstrance against the conduct of His Majesty's Ministers than a personal attack upon us—we therefore consider it as not calling for an answer on our parts; but the other, which refers to that we have just observed upon, and calls the attention of His Majesty's Ministers to the proclamations of the 1st of January, and the 10th and 21st May, we consider as demanding our attention—It manifestly proceeds throughout upon a supposition that the facts stated in the other

memorial are true, and that the inhabitants of the conquered islands had by their submission, entitled themselves to the benefits offered by the first proclamation. We are not much surprized to find false allegations and unfounded calumny stated in a memorial that may be fairly said to deserve the character of anonymous; but we cannot avoid expressing our astonishment to observe the West-India planters and merchants adopting it. Had they possessed no means of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of the matters stated in it, some apology might be made for their doing so; but the manner in which the islands were taken being matter of public history, there is no excuse for their adopting a false representation. It was only necessary for them to refer to the Gazette, to discover that the memorial presented by Mr. Thellusson was positively false; but it seems the planters and merchants did not wish to be undeceived, as there would, in that case, have been no colour for their putting the interpretation upon the proclamation of the 1st of January which they have done. His Majesty's proclamation held out an encouragement to submission to his arms, not a reward for resistance to them. They do not treat this instrument as containing an alternative, but as offering unqualified terms, which the inhabitants of the conquered islands were to have the benefit of, be their conduct what it might, whether they submitted or whether they resisted. In this respect it is more uncandid than the other memorial; and, in stating the demand made by the proclamations of the 10th and 21st of May, it keeps pace with it in fairness, by suppressing the fact, that not one shilling was ever collected under them, and that all idea of contribution was abandoned many months ago. This fact was equally well known to the memorialists as those which they have stated, and could only be suppressed with a view to give their complaint a degree of plausibility, which a fair representation would in no degree have warranted. All this industry and anxiety to pervert the meaning of public papers, and to misrepresent or suppress the facts requisite to a proper judgement of their true operation, must have proceeded from a consciousness that a fair interpretation of them, and a candid statement of all the material facts, would have shewn that there was no just ground for complaint. Taking the complaint in its strongest sense, when the fact is ascertained, it amounts to no more than that the Commanders in Chief, having been under the necessity of conquering the islands by force, conceived the conquest to give the captors a right to substitute a general contribution for a confiscation of property, which the conduct of the proprietors had exposed to forfeiture, but which contribution had not been paid. Had it been so put, the inquiry called for would have appeared ridiculous.

The memorial from the Liverpool merchants seems of a very singular nature. It calls upon His Majesty's Ministers to disavow principles which were never reduced to practice, and for a restoration of payments that were either never made, or long ago returned. Though it gives a false colour to what has been in the conquered islands, it is not quite so destitute of truth and candour as the other two, upon which we have just observed, and in that respect only differs from them. We shall here dismiss the subject of these memorials with this short observation, that if there had been any fair and just ground for complaint, which the memorialists could have established upon investigation so as to entitle themselves to relief, the Courts of Justice would have long ago resounded with their clamours for redress, and His Majesty's Ministers would have been the last persons applied to. Conscious that their complaints are unfounded in fact, and their claims unsupported by any colour of law, they substi-

tute misrepresentation and calumny in their place, and endeavour privately to ruin and disgrace the characters of men, whose conduct they have not ventured publicly to attack.

With respect to the personal request made to your Grace by the West India merchants on the 12th instant, as stated in the minute of the conference sent us by your Grace, we cannot avoid observing, that it falls far short of what is called for by their memorial. That paper rather insinuates than charges misconduct; but in the prayer of it your Grace is called upon to institute an inquiry into our public conduct, "in order to ascertain how far the national character and the public justice of the country have been duly and properly supported by us in such high and responsible stations." To our very great surprize the merchants in their conversation with your Grace state, "that their object in the application was not a call for inquiry with a view to inculpation of our conduct, but a public disavowal of the measures proposed by the proclamations of the 10th and 21st of May." So that after indirectly suggesting to your Grace, that the national character and the public justice of the country has been wounded by our conduct, nothing more is asked than a disavowal of supposed principles which were never reduced to practice, and of the terms of a proclamation which are wilfully misunderstood or perverted, for the purpose of giving a colour to the clamour raised against us. In short, the merchants, finding that the prayer of their memorial is not warranted by any thing they have to urge against us, wish by indirect means, to prevail upon your Grace to advise His Majesty to censure our conduct in the way most disgraceful and humiliating to us, viz. by a public disavowal and disapprobation, not of an act done by us, but of an intention that was not carried into effect, and which intention is itself grossly misrepresented. The merchants have not shewn such a disposition of forbearance towards us as to induce your Grace to believe, that if they could have proved us guilty of misconduct they would have resorted to an attack upon an unexecuted intention, and have confined their application for redress to a disavowal of opinions entertained by us with respect to the rights and practice of war. If we have acted illegally or unjustly, the Courts of Justice are open to the parties who may think themselves injured, and, from the disposition shewn towards us in the memorials presented to your Grace, it is manifest that tenderness to us is not the motive which has hitherto withheld the claimants from seeking redress in the ordinary way.

Since our return to this country, we have made all the inquiry in our power with respect to the practice in former wars, where any island or place has been carried by assault, and, instead of discovering that we have exceeded former practice with respect to the seizure of booty, we find that we have fallen very far short of it. In His Majesty's separate instructions to Sir Charles Grey, directions are given with respect to the division of any booty that might be taken on shore; and we therefore presumed, that it must have been His Majesty's intention that such property, as by the rights and practice of war became vested in the Crown, should be seized and distributed between the navy and army as booty.—We have always understood it to be admitted as a general proposition, that goods taken from an enemy are the property of the conquerors; and that it is an acknowledged right, by the law of nations, to seize enemies goods whenever they can be found, if the victors are not restrained from doing so under some compact or capitulation. Seizures of a similar nature to that made by us at Martinique have been made in every war for

many years past; as for instance, at Vigo in 1702, at Peyla in 1745, at Senegal in 1759, at the Havannah in 1763, at Omoa in 1780, and at St. Eustatius in 1781. The property taken at the last-mentioned place included all the goods and effects, of every description, found upon the island, except some inconsiderable quantities given up to a few individuals, and yet no instructions were given to the Admiral and General for making such a seizure. It was, however, afterwards approved by His Majesty, and a grant made of the whole property taken in favour of the captors.

In the conference between your Grace and the merchants it seems to have been taken for granted, that the proclamations complained of by them were inconsistent with that of the first of January. If your Grace will refer to the latter you will find, that in the event of the terms offered by it not being acceded to, all persons acting in defiance of it were to be "treated as enemies, and exposed to all the evils which the operations "of war would necessarily bring upon their persons and possessions." In this predicament were all the inhabitants of the conquered islands, and consequently all our subsequent orders ought to be considered as issued against persons subject to all the rights and severities of war. And although your Grace seems to have been of opinion, that in exercising those rights we were unauthorized by any "power," other than the force we commanded; yet, upon re-consideration of the subject, we are persuaded your Grace will find, that we possessed all the power vested in His Majesty as Sovereign of the State, whose force we commanded, and were not only warranted, but in duty bound, to exercise the rights of war in such manner as we should think most likely to meet with His Majesty's approbation, regard being had to the instructions with which he had honoured us. In the situation in which we were placed, much was left to our discretion. His Majesty pointed out to us the objects he wished to accomplish, but the means were left to us; and with respect to all interior objects, they were left to our management, without any instructions whatever. If we have exceeded or abused the powers delegated to us, we are not only amenable to His Majesty in a Court Military, but to all individuals in the Ordinary Courts of Justice. We are persuaded, that neither your Grace, nor any other of His Majesty's Ministers, will think us objects of censure on the ground of mere unexecuted intentions, even if they should be found to have originated in error or mistake. We are convinced, that it never occurred to the inhabitants of the captured islands, that we had treated them with unwarranted severity, until the idea was suggested to them by British traders, who had interested views to answer. Our conduct was approved by the principal planters and the public officers of the islands, as your Grace will perceive by the testimonials which we take the liberty to subjoin. Various misrepresentations having been circulated as to the value and extent of the property seized, it is proper that your Grace should be informed, that the whole which was taken, both afloat and on shore (excepting arms and military stores) produced only 183,000l., our proportion of which, should it not be diminished by claims or litigation, or by dishonoured bills, will be 11,437l. each — We trust your Grace will excuse our having entered at such great length into the discussion of the subject, as we consider our personal honour, and the reputation we have hitherto held in Society, as seriously attacked.

We have the Honour to be, &c.

CHARLES GREY.

7th March, 1795. J. JERVIS.

TESTIMONIALS addressed to Sir CHARLES GREY.

The Committee established this day at St. Pierre by me is hereby authorized to give, when required so to do by the Staff Officers of the army, and especially by Colonel Myers and Major Grey, all necessary orders to procure from the stores of the different individuals the articles that may be found therein suitable for the service, and the Public Chest shall be answerable for the value thereof; provided nevertheless the said articles be not liable to confiscation.

They are also to deliver all necessary orders to get from the general store the articles found therein, and required for the service.

And, finally, they are hereby authorized to direct the inhabitants, and other individuals, to find the negroes or cattle necessary for the service.

St. Pierre, Martinique,
the 18th February, 1794.

*Thomas Dundas.*

WE, the former Members of the Committee appointed for Government by his Excellency General Dundas, in the town of St. Pierre, do hereby certify and assert, that this is a true copy of the power given to us by the said General to procure from the several individuals what articles were necessary for the service of the army; and moreover, that those articles have been accordingly provided for, on our issuing written orders for the same, and that they have been delivered by the different inhabitants only by our giving them the certainty of their being paid, agreeable to the above-mentioned orders, having informed them thereof, and the originals being now in our hands.

We do further more declare, that, except the produce seized in the harbour, and in the stores of this town, no sort of goods whatever, being French property, has been confiscated here, and that the shops in particular have never been molested.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands, at St. Pierre, Martinique, the 1[illegible]th November, 1794.

(Signed) *Cavala, Jacquin Jne. [illegible]. Pascal, Jh. Menard, St. Cergues.*

I, the underwritten King's Attorney in the Court of Justice of St. Pierre, do hereby certify, that the above signatures are well known to be those of the former Commissaries of Government. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and the Seal of the Court.

St. Pierre, Martinique,
the 14th day of November, 1794.

*Regnauld.*

A true translation by the sworn Interpreter.
St. Pierre, Martinique, the 14th November, 1794.

*Chs. Sor[illegible]n.*

May it please your Excellency,

IF the island of Martinique now enjoys any degree of happiness it is to your wise Administration alone that we are indebted for it.—It was not enough to have conquered the colony, it was besides necessary to insure its tranquillity.—An active vigilance and seasonable measures have put

this iſland, the moſt valuable in theſe ſeas, out of the reach of the enemy's intrigues and depredations.

As for us, who have been happy enough to co operate with your Excellency in maintaining good order in the town of St Pierre, we confeſs that it is wholly to the protection with which your Excellency honoured us, and to the confidence which he placed in our abilities, that our ſucceſs is to be attributed.—We ſhall ever be mindful of your Excellency's kindneſs.—To the ſentiments with which we are impreſſed let him allow us to add, the aſſurance of the moſt ſincere and unfeigned attachment.—This homage, which ſprings from the heart, is the faithful expreſſion of our gratitude.—Sir Charles Grey's happineſs will ever be the object of our prayer.

The Members of the Court of Common Pleas at St. Pierre, in Martinique.

(Signed) *[illegible]*, Subſtitute to the King's Attorney, *[illegible]*, King's Attorney, *[illegible]*, 2d Ditto; *[illegible]*, Regiſter, *Borde*, 2d Regiſter.

Abſtract from the Records of the Superior Council of Martinique.

*MARTINIQUE.*

THIS Day the Court, anxious to give to his Excellency Sir Charles Grey a proof of the extreme ſatisfaction they have felt during the time of his adminiſtration, and of the infinite concern with which they are impreſſed by his Excellency's departure from the colony,

Reſolves, That Meſſrs Clarke, the Senior Magiſtrate of the Court, and Menant, one of the Magiſtrates, ſhall be appointed to expreſs to his Excellency the ſentiments of the Court, when they will preſent to him a copy of the preſent Reſolves.

Given in Superior Council, this 22d Day of November, 1794.

(Signed) *[illegible]*, Regiſter.

(Seal.) Sealed this 22d Day of November, 1794.

(Signed) *Borde.*

A true tranſlation. Given under the hand and ſeal of the ſworn Interpreter of the colony of St. Pierre, Martinique, the 24th Day of November, 1794.

*Chs. Sorin.*

Martinique—preſented the 24th November, 1794.

Addreſs to his Excellency Sir Charles Grey, Knight of the Bath, General, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

ANARCHY, and all the crimes by which it is ſurrounded, had ſpread it's empire over the French colonies.—Your Excellency led here a triumphant army.—All has been ſubdued by you, except the climate.—Neceſſary precautions have determined the ſevere meaſures by which Martinique has been preſerved from freſh calamities.—To the triumph of arms your Excellency has united the wiſdom of Adminiſtra-

tion, and you carry with you the double glory of having conquered enemies, and bound to you the hearts of His Majesty's new subjects.

(Seal.) (Seal.) (Signed) *Clarke*, Ménant.

A true translation. Given under the hand and seal of the sworn Interpreter of the colony—St. Pierre, Martinique, the 24th Day of November, 1794.

*Charles Sorin.*

Copy of a Letter written to M. de Curt, Deputy of the Colony of Martinique, in London, and addressed to him by Monf. La Hante, appointed for that purpose by the Superior Council.

Fort Royal, 8th November, 1794.

BY the Resolves of the Superior Council, which I have the honour to transmit to you, Sir, you will see that the Court in appointing me Commissary for the purpose of carrying on a regular correspondence with you, has especially directed me to inform you of it's opinion on the measures taken by his Excellency Sir Charles Grey to secure the tranquillity of this colony.

The Court has had some reason to believe, Sir, that persons, moved by various motives, have endeavoured to throw some blame on the operations of his Excellency concerning the individuals sent away, and whose residence in this island would have hazarded the safety, not only of Martinique but of all the West Indies. The Court thinks that it is its duty to undeceive, as much as it is in its power to do so, His Majesty's Ministers, that they might not suffer themselves to be imposed upon; and this is what I am directed to let them know through you.

The proclamations issued by the Commanders in Chief at the time they attacked Martinique, and which probably had been penned agreeable to the directions they had, these proclamations had before-hand declared the measures that have been taken since—full of clemency, while they held forth a pardon to all those who would oppose no resistance, and even sheltered them from the criminal prosecution of the law, for all the heinous and sanguinary acts of which they had been guilty—they in the mean time had made however a special reserve, which they declared to be unavoidably fulfilled, viz. the sending away all guilty people, and all individuals dangerous to Society, in a country where His Majesty's intention was to re establish the reign of good order and laws.

So evidently necessary was this measure, that it seems needless to prove it—and indeed of what was composed the set of people of which his Excellency Sir Charles Grey has endeavoured to exonerate the colony? Whites, mostly stained with crimes, all instigators or agents of destruction or conflagration—people of colour entirely lost in guilt; and slaves armed against their masters. It certainly would have met the general wish, if in each of those classes the public punishment of some of the most guilty individuals had served as an example to terrify the audacity of whomsoever would presume to involve again the colony in fresh disturbances: but by forbearing to put in force such severity, advantageous as it was, it became the more necessary to remove so many people, whose impunity could only entice them to commit crimes again. Could any tranquillity be expected in the colony, by forcing the colonists to remain surrounded by all those who had murdered their relations, their friends? who had

plundered and committed to the flames their property, and who were still in the same disposition of mind? Could the Commanders in Chief, with the small force they had, preserve under the dominion of Great Britain this country, where so many individuals avowed still publicly these sentiments, contrary to the new Government, and declared, in an open manner, that they expected nothing but a little assistance from the Convention to be masters again, and deliver up the colonists to the guillotine? And should this be looked upon as a bare assertion, let the truth of it be judged by a reflection on the events of Guadaloupe. This colony, which had just passed to the British Government, had been only partly cleared as yet of the dangerous individuals it contained—A small armament from the Republic arrives; the Republican Chiefs are at first at a loss; they hesitate, and are almost ready to quit the coast, but from every point of the shore they receive information, they are apprized of the weakness of the garrison, and of every circumstance that may be favourable to their enterprize: they are invited to make an attempt; they do it, and are soon joined by all the perfidious enemies which Guadaloupe still concealed, and by all those who had not been removed far enough not to meet again at the first opportunity.

What has been the consequence of this? You know it too well, Sir, By these events the safety of the old and new possessions of Great Britain in the West Indies has been and is still in peril.

Therefore it is now very evident for all those who are not led by particular interest to think, or to seem to think, otherwise, that far from having exceeded the line of precaution necessary on that point, authority has remained within it.

Let us now examine what has been the conduct of Sir Charles Grey in the manner of fulfilling these measures.

Guided by that love of justice which distinguishes him, by that goodness which is the foundation of his character, lamenting the measures, equity, and public safety obliged him to take, he has neglected nothing to come at the truth. He has taken every possible precaution to prevent private animosity from having any influence on those operations; he has spared neither his time, nor pains and trouble, to discover the errors into which he might have been led. Sometimes, through the apprehension of being unjust, he has preferred rather to be less prudent, and in the contest between his opinion and the goodness of his heart, the latter has always had the advantage. With regard to the property of individuals killed in arms, absent fugitives, or transported, he has done every thing that was humanely possible to prevent depredation. Wise regulations, the execution of which has been intrusted to honest and able men, have established order in that department—have continually sought the means of preservation, and prepared things in such a manner, that the intentions of His Majesty on that subject will be easily fulfilled when known.

Such is, Sir, the opinion of the Court. It was its duty to manifest it, in order to let nothing be unknown to His Majesty's Ministers of what may contribute to the peace and prosperity of this colony, and in order to do that justice which is due to a Commander, whose pure, upright, and benevolent intentions have displayed themselves in numerous circumstances undoubtedly. If, being almost constantly taken up with military operations, and if, finding it impossible to observe every thing himself, it has been totally out of his power in such a short space of time to make this colony reap all the advantages he wished, he has, however, procured to it very great ones progressively, and his conti-

nual care will procure more. But his conduct has particularly been worthy of praise in the line in which I am especially directed to converse with you; and I am now to beg of you, Sir, in the name of the Court, to declare to His Majesty's Ministers, that if the colony of Martinique, in the series of disturbances and danger by which it has been surrounded, and notwithstanding the efforts of agitators, has enjoyed some tranquillity, we are indebted for it to the measures taken on that point by the Commander in Chief.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

(Signed) *La Haute.*

## No. X.

Copy of SEPARATE INSTRUCTIONS to General Sir CHARLES GREY, dated November, 1793: — With Copies of several PAPERS therein referred to.

Separate INSTRUCTIONS for our trusty and well-beloved Sir Charles Grey, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Lieutenant-General of our forces, whom we have appointed General and Commander in Chief of our forces, employed or to be employed in the West Indies. Given at our Court at St. James's, the day of November, 1793, in the thirty-fourth year of our reign.

WHEREAS it has been represented to us, that it may be necessary, for prevention of all disputes that might otherwise arise concerning the distribution of booty gained from the enemy at land during the present expedition, that certain rules and proportions should be laid down and settled for the distribution thereof. Now, being desirous to preserve that harmony and good understanding between our land and sea forces, which is necessary for the carrying on this service with success, we have thought fit to order, and we do hereby order and direct, that you do settle with Sir John Jervis, or with the Commander in Chief of our ships, in what manner and proportion booty taken from the enemy at land during the present expedition shall be distributed between our land and sea forces, in all cases where the said land and sea forces shall be jointly engaged in the attacking and taking of any place, fort, or settlement from the enemy.

And, that you may be apprized of such methods as have been heretofore taken in the like cases, we have ordered two copies of former Regulations to be delivered to you with these our instructions, whereof one is an order made for the distribution of prizes and booty that should be taken in the West Indies in an expedition against the French islands, under the command of Commodore Wilmot, in the year 1694; and the other a Regulation settled by her late Majesty Queen Anne, for the distribution of prizes and booty, that should be taken from the enemy in the year 1702, in an expedition designed to have been commanded by the Earl of Peterborough; together with a Paper that had been prepared in the year 1740, in conformity to the two preceding settlements, so far as they are not repugnant to provisions made in this behalf by subsequent acts of Parliament: and likewise certain Plans for the distribution of the prizes and booty, which had been taken at St. Eustatius by the late

Lord Rodney and Major General Vaughan, transmitted by my orders for their consideration and opinion thereon, in a letter from the late Lord Viscount Sackville, then being one of our principal Secretaries of State; whereby you may be the better enabled to form such dispositions and regulations for the distribution of booty gained from the enemy at land, during the present expedition, as may be agreeable to justice and to former practices on the like occasions. And, whereas, it is our royal intention that our respective corps of black dragoons, pioneers, and artificers, who may serve in this expedition, should have an equal share in all booty gained from the enemy, in common with our regular troops, you are hereby directed to take care, that in all dispositions the said corps be considered, and have their share of such booty allotted to them, in proportion to their respective numbers, ranks, and pay. You will also take care that, in such dispositions, a proper regard be had to all negroes who shall attend this expedition, and to all peasants and others working to clear ground, assisting at sieges, or otherwise employed in any military service.

WHEREAS by our proclamation, bearing date the 19th of this instant June, We have directed in what manner and proportion all prizes taken at sea, during the present war with Spain, shall be distributed, pursuant to the power reserved to His Majesty for that purpose, by an act passed the last session of Parliament, intituled, "An Act for the more "effectual securing and encouraging the trade of His Majesty's British "subjects in America, and for the encouragement of seamen to enter in- "to His Majesty's service," as by our said proclamation, reference being thereunto had, may more fully appear.

And whereas it will also be necessary to prevent all disputes that may arise during the present expedition about booty taken from the enemy at land, that certain rules should be laid down, and proportions settled, for the distribution of such plunder, We have thought fit to order and direct, and We do hereby order and direct,

1st. That in all cases where His Majesty's land and sea forces shall be equally engaged in the attacking or taking of any place, fort, or country from the enemy, the booty there gained shall be distributed between the said land and sea forces engaged in such enterprize in the manner following; viz.

The whole amount of such booty shall be divided into fifteen equal parts or portions,

Whereof 5-15ths shall be given to the two Commanders in Chief of the land and sea forces, to be equally divided between them.

1-15th To the other General Officers, Admirals, and Commodores, to be divided amongst them, in proportion to their respective salaries 1-15th.

To the several Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Quarter Master General, Adjutant General, Commissary General, Pay Master General of the land forces, Judge Advocate, Secretaries to the General and Admiral, Provost Marshal, Physicians, Surgeons, and Chaplains General, by land and sea, Majors of re-

3—15th giments and of brigades, Aid-de-Camps upon the establishment, Captains and Lieutenants at land and sea, Ensigns, Adjutants, and Quarter Masters of regiments, Chaplains and Surgeons of

regiments and ships, Directors of the hospital, their Surgeons and Mates, to be divided amongst them, in proportion to their respective salaries, excepting in the particulars hereinafter mentioned, 3—15ths.

6-15th. The remaining 6 parts to be divided amongst all the non-commission officers at land and sea, soldiers and sailors, in proportion to their respective pay or salary, excepting only as hereafter is provided.

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15
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2. In which distribution Commanders in Chief by land and by sea shall be equally considered: Rear Admirals shall be accounted as Major Generals; Commodores wearing broad pendants as Brigadier Generals; Captains of the ships of line of battle as Colonels; Captains of lesser ships of war, giving rank, as Lieutenant Colonels; Masters and Commanders of fire ships, bomb ketches, sloops, and other ships of war, not giving rank, as Majors; Lieutenants at sea, and Masters of ships, giving rank, as Captains of the land forces; Gunners, Pursers, Boatswains, and Cooks, as Lieutenants of land forces; Midshipmen, and all other petty officers at sea, as Serjeants of the land forces, notwithstanding any disparity between the pay and salary of such land and sea Commanders; and shall receive their portion of plunder accordingly. It is likewise our pleasure that all soldiers and sailors, notwithstanding any disparity in their pay, be equally considered and receive their respective shares accordingly.

3. But whenever the service done shall be carried on by the land forces only, then the whole booty shall be divided amongst them, in the following manner.

To the General and Commander in Chief — — 5—15ths.
To the General Officers, in proportion to their respective salaries ——— ——— — 1—15th.
To the several Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels, Quarter Master General, Adjutant General, Commissary General, Paymaster General, Judge Advocate, Secretary, Physician, Chaplain, and Surgeon to the General, Provost Marshal, Majors of regiments, and of brigades, Aid-de-Camps upon the establishment, Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns, Adjutants, Quarter Masters, Chaplains and Surgeons of regiments, Directors of hospitals, their Surgeons and Mates, 3—15ths, to be divided amongst them, in proportion to their respective pay or salaries ——— — 3—15ths.
The remaining six parts to be divided amongst the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, in proportion to their respective pay or salaries ——— ——— 6—15ths.

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15
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4. It is likewise our intention that in both the afore-mentioned distributions, commissaries of stores and provisions, and all the commission and non-commission officers, engineers, gunners, matrosses, artificers, and soldiers belonging to the train of artillery attending this expedition,

be considered and have their share of the said plunder, in proportion to their ranks and salaries.

5. But no officer shall be allowed to share in two capacities (that is to say) both as a General Officer and Colonel of a regiment, or as Adjutant and Lieutenant, as the case may happen; and whenever any person shall hold two different employments, he shall chuse in which of them he will take his dividend; but it is not hereby intended to exclude Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, and Majors, from receiving their shares as Captains, as well as field officers.

6. And whereas His Majesty, by instructions to his governors of his colonies on the Continent of North America, and to his governor of the Leeward islands, has declared it to be His Royal intention, that the forces ordered to be raised by the said Governors for His Majesty's service, and to attend this expedition, shall have an equal share in all plunder gained from the enemy, in common with the rest of His Majesty's troops: Now you are hereby directed to take care, that in all distributions the said American levies be considered, and have their share of all booty, in proportion to their respective ranks and pay accordingly.

7. We do also think fit to direct, that pioneers or peasants, working to clear grounds, and assist at sieges, shall be considered, and have their distribution of booty equally with the common soldiers; and that every officer, soldier, or seaman, that shall happen to be wounded in any siege or action where booty shall be taken, shall have a double share, in proportion to his rank, in consideration of such wounds.

*ANNE* R.

## The DISTRIBUTION of PRIZES and BOOTY that shall be taken from the Enemy in the West Indies.

THAT of all the prizes taken at sea, Her Majesty do, in the first place, reserve to herself and the States General, all guns, arms, and ammunition, the hulks, sails, cordage, anchors, naval stores, and provisions of ships of war.

That the whole remainder, after deducting the tenths for the Lord High Admiral, Her Majesty and the States General shall have two thirds.

That the remaining third (after such defalcation) shall be divided into sixteen parts, and distributed as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| To the Admiral | 3 | Sixteenths. |
| To the Vice Admiral | 1 | |
| To the Captains and Lieutenants | 4 | |
| To the rest of the non-commission officers and Seamen | 8 | |

That all prizes at sea be divided among the seamen only, according to the said proportions; and that the booty at land be divided among the landmen only.

That of all booty taken at land, Her Majesty does reserve to herself and the States General, two thirds, in case the town or place be taken by capitulation; but in case the place or town be taken by storm, then Her Majesty reserves to herself and the States General only one third.

That the remaining third, or two thirds as aforesaid, shall be divided into sixteen parts, and shall be distributed as follows, viz.

| | |
|---|---|
| To the General | 3 |
| To the other officers | 1 |
| To the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonel, Major, Captain, Lieutenants, and Ensigns | 4 |
| To the rest of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers | 8 |
| | 16 |

That when any landmen are commanded on board any ships of Her Majesty and the States, in any expedition, or if in their passage to the West Indies, or in the West Indies from one place to another, that transports shall be engaged, and a prize taken, the landmen, as well officers as common soldiers, on board the ships of war or transport ships, shall be considered as seamen; and that when seamen shall be joined with landmen in land service, they likewise, both officers and men, shall be considered as landmen in the dividends of the booty.

That of all booty and prizes to be taken in any service, at land, in which the Commanders in Chief of the squadron for the time being shall assist, with seamen belonging to the ships of that squadron (which men shall not be distributed into companies of a lesser number than what the land forces do consist of) the Commander in Chief shall have the same share as is allowed to a Colonel, and the officers which shall be appointed by him to command these men shall in like manner be considered as land officers

That where Her Majesty's ships and those of the States shall concur in the siege or attack of a place, the officers and seamen of those ships shall share in the distribution of the booty as landmen.

That if any fleet of the enemy shall come to relieve any place so attacked or besieged, and that the fleet of Her Majesty and the States General, or any squadron of it, shall attack such fleet, then the officers and seamen of such fleet or squadron, so engaged, shall share as landmen in the distribution of the booty of such place, if taken.

That in all other cases which cannot be foreseen, the Admiral of the fleets of Her Majesty and the States General in the West Indies, and the General of the land forces there, shall concert such measures for the distribution of the booty and plunder, as may seem most agreeable to these directions, and as the particular nature of the case may require.

That in all such cases as aforesaid, where the sea and land men shall be jointly entitled to the dividend, the same shall be done after the respective defalcations above mentioned, according to the following proportions.

| | |
|---|---|
| Between the Admiral and General at Land equally | 3 Sixteenths. |
| Between the Vice Admiral and other general officers | 1 |
| Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains at sea and land, and Ensigns | 4 |
| The rest of the non-commissioned officers at sea and land, the seamen and soldiers | 8 |

That no officer of the militia shall be considered as a Colonel that commands less than 500 men, nor as a Captain that hath fewer in his company than forty, unless such regiment or Company, after their proceeding on this expedition, happen to be reduced by sickness, or the accidents of war.

The abovesaid proportions allowed to the seamen and landmen shall be in all cases distributed between the English and Dutch in the manner following; viz. the Dutch shall have such part thereof as is proportionable to the number of ships or landmen respectively employed in the respective services, to be divided among them as their Commanders in Chief shall judge proper, and the rest shall be disposed as abovesaid to Her Majesty's subjects.

### The DISTRIBUTION of the PRIZES and BOOTY that should be taken in the West Indies, under the Command of Commodore Wilmot, 1694.

1. ALL Prizes taken at sea were to be distributed according to an act of Parliament in that behalf; and of all the booty at land, a third part was to be set aside for the Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, when Commander in Chief on any expedition, or to the Commander in Chief for the time being; the other two thirds to be distributed among the officers and soldiers, as will be hereafter more particularly expressed.

2. His Majesty's part of all prizes at sea was to be divided among the seamen only, and the booty at land among the landmen.

3. But when landmen happened to be commanded on board upon any expedition, or if in their passage to the West Indies their transport ships should be engaged, and a prize taken, such landmen were to be considered as seamen, and their officers on board to receive a share, according to their pay; and in like manner the seamen and their officers, when on shore, were to receive a dividend, according to their pay.

4. That all booty taken in service on shore, wherein the Commander in Chief of the squadron for the time being should assist with 400 seamen or more, the said Commander in Chief was to have the share allotted to a Colonel, and the officers appointed by him to command those men to be considered as land officers.

5. No officer of the militia was to be considered as a Colonel, who commanded less than five hundred men, nor as a Captain if he had less in his company than fifty; unless such regiment or company should, after their proceeding on the expedition, happen to be reduced by sickness, or accidents of war.

Two Thirds of the Booty taken at Land to be thus divided,

To Field and Staff Officers.

| | Shares. |
|---|---|
| Colonel as Colonel — | 18 |
| Lt. Colonel as Lt. Colonel — | 10½ |
| Major as Major — | 7½ |
| Captain — — — | 10 |
| Adjutant — — | 6 |
| Surgeon — — — | 6 |
| Surgeon's Mates 2—4 Shares each | 8 |
| Quarter Master — | 6 |
| Total — | 72 |

One Company.

| | |
|---|---|
| Captain | 12 |
| Two Lieutenants, each 6 shares | 12 |
| Ensign | 4½ |
| Six Serjeants | 12 |
| Six Corporals | 9 |
| Two Drummers | 3 |
| Two hundred Private Men | 200 |
| Five Companies more, consisting of the like number | 1,262½ |
| The Commissary of Stores and Provisions, Pay-master of the Forces, Commissary of the Musters, and Judge Advocate | 12 |
| | 1,599 |

To the Officers of the Ordnance.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ensign | 15 |
| Master Gunner | 7½ |
| Gunner's Mate | 4½ |
| Twelve Gunners, each Three Shares | 36 |
| Fire Master | 7½ |
| Six Bombardiers, each 3 & ¼ Shares | 22½ |
| Master Carpenter | 6 |
| Three Mates, each 3 & ¾ Shares | 11 |
| Surgeon | 6 |
| | 116 |
| | 1,599 |
| Total | 1,715 |

Two thirds of the King's part of the prizes at sea were to be divided after this manner; viz.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| To the Captain | Three Eights. | |
| Lieutenant, Master | One Eighth. | |
| Boatſwain<br>Gunner<br>Purſer<br>Carpenter<br>Maſter's Mate<br>Surgeon<br>Chaplain<br>Midſhipmen<br>Carpenter's Mates<br>Boatſwain's Mates<br>Gunner's Mates<br>To the Corporals<br>Yeomen of the Sheets<br>Cockſwain<br>Quarter Maſters<br>Doctor's Mates<br>Surgeon's Mates<br>Yeomen of the Powder Room | One Eighth. | To be divided equally among them. |
| Trumpeter<br>Quarter Gunner<br>Carpenter's Crew<br>Steward<br>Cook<br>Armourer<br>Steward's Mate<br>Gunſmith<br>Swabber<br>Ordinary Trumpeter<br>Barber<br>Able Seamen | Two Eights. | To be divided equally among them. |

Laſtly, ſuch officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen as ſhould happen to receive wounds in any action, where booty or a prize ſhould be taken, were to have a double ſhare, in conſideration of the ſaid wounds.

GEORGE R.

(L. S.)

INSTRUCTIONS for Our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir George Bridges Rodney, Baronet, Admiral and Commander in Chief of Our Naval Forces in the Leeward Islands; and the Honourable Major General Vaughan, Commander in Chief of Our Land Forces in the said islands. Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the Thirtieth Day of March, 1781, in the Twenty-first of Our Reign.

WHEREAS, by the blessing of God upon your prompt and vigorous execution of our orders, you have obtained possession of the Dutch islands of St. Eustatius, St. Martin, and Saba, and thereby, and in consequence thereof, captured a large number of ships and vessels, merchandize, naval and military stores, provisions, and other effects, the property of the enemy, which by law appertaineth unto us in virtue of our prerogative Royal—But we, being graciously disposed to reward the zeal and bravery of you our said Commanders in Chief, and of our land and sea forces under your respective commands, employed upon these services, and to encourage all others our forces, and their Commanders, to pay the like ready and punctual obedience to our orders, and to exert their utmost vigilance, alacrity and intrepidity, in the execution of them, do relinquish, and have hereby relinquished, all our right, title, and claim to the said ships and vessels, merchandize, naval and military stores, and other effects of the enemy, so captured by you our said Commanders in Chief, and our land and sea forces under your respective commands (except only the whole of the provisions, and the ordnance, arms, ammunition and other military stores, provided for the defence of the said islands, or which may be judged necessary by you and our engineer for that purpose) which have been found therein, the same to be for your and their sole use and benefit, to be divided in such manner as we shall hereafter direct and appoint; saving always to the settled inhabitants of the said islands the possession of their lands and produce thereof, houses, slaves, cattle, furniture, utensils, and stock, that shall be found thereon, as also all such effects as shall be proved to be the property of British subjects lawfully exported thither, or which may lawfully be imported into Great Britain from thence.

G. R.

ONE EIGHTH of the Whole of the Captured Effects of the Enemy to be equally divided between you, our Commanders in Chief of our Land and Sea Forces; and the remaining seven Eights to be

FIRST PLAN,

Divided between our Land and Sea Forces, (except our said Commanders in Chief) into two shares, according to the numbers mustered in each service.

That that share which falls to the sea service shall be divided, one eighth among our Flag Officers serving under our Commander in Chief, and the remainder to be divided among the Captains, Officers, petty Officers, Seamen, and Marines, according to the regulations established in our Navy: And that that share which falls to our Land Forces shall be divided among the Officers and Men serving under our Commander in Chief, in proportion to their respective rank and pay.

SECOND PLAN,

Divided among our Land and Sea forces, according to the numbers mustered in both services (except our Commanders in Chief, who are already provided for) to share according to the rank established by us, between our Land and Sea Forces; and the private Soldiers and Sailors, and Marines, to share alike.

THIRD PLAN,

The following is the mode of distribution directed by His Majesty's proclamation; but as in the present case the chief merit of the capture is to be ascribed to the Commanders in Chief, to whose expeditious and judicious measures it is owing that the booty is so considerable, the proportion allotted to them is judged too small, and that 2-16ths should be allowed, and the subsequent allotments to be made out of the remaining 14-16ths.

1-16 Commanders in Chief.
1-16 General Officers and Flags.
4-16 Captains of Ships, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, and Majors.
2-16 Lieutenants of Ships, Captains of Army, and Marines.
2-16 Warrant Officers, Army and Marines, Subalterns.
2-16 Petty Officers of Navy, Serjeants, and Corporals of Army and Marines.
4-16 Sailors, Soldiers, and Marines.

No. XI.

COPY of a Letter from Sir CHARLES GREY, K. B. and Sir J. JERVIS, K. B. to Mr. Secretary DUNDAS; dated Barbadoes, 16th January 1794. Received 27th February 1794. (One Inclosure.)

Barbadoes, 16th January 1794.

SIR,

IN obedience to his Majesty's most gracious commands, signified to us in your letter of the November last, we beg leave humbly and dutifully to submit to His Royal consideration the enclosed Plan for the distribution of such booty as may be taken in the expedition under our command, which we trust will be found equitable, and likely to seal the harmony which happily subsists between His Majesty's Land and Sea Forces.

We have the Honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient
Humble Servants.

(Signed) C. GREY.
J. JERVIS.

Mr. Secretary Dundas.

No. XII.

(In Sir Charles Grey's and Sir John Jervis's, of 16th January 1794.)

DISTRIBUTION OF BOOTY, &c.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 Commanders in Chief (equally) —— | 8 - - | 64ths |
| Lieutenant Generals, Major Generals, and Brigadier Generals; Vice and Rear Admirals, and Commodores —— —— | 4 - - | Do. |
| Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, and Majors Post Captains, and Masters and Commanders —— | 15 - - | Do. |
| Captains of the Army and Marines, and Lieutenants of the Navy —— —— | 7 - - | Do. |
| Subalterns of the Army and Marines, and Warrant Officers of the Navy —— —— | 7 - - | Do. |
| Petty Officers of the Navy, Serjeants of the Army, and Marines —— —— | 7 - - | Do. |
| Soldiers, Seamen, and Marines —— | 16 - - | Do. |

## No. XIII.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Mr. Secretary DUNDAS to Sir CHARLES GREY, K. B. dated Whitehall, 7th March, 1794.

HIS Majesty is graciously pleased to approve of the Plan suggested in Sir JOHN JERVIS and your joint letter, for the distribution of such booty as may be taken in your expedition; and I shall take the necessary measures for carrying the same into effect.

## No. XIV.

COPY of a Letter from his Grace the Duke of PORTLAND to the Agents on behalf of the Inhabitants and Proprietors of the island of Martinique; dated Whitehall, 30th April 1795.

Whitehall, 30th April 1795.

GENTLEMEN,

IN answer to the memorial which has been transmitted to me from the agents on behalf of the inhabitants and proprietors of the Island of Martinique, on the subject of certain proclamations issued during the command of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis in the West Indies, I beg leave to inform you, that His Majesty's Ministers, the moment they were informed of the nature of those proclamations, sent directions respecting them, in consequence of which, no farther proceedings were had upon them; and information has since been received, that those directions were so clearly understood, that the money which had been paid as contribution has already been returned; so that the proclamations in question cannot but be considered to be, as in fact they are, annulled.

I am, &c.
PORTLAND.

To the Agents on behalf of the Inhabitants and Proprietors of the Island of Martinique.

## No. XV.

COPY of the MEMORIAL of the West-India Planters and Merchants; dated London, May 4th, 1795.—Received 7th May, from Lord Penrhyn.

To his Grace the Duke of PORTLAND, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

The MEMORIAL of West-India Planters and Merchants;

Sheweth,

THAT your memorialists are under the greatest alarm for the safety of the West-India colonies, owing to the present weak state of their defence, and the very imminent danger with which they are threatened,

both by external attacks and the internal diſſemination of French principles.

That the ſyſtem of general emancipation, introduced by the French among their own negroes, and which they have endeavoured to communicate to all the Britiſh iſlands, has created a very formidable acceſſion of ſtrength to themſelves, as was lately experienced in the iſland of Guadaloupe, and that temporary exertions of more than ordinary vigour, are thence become neceſſary for the defence and ſafety of thoſe iſlands.

That your memorialiſts cannot but, upon this occaſion, advert to the repreſentations they have ſo urgently made to His Majeſty's Secretary of State, ſtating the conſequences which might be expected to reſult from the unprecedented conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, on taking poſſeſſion of the French captured iſlands; which conduct they muſt conſider as the primary and efficient cauſe of the progreſs which the enemy has lately been enabled to make, whether in the recovery of a part of the French colonies, or in the plunder and devaſtation of our own: That your memorialiſts ſee in the late proclamations of the French Commiſſioners not only a confirmation of this opinion, but great occaſion to dread that the violent proceedings of the Britiſh commanders may be retorted with aggravated ſeverity, whenever the fortune of war ſhall afford an opportunity; and that it is with deep regret your memorialiſts now reflect that had an early and public diſavowal of the proclamations and proceedings in queſtion been made by the Britiſh Government, a great part of the recent calamities might have been prevented.

That from the late public events which have taken place in Europe, as well as from many local circumſtances in the Weſt Indies, your memorialiſts have reaſon to apprehend that the French nation will devote a conſiderable part of its force, which has hitherto been employed upon other ſervices, to the capture and devaſtation of the Britiſh Weſt-India colonies, being well aware of the immenſe advantages thence derived to the revenue, commerce, and naval ſtrength of the Britiſh empire.

That the Weſt-India iſlands have, at all times, been greatly expoſed to the calamities of war; but that the evils which they have reaſon to dread from a continuance of the preſent war are infinitely more diſaſtrous, than at any former period of their hiſtory, owing to the character of the enemy they have to contend with, and the deſtructive tendency of the principles avowed and propagated by that enemy.

That in the judgment of your memorialiſts, nothing can effectually guard againſt theſe complicated dangers but a ſtrong military force, both by ſea and land, for the general protection of all the iſlands, and a ſeparate garriſon to be ſtationed during the war in each iſland, for its own peculiar defence.

In a ſituation of new and extreme danger, the exiſtence of the Britiſh colonies at ſtake, and the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants depending on the iſſue.—Your memorialiſts do therefore, in the moſt ſolemn manner, on behalf of thoſe inhabitants and themſelves, appeal to the wiſdom of His Majeſty's Councils for protection, and humbly implore that if the war is likely to be continued, a force may be immediately ſent to the different iſlands, as ſufficient as well to preſerve their internal tranquillity, as to defend them againſt a foreign enemy, and (as eſſential to the protection and ſafety of the remaining Britiſh colonies) that the conduct of thoſe Britiſh Commanders, who aſſumed a right to levy a general contribution on the inhabitants of the French captured iſlands, or to confiſ-

cate their property, in contradiction to His Majesty's proclamation, may be solemnly and publicly disavowed.

## No. XVI.

COPY of a Letter from his Grace the Duke of Portland to the West-India Merchants and Planters; dated Whitehall, 12th May, 1795.

Whitehall, 12th May, 1795.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received, through Lord Penrhyn, your memorial, pr[illegible]ing for a strong military force, both by sea and land, for the gene[illegible] [illegible]tion of the British West-India islands, and a separat[illegible] sta-tioned in each island; also for a public disavowal of [illegible] issued during the command of Sir Charles Grey and Sir [illegible].

The answer already given by Mr. Secretary Dundas, a[illegible]tions which have been, and which continue to be, made for the prote[illegible] of our West-India possessions, render it unnecessary for me to dwell upon those parts of your memorial which relate to the military supplies you require.

With regard to a public disavowal of the above proclamations, I cannot help referring to my letter to you of the 30th of April, as containing the most direct and conclusive testimony of the light in which thos[illegible] proclamations have been considered, the proceedings under them have been already countervailed, and I do not therefore see how they can serve even as a pretext to the French for executing the purposes which your memorial suggests.

You must be well aware that it is not merely at this moment, but from the very commencement of the war, that the attempts of the French to carry anarchy and devastation into our West-India islands, have been uniform and systematic; originating with themselves, and founded on those principles which have been openly avowed by them in that quarter of the world.

I shall therefore only add, that a general declaration of the nature of that required by the present memorial, and involving in itself questions of the law of nations, cannot, with any degree of propriety, be made in the present case by His Majesty's Ministers, acting as such, and not in any judicial capacity.

I am, &c.

PORTLAND.

West-India Merchants
and Planters.

## No. XVII.

London, May 4th, 1795.

MEMORIAL of the West-India Planters and Merchants; praying for a strong military force, both by sea and land, for the general protection of all the British West-India islands, and a separate garrison to be stationed in each island; also for a public disavowal of the proclamations issued by Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis.

To the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

The Memorial of the West-India Planters and Merchants;

Sheweth,

That your memorialists are under the greatest alarm for the safety of the West-India colonies, owing to the present weak state of their defence, and the very imminent dangers with which they are threatened, both by external attack, and the internal dissemination of French principles.

That the system of general emancipation introduced by the French among their own negroes, and which they have endeavoured to communicate to all the British islands, has created a very formidable accession of strength to themselves, as was lately experienced in the island of Guadaloupe, and that temporary exertions, of more than ordinary vigour, are thence become necessary for the defence and safety of those islands.

That your memorialists cannot but, upon this occasion, advert to the representations they have so urgently made to His Majesty's Secretary of State, stating the consequences which might be expected to result from the unprecedented conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, on taking possession of the French captured islands, which conduct they must consider as the primary and efficient cause of the progress which the enemy has lately been enabled to make, whether in the recovery of a part of the French colonies, or in the plunder and devastation of our own: That your memorialists see, in the late proclamations of the French Commissioners, not only a confirmation of this opinion, but great occasion to dread that the violent proceedings of the British Commanders may be retorted with aggravated severity, whenever the fortune of war shall afford an opportunity; and that it is with deep regret your memorialists now reflect, that had an early and public disavowal of the proclamations and proceedings in question been made by the British Government, a great part of the recent calamities might have been prevented.

That from the late public events which have taken place in Europe, as well as from many local circumstances in the West Indies, your memorialists have reason to apprehend that the French nation will devote a considerable part of its force, which has hitherto been employed upon other services, to the capture and devastation of the British West-India colonies, being well aware of the immense advantages thence derived to the revenue, commerce, and naval strength of the British empire.

That the West-India islands have at all times been greatly exposed to the calamities of war, but that the evils which they have reason to dread from a continuance of the present war, are infinitely more disastrous than

at any former period of their history, owing to the character of the enemy they have to contend with, and the destructive tendency of the principles avowed and propagated by that enemy.

That, in the judgment of your memorialists, nothing can effectually guard against these complicated dangers, but a strong military force, both by sea and land, for the general protection of all the islands, and a separate garrison to be stationed during the war in each island for its own particular defence.

In a situation of new and extreme danger, the existence of the British colonies at stake, and the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants depending on the issue, your memorialists do therefore in the most solemn manner, on behalf of those inhabitants and themselves, appeal to the wisdom of His Majesty's Councils for protection, and humbly implore that, if the war is likely to be continued, a force may be immediately sent to the different islands, sufficient as well to preserve their internal tranquillity as to defend them against a foreign enemy; and (as essential to the protection and safety of the remaining British colonies) that the conduct of those British Commanders who assumed a right to levy a general contribution on the inhabitants of the French captured islands, or to confiscate their property, in contradiction to His Majesty's proclamation, may be solemnly and publicly disavowed.

## No. XVIII.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Dundas to Lord Penrhyn dated Horse Guards, 8th May, 1795.

Horse Guards, 8th May, 1795.

My LORD,

I have received your Lordship's note, accompanying the memorial of the West-India planters and merchants, praying for a strong military force, both by sea and land, for the general protection of the British West-India islands, and a separate garrison to be stationed in each island; also for a public disavowal of the proclamations issued by Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis.

I feel much satisfaction in recollecting that at no period, since the commencement of the war, has there been any deficiency of exertions in furnishing the West-India possessions with such a supply of both naval and military defence as the national force of the country would admit of; and if at any time these exertions have not, in all respects, had their complete effects, it has arisen from circumstances in which it is impossible to impute any blame to His Majesty's Ministers. These exertions will be unremitted; but you are aware that, in sending reinforcements to the West Indies, the season of the year must of necessity be attended to; and permit me to take the liberty of suggesting to the consideration of the West-India planters and merchants, how far such frequent public discussions on their own supposed weakness is not calculated to increase, rather than diminish their danger.

I am well aware that the present warfare is, in almost every respect, different from any that ever existed; and that there is too much reason to apprehend, that the object of the enemy with whom we are engaged is rather a plan of savage devastation, than of conquest beneficial to themselves: But I cannot admit that such a plan originated in any of the

transactions of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis; it being an absolute certainty that the system is the natural consequence of the principles on which the present Government in France is founded, and existed long before either Sir Charles Grey or Sir John Jervis were employed in the West Indies.

With regard to the proclamation to which you refer, I think it unnecessary for me to add any thing to what is stated in the letter from the Duke of Portland. It is notorious that these proclamations were abandoned or annulled almost as soon as they were issued; and it must be mere pretext if such use is made of them as you seem to apprehend. I object therefore to the proposition of the West-India planters and merchants, because they call upon His Majesty's Ministers to establish a general rule on a subject which, in the various usage of war, does not admit of a special definition, and, if the matter occurs to you in the light it does to me, I am sure you cannot be disposed to continue a discussion which can have no other tendency than to injure the feelings of meritorious officers, to whose great exertions their country is much indebted, and in particular that part of the British empire in which the West-India planters and merchants are so deeply interested.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

The Right Honourable HENRY DUNDAS.
Lord Penrhyn, &c. &c. &c.

## No. XIX.

PETITION of the Inhabitants of St. Lucia to General Sir Charles Grey; without date.

To his Excellency Sir CHARLES GREY, Knight of the Bath, General, Commander in Chief of His Britannic Majesty's Armies in the West Indies.

May it please your Excellency,

THIS island, long actuated with intestine dissentions, and which, had not its saviours arrived, would have sunk beneath the repeated attempts of those greedy fierce men, who, justice and liberty in their mouth, crime and tyranny in their heart, had framed the design already put in execution at St. Domingo, to invade all properties, after having murdered the proprietors; this island is respiring at last under the tutelar flag of Great Britain: order and peace have succeeded disorder and anarchy. The benevolent intentions made manifest by your Excellency have rendered hope to the Loyalists inhabitants, so long oppressed, and they already discover the dawn of the happy days, which are destinated to them: In such a conjuncture they beg leave to apply themselves to your Excellency, and express their opinion and vows upon the most proper means to be made use of in order to procure to this island the degree of happiness which its extent, population, and soil, make it capable of. Among those means, the most efficacious would be its absolute independency from Martinico, and chiefly for the administration of justice.

The inconveniencies arising from the necessity to go over to the Council of Martinico six times a year are numerous and sensible.

First.—Writings of great worth, and whereof the loss would be irrecoverable, are ventured, as well as the lawyers and suitors, to all the dangers of the sea, especially during the hurricane months.

Secondly.—When the lawyers are either unable or unwilling to go themselves to the Council, they send over the papers to the brother lawyers of Martinico, who have neither the time nor the will to examine carefully lawsuits, in which they are personally unconcerned, and the best causes are often lost for want of a proper defence.

Thirdly.—It is equally troublesome and expensive for the inhabitants of St. Lucia to be constrained to go over themselves to Martinico, in order to solicit a judgement in their written lawsuits, which commonly they obtain, but after several years of solicitation.

Fourthly.—The money that they lay out and squander away, the Advocates, Attorneys, Suitors, Solicitors, what it does cost for the seals, deposition of fines, preparatory and definitive sentences, expences of reception, and others, amount at least, after a moderate computation, to 5,000l. sterling a year; and this sum is very chargeable for an island in which there have been never 20,000l. sterling in circulation.

Fifthly.—The establishing of a superior tribunal in this island will alike be advantageous to the trading of Great Britain. A merchantman's master, after having sold his cargo, will not be constrained to go over to Martinico to solicit sentences against his no punctual or unfaithful debitors.

Sixthly.—Such an establishing will not be less useful for the judgement of the criminal than for that of the civil causes; the prisoners will no longer be sent beyond sea to undergo their trials; they will be known by their judges; and it is of an equal importance to secure the punishment of crime and the safety of innocence, that the judges may know the conduct, temper, and behaviour of those whom they are to try, and may confront the whole life of the prisoner with the crime put to his charge.

Seventhly.—The authority of the Governor of St. Lucia and that of Martinico's Council having never been precisely determined, they almost ever stood in opposition against each other, relatively to the ill-settled bounds of their respective power: and the inhabitants submitted to contradictory orders, found themselves sometimes put between the obedience they owed to a superior tribunal, and that with which they were bound towards the representative of the King. This inconveniency will be removed when there will be in this island a Court that will exercise its functions, under the over-seeing of the Governor, and presided by himself.

Eighthly.—And in fine your petitioners, who from this time consider themselves as subjects of His Britannic Majesty, whom there remains no hope to, but in his protection, who shall never cease to deserve it by their loyalty, love, and obedience, are entitled to the same treatment as his other subjects of the West Indies, who all enjoy the advantage of an independent Government, and of a justice they obtain in their own country.

Against so urgent considerations, what could be reasonably objected! Those who would be desirous to keep the island of St. Lucia in an eternal

dependency under Martinico, will say perhaps that it is in want of subjects having knowledge and experience enough to do worthily justice. To this objection, the very establishing of a Council, which already took place in this island the last year, after its having past under the dominion of His Britannic Majesty, is a very satisfactory answer. The Members who composed that tribunal had ever enjoyed the esteem and confidence of their fellow citizens; no one of their judgements was disannulled, no one was even challenged; and experience of the past is with that respect a happy pledge for the future.

In consequence your petitioners beseech very humbly your Excellency to grant them the establishments of a superior tribunal in this island, whereof all the Members will be appointed by the representative of the King, who will exercise their functions under his over-seeing, and will be presided by him; and in the event that your Excellency would not think proper to order the establishing of a Council in this island at this very moment, your petitioners intreat you very humbly to grant them your protection, in representing to His Britannic Majesty, that they may obtain that favour and claim from his benevolence and bounty.

Par Mandement de tous les Commissaires, et au Nom de tous les Habitans Loyalistes, de St. Lucie,

*Dupuy,*

Commissaire du Quartiere de la Reine.

*Tuesday, 5th May.*

Colonel MAITLAND gave notice, that on a future day he should bring forward a motion for the returns of the number of men who had been sent to the Continent from this country, and the number which had returned. This he should do previous to a motion, which was expected to come on next week, with respect to peace. He hoped this would not meet with the objection which was brought against his former motion, that it would convey intelligence to the enemy of our strength.

Mr. Chancellor PITT wished to know the grounds of the motion.

Colonel MAITLAND said, that it was with a view to some precise information, that Members might not be talking at random on the subject of our hopes on the Continent, when the motion he alluded to should be brought forward.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he should have no objection to the motion.

The Dutch Property bill was committed, several amendments were adopted, and the bill ordered to be reported.

The report was made, and ordered to be received to-morrow.

The SPEAKER, attended by several Members, went up to the House of Peers, for the purpose of hearing the Royal assent given by commission to the Receipt, Franking, and Scotch Distillery bills, and to several private bills.

*Wednesday, 6th May.*

Sir JOHN FREDERICK having moved for the second reading of the bill, for preventing the stealing of dead bodies from burial grounds,

A Member moved to have the House counted, when twenty-two Members only being present, an adjournment of course took place.

*Thursday, 7th May.*

No public business.

*Friday, 8th May.*

Mr. JEKYLL said, that for several days he had attended in that House for the purpose of asking an ostensible Minister a question on a subject of great importance, but he had not been so fortunate as to find such a Minister in the House; now that he saw one, he should put the question, and wished he mig[illegible]ave a satisfactory answer. The matter it referred to was of a v[illegible]terious and alarm-

ing nature; he meant the cause of the present very high price of provisions. The poor were starving in many parts of this country; already the dreadful effects of that situation of the poor had shewn themselves, as appeared by accounts from different parts of the eastern and northern coasts. Insurrections had taken place, and the military had been called out to quell them, but had joined the populace. He understood that inquiries had been made into the cause of this scarcity of provisions, and he wished to know what was the result of these inquiries. He wished to know whether the scarcity was real or artificial. If real, it became the duty of the Executive Government to provide some relief to the poor. If artificial, it became the duty of Executive Government to interfere, and by means of its law officers enforce more effectually the laws against forestalling and regrating. In either case, therefore, the Executive Government ought to make diligent inquiry, and apply any remedy that was possible to an evil of such magnitude and importance. He believed there were instances of Committees of that House being appointed to inquire into the price of provisions, and to report their opinions thereon, but he did not know that much benefit had resulted from such measure, perhaps something more might be done hereafter upon that subject All he wished to know at present was, whether the cause of the evil he mentioned had been ascertained, and he therefore requested the Secretary of State to inform him, whether the scarcity of provisions in this country was real or artificial?

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that the Executive Government had by no means been inattentive to this subject, but the House must be aware of the great inconvenience that must necessarily follow a discussion of it at this time in that House. He begged the honourable gentleman to rest assured, that upon the subject of scarcity of provisions there had been a great deal of misrepresentation and exaggeration industriously circulated. But he must beg again that the subject might not be discussed at this time, on account of the great inconvenience that might follow. If any artificial scarcity be at any time apprehended, he knew of nothing more likely to promote it than discussions of this nature.

Mr. HUSSEY said, he wished to know, for the government of his own conduct, what course of proceeding the Minister intended to take on Monday, after the call of the House.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, it was his wish to proceed on Monday on the subject of His Majesty's message; there were some papers to be laid before the House, which could not be ready before that time. It was his intention to move for a Committee on the sub-

ject of the Message, and in that Committee he intended to propose an additional annual income to the Prince of Wales. Any application of that should be referred to a subsequent stage of the proceeding, and might come by way of instruction to a Committee on the bill. It was his intention to propose a Secret Committee, to take into consideration the circumstances and the amount of the incumbrances of his Royal Highness. The measure which he should bring forward on Monday, was only an additional income to his Royal Highness, and such as, perhaps, the House would not have thought proper to withhold, even if the Prince was unincumbered. Then would follow the consideration of means for applying that income in such a way as would most conduce to the ease and comfort of his Royal Highness, without which the liberality of Parliament might be ineffectual.

Mr. HUSSEY said, he meant to bring forward a proposition for raising a fund to effectuate all the purposes recommended in His Majesty's message. He meant to propose a sale of the forest lands of this country; or at least of such a part of them, as to answer the purposes expressed in the message, and also to prevent the necessity of adding to the burdens of the people; as well as with a view of laying some foundation for the provision and support of the distressed part of the inhabitants of this country. He threw this out now merely that the thing might be considered; he said nothing in favour of it; he meant it for the consideration of that House, and for the consideration of the Public. If he found any strong and good objections to it, of course he should not persist; otherwise he should certainly bring it forward.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the subject which the honourable gentleman had alluded to, was one which could not regularly be discussed now. But he could not help saying, that, in his opinion, when it came to be discussed, the House would find insuperable objections to it. At least, taken in the last view of the honourable gentleman, as a provision for the people by means of present relief, it was wholly inadequate.

Mr. HUSSEY said, he expressed himself exceedingly ill, if he said any thing about present relief to the Public. He meant only to lay a foundation for future support.

*Monday, 9th May.*

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that understanding that the Speaker was extremely indisposed, he should propose that the House adjourn till Wednesday, and that the consideration of His Majesty's

message relative to a provision for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, be postponed till that day.

Mr. JEKYLL expressed the regret which he, in common with every member of that House, felt on account of the occasion which rendered their adjournment necessary. [This sentiment was received with a general burst of feeling from every quarter of the House.] This being the case, he should propose to postpone his motion respecting the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, which stood for to-morrow, till Tuesday se'nnight; but as the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had given notice of his intention to bring forward the India budget on that day, he hoped he would now defer it till Thursday.

Mr. Jekyll afterwards got up, and said, that in the present state of the Speaker's indisposition, he considered Wednesday as too early a day, and should therefore propose that the House adjourn till Thursday. [A cry of "Thursday, Thursday," from all parts of the House.]

The SPEAKER said, he felt himself extremely obliged by the degree of anxiety and interest respecting his indisposition, which was expressed from all sides of the House. Indisposed as he was, he had hoped that he should have been able to go through his duty to-day, but, finding that impossible, he trusted he should be well enough to attend in his place on Thursday.

The House then adjourned to Thursday, the following being understood to be the arrangement of public business:

The consideration of His Majesty's message, respecting a provision for the Prince of Wales on Thursday next.

Mr. Jekyll's motion respecting the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam on Tuesday se'nnight, and Mr. Dundas's India budget on the Thursday following.

*Thursday, 14th May.*

The SPEAKER returned thanks to the House for the indulgence with which they had favoured him, in consequence of his indisposition, and expressed his regret that any circumstance should have occurred to render that indulgence necessary.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved the order of the day, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee, for the purpose of taking His Majesty's message into consideration.

Mr. HUSSEY also moved, that the seventeen reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the woods, forests, and land revenue belonging to the Crown, should be referred to the said Committee.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he should not now enter into

the discussion of any, and what regulation the House might think proper to adopt on the subject of those very able reports. But he submitted it to the consideration of gentlemen, whether these reports could in any way be connected with the idea of providing a[illegible] establishment for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and whether, therefore, any allusion to those reports could be at all necessary on the present occasion.

Mr. HUSSEY, in order to prove the connection between the two subjects, wished that the preamble to the first of Queen Anne should be read. It was accordingly read, and is in substance, that "the support which the Crown had derived from its land revenues had been diminished by the grants which had been made by former Kings." This preamble and this act, Mr. Hussey said, were sufficient to prove that the sense of the country one hundred years ago was that the land revenue of the crown was proper to come in aid of the support of the Crown About eight years ago, a Committee had been appointed to inquire into the state of the Crown lands, and it was the Reports of that Committee that he wished to refer to the present Committee, he was clearly of opinion that the Crown lands were a proper fund, out of which the Prince of Wales's debts might be discharged; and that the reports therefore to which he had alluded ought to be referred to the consideration of the House, previously to His Majesty's message being taken into consideration.—That the sale of the forest lands and the land revenues would be sufficient to relieve his Royal Highness from his incumbrances, would be proved by a reference to the reports of the Commissioners, who had stated that the final improvement of which the lands were susceptible would produce a clear annual income of four hundred thousand pounds. What was to be done, he wished to be done in a handsome way, and that the people should not have additional burdens imposed upon them.

Mr. DUNCOMBE rose to ask the purpose for which Mr Hussey wished to have the reports referred to the Committee. He thought that the honourable gentleman intruded rather too hastily into the subject.

Mr. HUSSEY referred Mr. Duncombe to the act of Parliament which directed the sale of the fee-farm rents, and provided that the produce should be placed in the Bank in the names of certain Commissioners. There was also in that act a particular clause which stated that the interest arising from the money so placed in the Bank should be applied to the same purposes as the revenues arising from the forest lands. For his own part he wished that it had been car-

ried to the aggregate fund, because the forest lands supplied to the exigencies of the country only the paltry sum of 6,133l. a-year.

Mr. Chancellor PITT begged, as Mr. Hussey had stated the grounds of his motion, that he might be permitted to say a few words. He did not mean to object to the idea of rendering the Crown lands available to any public purpose; but he meant to say, that on Mr. Hussey's own shewing, there was no connection between the reports of the Commissioners and His Majesty's message. The message implicated two objects; the first was to provide a suitable establishment for the Prince and Princess of Wales—the second related to the debts which his Royal Highness had incurred.—What, therefore, was there in the circumstance of the possible improvement of the Crown lands, that could be assimilated to the objects to which His Majesty's message pointed? A wish had been expressed by Mr. Hussey, not to burden the people. But the honourable gentleman could not but be sensible that if the Crown lands were an available resource, and if they might be applied to the discharge of the Prince's debts, yet that such an application would take just as much from the Public as if the debts were discharged out of any other resource. But Mr. Hussey had sufficiently shewn that they could not be applicable to such an object, for what had he said? He had said, not that there was any large sum now in hand, arising from the sale of the Crown lands, or that the revenue proceeding from them was large, but that the present revenue might, by gradual improvement, be increased to the amount of four hundred thousand pounds. How, he would ask, could a possible future improvement either provide for the present establishment of the Prince of Wales, or for the payment of his debts? Besides the act of Q. Anne provided against the alienation of the Crown lands. If the motion of Mr. Hussey was made merely for the purpose of introducing a discussion relative to the improvement of the Crown lands, he could assure the honourable gentleman that the reports had been more than once before the House, and that an act had been framed in consequence of them, by which the management of the Crown and the management of the forest lands had been separated. With respect to the forest lands, it had been the opinion of the Committee, that the keeping of those lands in the hands of the Crown would be beneficial to the naval interests of the country.

Mr. FOX said, that perhaps it might be from a prejudice in favour of former opinions, but he was decidedly in favour of alienating so much of the Crown and Forest lands, as would be sufficient for the present purpose. The act of Anne was evidently for the purpose of providing for the Royal Family. Whatever was to be

done on the present occasion, was to be done with a view of increasing the Prince of Wales's establishment, and of liquidating his debts. At a time, therefore, when the House were going to do something, he could not but think that there was much propriety in wishing to refer the seventeen reports to the present Committee, in order that in such a season as the present, the Committee might look narrowly at all its resources, and impose as few and as light burdens upon the people as possible. The alienation of the Crown lands, therefore, was, in his opinion, a most adviseable mode; particularly as a great landed revenue, in the possession of the Crown, was likely to produce the consequence of extending an influence already too great. It was this influence to which Mr. Burke's bill had directed its attention, and though from the difficulty of the subject, it had not been easy to carry the desired object into execution, yet it had never been entirely relinquished.

Mr. EAST conceived that Mr. Hussey's motion tended to prejudge the question, because it had not yet been decided whether the House would take upon them, in the slightest degree, the incumbrances of the Prince of Wales. It was time enough, when the House had resolved to discharge those incumbrances, to consider in what manner they should discharge them.

Mr. FOX said, that Mr. East had misunderstood him. He did not mean to say now, that the House ought to do any thing on the subject, because the present was not the proper period for discussing that point; but he meant to say, that if any thing were to be done, the mode proposed by Mr. Hussey appeared to him to be the most proper.

Mr. GREY was against this motion. The question this night was to be what, under the circumstances of this country, would be fit to grant to his Royal Highness? When the incumbrances came before the House, this motion would be proper; but it was not so, in his opinion, in the present stage of the proceeding.

Mr. RYDER opposed the motion.

Mr. W. SMITH thought also this was not the stage for the motion.

Mr. MARTIN approved of the principle of the motion, and hoped it would be brought forward at a future time.

Colonel MACLEOD wished the Public to reflect, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been Minister of this country, and had lost to the Public upon one article the difference between 6000l. and 400,000l. a year; for if the Crown lands might be made to produce that sum, the Minister must have neglected his duty, in not making them produce it.

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The motion was then negatived.

The question being put for going into a Committee,

Mr. MAINWARING wished to know of the Chancellor of the Exchequer what the House would be pledged to, if it consented to the Speaker leaving the chair. There were two points to be considered, as he understood; the establishment and the incumbrances of His Royal Highness. He wished to know if the House would be pledged into both, if the Committee was agreed to. He wished to know whether Members could say, "We will go thus far, but no farther?"—He asked this, because he had not made up his mind upon the subject.

Mr. Chancellor PITT conceived, that the motion itself was an answer to the honourable gentleman's question. The Committee was to take His Majesty's message into consideration, and then every gentleman would take what share he pleased in the discussion, and vote accordingly.

The question being put and carried, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, Mr. Steele in the chair. His Majesty's message being read,

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the object recommended in His Majesty's message had already been the subject of some observation this day. He was persuaded, that if he could completely separate one part of the subject from the other, as he thought eventually he must do, in the vote he should propose, he would meet the unanimous wish of the House. Upon one part of it, he flattered himself there would hardly be a difference of sentiment; as the general object was one in which we were all united. He was persuaded, while he looked at the power of our public treasure, and while he reflected that he was to apply for an establishment to be settled on the Prince of Wales, after the happy event of his union with a Princess of the House of Brunswick; when he reflected on the blessings we had continued to enjoy under that illustrious family, of which this Princess was a branch, that there was but one general sentiment felt by Englishmen, and that they would be unanimous in their determination to support the dignity and splendor of the Prince and his Royal consort. This was a disposition which would arise out of the sentiment, he had almost said the instinct, of the people of this country, and he was assured, that any application that was made to support the splendor of the House of Brunswick, would never be unsuccessful. The House had always shewn its readiness to protect the principles of true liberty, and to consult the real happiness of its subjects.

He muſt now lay down as a general ground, from reflection on the hiſtory of paſt ages, as well as from many recent circumſtances, that in the days in which we live, it is the immediate intereſt of us all to ſupport the ſtrength, to maintain the honour and n[illegible] dignity and ſplendour, not only of our monarchy, but alſo of every branch of the Royal family. What we gave to them for theſe purpoſes, we gave in reality to ourſelves. This he did not mean to be done by a profligate waſte of the public treaſure, but by a prudent uſe of it, and in allowing an handſome ſhare of the property of the nation for ſuch a purpoſe, we had always been amply repaid by the ſecurity it gave us for a continuance of thoſe bleſſings we enjoyed under that ſyſtem of Government, the center of which was monarchy—a ſyſtem, which, notwithſtanding all the idle theories of modern pretenders, and all the attempts that had been made to bring it into diſrepute, compriſed in it all that we had ſeen, not only of dignity and force, but alſo of protection to liberty, and every thing that could be eſteemed in any well-regulated ſtate. Theſe were conſiderations which, he was ſure, would guide the vote of the Houſe on the queſtion of the eſtabliſhment to be made for their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſſes of Wales. If that was the only queſtion to be brought before the Houſe, he ſhould have confined the vote which he had to propoſe to what, according to his view of the ſubject, came diſtinctly within that principle.—But, while he was aware of that being deſirable, he was bound in candour to ſay that he had other topics to bring forward much leſs agreeable to his feelings. Theſe topics, however, he ſhould keep as ſeparate as poſſible from the other queſtion. For that reaſon he ſhould not this day propoſe any proviſion to be voted for the diſcharge of the incumbrances of His Royal Highneſs. It was his duty, however, to ſtate the circumſtances of theſe incumbrances. He wiſhed to God he could do otherwiſe It would be more to his ſatisfaction, more to the ſatisfaction of every man in that Houſe, and he believed, more to the ſatisfaction of every man in this country, that the tranſaction to which he alluded could have been avoided; but ſince it unfortunately exiſted, the ſame ſentiment which led us to agree to ſupport the ſplendour of the Throne by an eſtabliſhment, led us all to wiſh that incumbrances ſhould not be permitted to affect its credit, and however we might lament it, yet our loyalty to the Throne, and our regard for its intereſts, which was inſeparable from our own, called upon us to look at theſe incumbrances, and to ſee that they ſhould not affect too deeply the eaſe and comfort of the heir apparent. He then proceeded to ſtate the view which he had of the whole ſubject, and each of its branches in its order.

First as to the happy event of the marriage of his Royal Highness, which met the wishes of all the Members of the House, and on which they had already expressed their joy, in consequence there must be an additional establishment. Next came to be defrayed the expence attending the ceremony of the marriage, and then the expence of completing the building of Carlton House, as a residence for their Royal Highnesses. With respect to the expence of the marriage, or of the furnishing the building of Carlton House, they would not be objects for the present Committee, and therefore he should not propose any resolution upon that subject. The only object now, was, a grant of a sum of money for the establishment, and a jointure to her Royal Highness. This being opened to the Committee, he should then proceed to the incumbrances of the Prince, and to state the principle on which he rested the whole proceeding. Whatever might be the amount of the vote of the House for the establishment, he was clearly of opinion that some measure should be adopted to relieve his Royal Highness from his present embarrassments. However, he did not mean to call on the present Committee to consider the extent of these incumbrances at present. The first point, and the only one he intended to propose in the motion with which he should conclude, was that of an establishment for the Prince and his illustrious consort. In considering this, he desired the Committee to ask themselves what they thought they ought to grant to their Royal Highnesses in their present situation. At present the income of the Prince was 60,000l. a year, exclusive of the Dutchy of Cornwall, which was about 13,000l. per annum. It was difficult to form a precise calculation on the expence which necessarily attends the dignity of the heir apparent to the Throne, but upon that subject, it was natural to look back on what had been allowed to former Princes of Wales. Fifty years ago, his grandfather, the then Prince of Wales, possessed a net income of 100,000l. per annum, in addition to the Dutchy of Cornwall. Eighty years ago, his great grandfather, the then Prince of Wales, possessed 100,000l. without the Dutchy of Cornwall. If gentlemen would look at these establishments, they would see that his present Royal Highness ought to have a considerable addition to his income even supposing that he was not incumbered with debt. He would then ask the Committee to consider what they thought was absolutely necessary for him now, and in considering this they would naturally reflect on the great difference in the price of all the articles of life; they must be aware that the expences of all descriptions of men, from the highest to the lowest, was very much advanced; they would then find that neither luxury, dignity,

or even eaſe or comfort could be now procured, in a degree adequate to what had been enjoyed in the times he had alluded to without an advance in the income, to at leaſt a fourth of the whole. If he erred in his calculation, it was from being below the mark. He therefore now propoſed, that the income of his Royal Highneſs ſhould be 125,000l. per annum excluſive of the Dutchy of Cornwall, which was only 25,000l. a year more than was enjoyed 50 years ago. He thought he might here reſt that part of the queſtion, for ſurely this was not more than the Committee would be diſpoſed to allow to a Prince of Wales on the event of a marriage, of which they all moſt heartily approved. This being the only vote he had to propoſe, he ſhould only ſtate in the nature of a notice, thoſe regulations which were intended to be made hereafter. The preparations for the marriage would be ſtated at 27,000l. for jewels and plate, which came to a much greater amount, but as this had been the ſum allowed, the exceſs would go to the outſtanding debts: and twenty-five thouſand pounds for finiſhing Carlton Houſe, the accounts of which were laid upon the table, and they might be brought into diſcuſſion when the whole amount of the debts ſhould come before them for their diſtinct conſideration. The jointure of the Princeſs of Wales he propoſed to be 50,000l. a year, being no more than had been granted on a ſimilar occaſion. This was all he thought neceſſary to ſay on the firſt branch of the ſubject, but although he ſhould propoſe nothing more at preſent, he ſhould ſtate to the Committee the amount of the debts of his Royal Highneſs, which was between 600,000l. and 700,000l. according to the moſt accurate accounts he had had an opportunity of inſpecting, in reality they were, according to theſe accounts, from 620,000l. to 630,000l. up to the laſt April quarter. He had no reaſon to ſuppoſe that there did exiſt any other debts of his Royal Highneſs, where he was the principal debtor. There were ſome in which he was ſecurity for his illuſtrious brothers. But he had the ſatisfaction to ſtate to the Committee, that from the meritorious exertions of theſe two illuſtrious characters, ſuch debts were put into a train of liquidation, and in a courſe of punctual diſcharge, and he had no reaſon to apprehend they would become a burden to them or to the Public, and therefore he did not conſider theſe as any part of the debts of his Royal Highneſs, for which it would be neceſſary to make any legiſlative proviſion. It would remain for the Houſe to conſider at a ſubſequent period, whether the debts of his Royal Highneſs were brought into a ſhape and mode that would enable them to form ſome plan of freeing his Royal Highneſs from the preſent effect of his incumbrances. When they ſhould be ſo, then

the House would have to determine on the mode of relieving him; but that was not the subject of this night's discussion, and before he stated an opinion upon that topic, he was desirous of collecting the sense of the House as to the mode of proceeding. He was convinced that, before the House should take any step towards the liquidation of these debts, they ought to undergo the most accurate investigation. For this purpose, a Secret Committee might be deemed necessary, and if it should appear to gentlemen that an inquiry should be instituted previously to any steps being taken, he was perfectly ready to concur in such an inquiry. But it might be apprehended, that an inquiry by a Secret Committee would be insufficient, in as much as it would be necessary to go into a very detailed investigation, to which a Secret Committee might not be competent. A parliamentary commission, where the evidence might be given on oath, might be most adviseable. But here, he confessed, that a doubt rested on his mind, whether, if an inquiry of this legislative nature should be deemed necessary, a general inquiry by a Secret Committee ought not to take place in the first instance.

The first opinion that gentlemen would be tempted to entertain, might be one totally disapproving of the debts that had been contracted. But he should hope, that when gentlemen connected the subject with the public interests, they would not think that, if they agreed to make a suitable establishment for the Prince, they should shut their eyes wholly to the subject of debt. The principle of granting an additional income was to procure to the Prince ease and comfort, to support the dignity of his rank, and the general happiness of the nation. Would such an establishment, however, answer any good purpose, if the Committee were to leave his Royal Highness oppreft by distress, embarrassment, and debt? and yet this would be the effect, if Parliament were to refuse to make any legislative provision for the payment of the debts. Yet ought the Parliament to say that they would forgive what was past; that they would grant an ample income, and throw all the burden of his Royal Highness's debts upon the people? To do this would be improper. The Committee, indeed, were involved in such a dilemma, that they could do nothing that would be wholly comfortable. If they abridged the splendour and income of the Prince, they would abridge his Royal Highness's ease and comfort; and on the other hand, if they agreed hastily to the liquidation of his debts, they would be setting an example of prodigality and excess totally irreconcileable with the duty which they owed to their country; if they pressed too hardly on the Prince, the situation in which he must be placed would constitute a bad preparation for that Throne which his Royal Highness

was destined at some period, (late he wished it to be) to fill. In this compromise of evil, it was necessary to take so much from the Prince of Wales's income as could be taken without deducting from his comfort and his ease. This was the task to which the Committee ought to apply themselves, and to endeavour to reconcile the interests of the Prince with the expectations which the people had a right to entertain from the loyalty, the wisdom, and the patriotism of Parliament. His own opinion was, that a certain sum should be taken from the Prince's income to discharge his debts. and that, in order to counteract the influence of the present example, the Committee should shew that the debts would be liquidated by the cutting off so much from the establishment of the heir apparent. Upon this principle he meant to submit it on a future day, that the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, and part of the income of 125,000l. should be applied to the payment of the interest of the debts, and to the gradual discharge of the principal, and that the sum so taken should be vested in the hands of Commissioners. From the income of 125,000l. a year, he should propose that 25,000l. should be deducted annually for the payment of the interest of the debts, at four per cent. and that the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall should be appropriated, as a sinking fund, at compound interest, to discharge the principal of the debt, which they would discharge in twenty seven years. He knew that it was uncertain whether they would be paid off during the period of his Royal Highness remaining Prince of Wales. He therefore meant to propose, that on the event of the demise of the Crown to the Prince, there should still be a charge of 25,000l a year on the hereditary revenues of the Prince of Wales. There was one circumstance, not a very probable one he confessed, which was, that within the period of twenty-seven years the demise of the Crown to the Prince, and the demise of the Prince himself, might both happen. In that case it would be impossible to make any charge on the hereditary revenues, and he should then propose that a burden of 25,000l. a year should be imposed on the consolidated fund.—He had endeavoured to apply the principle which he had already stated as well as he could, namely, that of maintaining the splendour of his Royal Highness, and of guarding against such an evil as this in future; it was for the Committee to judge whether it was a right one, and whether these provisions should be made at all, and he hoped they would take it into their most serious consideration, but if any gentleman had any other plan to offer that would accomplish the end better, he should be glad to hear it. But without providing for these debts, so as to make it impossible for them to increase, all the wishes of the House might,

be disappointed. Without stating something of this kind he could not expect the concurrence of the House in what he had to propose. He would go farther; he would admit that the proper application of the income should be provided for in the most rigid manner; for the House could not, after what had happened, be expected to rest on any general assurances. There were two general heads to be attended to in this case. The one was the faithful punctual payment of the debt already contracted. The other, that no farther debt should be contracted: the latter of which was to be guarded against, by making it impossible for such credit to be obtained again. With this view he should propose to insert in the bill a clause of the same nature as that which was inserted in that excellent and memorable act which was framed by a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Burke) who unfortunately was not now a Member of that House—That it should be impossible for any part of the expenditure to exceed the estimate—That no arrear should, under any pretence, go beyond the quarter—That debts not claimed then should wholly lapse—That debts thus claimed should be punctually paid, but no other. These points being settled, he should propose, that Carlton-house should be invested in the Crown for ever, and the furniture be deemed, under the legal phrase, to pass as heirs-loom.—Finally, that no suit for the recovery of any debt shall be instituted against his Royal Highness, but against his officers, who shall be responsible for the power and authority which they shall have in the conduct and management of his affairs. He considered it to be an essential part of their present object, that, when this business was arranged, no such subject should ever come for discussion again, for he considered it to be a painful, as well as an anxious discussion. Nothing short of this would go the length which the Public had a right to expect from that House, whose duty it was to satisfy its constituents. He felt this impression with double weight from his duty, as a Member of Parliament, and from the situation in which he stood as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in both which characters he wished neither to add unnecessarily to the burdens of the Public, nor neglect to bring forward a measure in which their interests and happiness were so materially connected. It was his wish, while he satisfied the feelings of the Prince, to satisfy likewise the feelings of the country, and those which were more immediately connected with his own situation. These were the principles on which he had endeavoured to direct his conduct, and having given this statement and this explanation, he did not mean to detain the Committee any farther, because it was not his intention to press, on the present occasion, any motion on the subject of the Prince's debts. The pre-

fent decifion related directly to the eftablifhment of his Royal Highnefs and to the jointure of the Princefs, and he was not aware it was neceffary for him to fay any more than to exprefs his readinefs to explain any thing that he might have left imperfect, if called upon to do fo. He wifhed, however, to learn whether the Houfe defired that there fhould be a Secret Committee to examine the debts, or that they would leave the whole matter to be finally fettled under a legiflative provifion. He then moved, "That His Majefty be enabled to appropriate 65,000l. annually, from the 10th of October, 1794, towards providing for the eftablifhment of his Royal Highnefs the Prince of Wales."

Mr. GREY faid, that he had on a former evening occafion to remark the painful fenfations with which he entered upon this fubject; he would not however fhrink from the difcharge of a duty, however painful. There could be in that Houfe but one wifh, to make a fuitable and liberal provifion for his Royal Highnefs the Prince of Wales. There might farther be a hope and wifh, by liberality and indulgence on the prefent occafion, to conciliate his feelings, to infpire him with affection and confidence, and cement the bond of union between him and that people, whom at a future period he might be called to govern. But there was a more fevere duty, which the nature of the occafion impofed in a time of unparalleled diftrefs, fuch as the prefent. It was a duty which they owed to the Prince himfelf, to teach him, if reflection had not taught him, that as his family were chofen to the Throne for the good of the people, fo that his fituation was created not merely for luxury and indulgence, but in fubfervience to that great end, and that though they were bound in turn to confult his comfort and enjoyment, that the obligation on their part ceafed, if thefe became his fole objects; and that in confequence of the provifion made for the fupport of his rank, thoufands ought to blefs his munificence and bounty, not to lament his extravagance and folly. He did not mean on the prefent occafion to charge the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) with having done any thing which his duty did not require. The difcuffion was attended with hardfhips to both parties. On the one hand it was not defirable for the Minifter, after having repeatedly called upon the people in the courfe of the feffion, to contribute to fuch an extent to the fupport of the war, to bring forward any frefh burdens. Neither was it defirable for thofe who had uniformly oppofed his meafures, by concurring in the prefent motion, to fhare in the unpopularity which muft inevitably attend fuch a propofition. On the other hand he was fully aware that by any oppofition, they fubjected themfelves to the unpleafant confequence of that mifrepre-

sentation, which would be so eagerly circulated through all the channels of courtly influence. He was however determined to speak plainly; if he should be so unfortunate as to create offence, he would at least have the consolation to have done his duty.

He could have wished that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) in bringing forward his motion, had avoided any of the topics which had been employed to inflame division of sentiment in that House. It had been too much the fashion of that right honourable gentleman to represent those who differed from him in opinion, as not friends to the splendor and dignity of the Monarchy. He was as sincere a friend to the real splendor and dignity of the Monarchy, though he might be a less pleasing one, as any slippery sycophant of a Court. That the Prince of Wales ought to have an establishment on the present occasion, there was no doubt; there was no doubt also that the people would grant it; but the stability of the Monarchy of the country depended not upon establishments; and there might occur occasions, in which, to relinquish them, would be attended with more real dignity, than could be derived from the utmost splendor of expence. In coming to the consideration of the present question, which necessarily involved the debts, he was willing to imitate the example of the right honourable gentleman, and to consider abstractly what income, under the present circumstances, it would be suitable to grant to a Prince of Wales. The right honourable gentleman had referred to former instances. He had stated that a hundred thousand pounds had been granted to the great grandfather of his Royal Highness, and that the same sum had been allowed to his grandfather, with the addition of the Dutchy of Cornwall. He thence inferred that no less an addition than what he had now proposed would be necessary, in order to make the income equal to what it was at those former periods. He had asked if there was any person in private life, whose increase of expence would not be found greatly to exceed that calculation. To adopt his own instance of a person in private life, as applicable to the present case, that person, in apportioning the rate of his expence, must consider also the means from which it was to be drawn. If the estate, which was the source of his income, was burdened with debt, a consequent necessity must arise for a curtailment of his expence. It was to be considered, whether when the country had been groaning under the accumulated corruptions of a century, during which it had been oppressed by wars, undertaken from the weakness or wickedness of Ministers; and now, when it was engaged in a contest, of which it was neither possible to calculate the extent nor the end, it would be proper to exceed the utmost profu-

ſion of former periods. A habit of expence had lately been created, and had grown up to a moſt alarming height, among all orders of ſociety. Was it fitting that the Legiſlature ſhould ſet an example of encouraging a habit which threatened the moſt pernicious conſequences, and even the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution itſelf, ſince it ſeemed more and more to be bringing this country into a reſemblance to what had been the ſituation of France, previous to the æra of the revolution? It was this habit which annihilated the independence of the rich, and aggravated the miſeries of the poor. Was it fitting that the Legiſlature itſelf, whoſe independence was endangered, ſhould encourage ſuch a ſyſtem of extravagance. The imminence of the danger, and the ſtriking example exhibited of its effects in another country, ought, if any thing, to inculcate a leſſon of the neceſſity of moderation in the preſent moment. The right honourable gentleman ſtated that George II. when Prince of Wales, enjoyed an income of a hundred thouſand pounds, without any revenue from the Dutchy of Cornwall, and his ſon a hundred thouſand in addition to the ſum ariſing from the Dutchy. But it was to be recollected that the eſtabliſhment of the late Prince of Wales, for ſeveral years after his marriage, amounted to no more than fifty thouſand pounds, that it was not increaſed till his family had grown up, and that no application was at any time made to Parliament for the payment of his debts. He would aſk the right honourable gentleman whether he had always adhered to the ſame ſcale of calculation, and whether, if he had, he would not have propoſed a larger income to his Royal Highneſs in the firſt inſtance. He deſired him to compare his preſent ſtatements with his former conduct, wherever a ſimilar queſtion had been agitated. The income firſt granted to his Royal Highneſs was 50,000l. which including the income of the Dutchy of Cornwall, amounted to a ſum of 63,000l. Afterwards when the debts were diſcharged, and an addition of 10,000l. made to his income, the right honourable gentleman ſtated that his income was now ſo ample as to put out of all doubt his capacity for maintaining an eſtabliſhment ſuitable to his rank. And yet, though the accounts on the table relative to the neceſſary increaſe of expences did not exceed twelve thouſand pounds, he now propoſed an addition to his eſtabliſhment of not leſs than ſixty-five thouſand pounds. Taking all theſe circumſtances together, he conſidered this to be a ſum out of all proportion, and more than the Houſe ought to grant under the preſent circumſtances. It was therefore his intention to propoſe, that, inſtead of ſixty-five, only forty thouſand pounds ſhould be added to his preſent income. It was originally his intention to have propoſed that his whole income ſhould

amount only to one hundred thousand pounds, but as his grandfather had been stated to have enjoyed this sum in addition to the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall, he was willing, in the present instance, to go all the length of the liberality of former times. To the article of marriage expences he had no objection, he only hoped that when the right honourable gentleman stated such a sum to have been expended, he would likewise shew that such a demand had been usual on former occasions. As to the incumbrances of his Royal Highness, when he recollected the part which he had taken with respect to a similar application, he found it more particularly necessary to come decidedly forward with an avowal of his sentiments. When he adverted to what had taken place on the former occasion, he felt himself compelled to resist the smallest claim that might be made in the present instance. If a sum had been accumulated out of the savings of the Dutchy of Cornwall during the minority of the Prince, if a resource could be presented by a reduction of those trappings of state, which incumbered monarchy without adorning it, or lastly, if any aid could be derived from those great savings, which during the indisposition of an illustrious personage, were represented as having taken place during the present reign, he was astonished that any application should be made to Parliament at the present time, and under the present circumstances, which contained the smallest reference to those incumbrances. The very line which the right honourable gentleman had pointed out as the least consistent with the dignity and policy of the Legislature, was that very line which he felt himself compelled to take, namely, from disapprobation of the mode in which the debts had been contracted, to make no provision for them at all. This was the only mode which he conceived would operate as an effectual preventive against the repetition of similar demands. He here desired the right honourable gentleman to consider how far his proposition would give to the Prince of Wales a large and magnificent income. By his mode of statement, he taught the Prince to believe, that a sum of a hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds was no more than was necessary for the maintenance of such an establishment as he ought to have. While it was proposed to apply a considerable part of his income to the liquidation of his debts, had any thing been done to diminish the scale of his expenditure? What then was the effect of this conduct, but to hold out an encouragement, or provide an excuse, for the incurring of new debts? On the other hand, the highest regard had been professed for the dignity of his Royal Highness. How far, he would ask, was his dignity consulted by the mode proposed to be adopted by the right honourable gentleman? What could be more degrading to a Prince, than to tie

him down in the manner which had been suggested; than to say, that we cannot trust him, and that we must compel him to do justice by the strictest regulations? He had a very different view of the subject. He considered that the best dignity, and the truest greatness, was that which was founded upon integrity of character, without which no respect for rank or station would long avail. The best means then, which it appeared to him that they could pursue, was to grant to the Prince of Wales whatever income they might think suitable, and to mark their disapprobation of the debts by a direct refusal to enter into any discussion on the subject. The right honourable gentleman had stated the inconvenience to which the Prince of Wales would be subject by such a decision on the part of the Legislature. He was sensible of the inconvenience, but he lamented, along with the right honourable gentleman, that he had only a choice of evils. Unfortunately he could not see the Prince of Wales in that situation of rank and dignity, which belonged to him. He had then only to look to that which was the next best, to see him in the situation of lamenting his errors, and making the best preparation which he could for the liquidation of his debts. Would any man tell him that if the Prince of Wales were to retire to a situation, where he might qualify himself by reflection for the duties of his future station, after having made a composition with his creditors, who, no doubt, would be satisfied with easy terms, that there would not still, out of the income which he proposed, be left a sufficient provision for the ease and comfort of two persons, who had other resources to which they might look? But it was urged, that the support of the Monarchy was interested in the provision now to be made, and that whatever was given, was given for public purposes. He granted that such was the case with respect to whatever was given for the purpose of real and useful splendor, but expressed his fears, that of the debts submitted to the Secret Committee, there perhaps might not be one, which ought not to furnish to the House a subject of regret. He here adverted to an allusion that had been made on a former evening to what had taken place in France, and to the evils which had there arisen from that extravagance on the part of the Princes, which shocked the feelings of the people, while it insulted their distresses. He concluded with moving, That instead of 65,000l. an additional sum of 40,000l. should be granted to his Royal Highness.

Mr. MONTAGU considered the question to be of the utmost importance, and exhorted the House to act gravely and deliberately. He was of opinion, that the interest of the Public was materially connected with the preservation of the character and dignity of the

Crown and the Royal family, and thought that every step should be taken to support the proper splendour and dignity of the heir apparent.

Mr. LAMBTON said, that he felt his present situation doubly painful, as he was under the necessity of differing from his honourable friend, whom he highly respected, with respect to the amendment which he had made, and of supporting the original motion. That motion, he conceived, to include every advantage which could be derived from the present discussion. With respect to the amendment of his honourable friend, it must either put the Prince in the situation of incurring new debts, or be followed up with a bill to exile him from the metropolis, and expel him from Carlton House. The question then was, whether or not it was necessary that his Royal Highness, in the situation in which he stood, should preserve an intercourse with different ranks of people. He was sensible, that the business was highly unpopular. The right honourable gentleman had not been able to bring it forward without expressing those feelings of regret, and even disapprobation, which he felt on the occasion. The income now proposed was to be granted, not from any considerations personal to his Royal Highness, but from loyalty to his illustrious House, from gratitude for the services, which they had performed to the country, and attachment to the constitution, which had so long flourished under an hereditary monarchy. Base and unprincipled must that sycophant be, who would poison the ear of his Royal Highness with an insinuation that he has any right to squander the money of the people of England for any purpose, however idle, fantastic, and extravagant. He could not, however, admit all the blame, which had been attached to this accumulation of debt. Part of the evil resulted from an ill-judged parsimony in the first instance. When the income of the Prince was only fifty thousand pounds they paid his debts, from the estimate of which they might perceive that he was then spending a hundred thousand pounds, yet, notwithstanding, they granted him only an income of sixty thousand pounds, thus leaving him with the certainty of contracting a fresh debt of thirty thousand pounds a year. Those who had once got into the habit of incurring debt, felt how easy it was to supply, by their credit, the deficiency of their finances, and were more and more inclined to plunge into the vortex, a maxim, for the truth of which he appealed to many who were present, and qualified to decide on the point from their own experience. Mr. Lambton here referred to an allusion that had been made on a former day to the extravagance of the French Princes. None, he said, who had been present at the Court of Versailles,

would have conceived that there existed the smallest degree of comparison. He here quoted the example of the Count d'Artois, who was accustomed every night to stake thousands on the fortune of a die; who spent enormous sums in decorating a small apartment, and kept up, through the whole of his expenditure, the same stile of profusion. As well might they compare the French Minister, M. Calonne, who had been but too easy in complying with the demands of the Princes, to the present Minister, who had, in his opinion, performed a difficult duty in a manner which did him honour. He had done all in his power to extricate the Prince from his difficulties, at the same time stating in the strongest manner his disapprobation of his conduct. If it were true that the extravagance of the Court of France had brought on the disasters of that unhappy country, he thought it became the duty of the House to endeavour to extricate the Prince from his difficulties, and prevent the possibility of his running into the same error. He was of opinion, that the interest of the country was connected with the splendour of the monarchy and the family. If it was wished to keep up the monarchy in the country, he thought the splendour and dignity should also be maintained, lest the monarchy should be reduced to a nullity. He stated how the œconomic Government of America was peculiarly fitted to the soil where it originated, and did not at all apply to this country. In America at the period of its revolution there existed no hereditary aristocracy, and all the classes of society were nearly upon a level. At some period or other the burdens of the Prince must fall on the Public, for when he came to the Crown, his first object would naturally be the discharge of these debts. If it could be supposed that it was possible to endeavour to prevent this, the consequence would be violent convulsions in the State, which might even ruin the Constitution. He wished at the same time to obtain something for the people; he hoped that a bill would be brought in to abolish, as far as possible, the undue influence which large establishments necessarily introduced into the Legislature. Of the three branches composing the State, he had no hesitation in saying, that he preferred the democratic branch, as that which held in its hands the interest and happiness of the community, yet he would not wish to restrain the just prerogative of the Crown. He thought that the Princess of Wales ought to be considered on the present occasion. He should think it would be inconsistent with British generosity that she should be exposed to the taunts of creditors, it was more honourable to them to afford her, after she had been invited over, the means of living in affluence and ease. He concluded with saying, that he knew he was not

taking the popular ſide of the queſtion, and declaring that he had never acted from a wiſh to obtain popularity, but from the dictates of his conſcience. On the queſtion of reform he had voted, not to pleaſe the people, but becauſe he thought the ſide he adopted was for the good of the State. The ſame conſiderations led him at preſent to vote for the original motion, as it appeared to be the only one conſiſtent with the permanent intereſt of the people. In the agitation of the preſent queſtion all appeals to the feelings were deprecated, and however anxious he might be to join in that deprecation, he could not ſo far forego what he felt on this occaſion as to put one circumſtance entirely out of the queſtion, he meant the conſort of his Royal Highneſs. This amiable Princeſs had been invited to this country, the union was agreed to by the parents of both, and the country univerſally approved of that union; how then muſt that Houſe and the country feel for the ſituation of that amiable Princeſs, who inſtead of participating in that rank and ſplendour which her dignity and ſituation taught her to expect, to be left in penury and obſcurity; and to have the feelings of her Royal ſpouſe wounded by the claims of his creditors. The right honourable gentleman had brought forward this buſineſs without any diſguiſe, he had ſtated the circumſtances with great accuracy, and he was perſuaded the Committee was much obliged to him, for the detail of it was no doubt a painful taſk, but his duty and ſituation laid him under it. In ſaying this, he had only acted up to his duty. When he joined in a vote for a reform in Parliament, he was actuated by the ſame ſentiments, a ſincere love for the conſtitution, becauſe he thought it would tend to remove that maſs of corruption which had been accumulated during the preſent century. He now offered himſelf in ſupport of the preſent queſtion, becauſe he thought it eſſential to the exiſtence of limited monarchy. He neither ſought for popularity from the one nor the other. He was not one of thoſe ſlippery court ſycophants alluded to by his honourable friend (Mr. Grey) on ſuch an occaſion. He recollected the ſentiment of an eminent republican writer, "I am not dazzled with the trappings of a court, nor biaſſed by the affections of a Prince." He thought it would be derogatory in the laſt degree to the dignity of the Prince, to think of a compoſition with his creditors, when the plan propoſed was adequate to the dignity of his eſtabliſhment, and at the ſame time led to the gradual liquidation of his debts.

Mr. CURWEN ſaid, Sir, if the honourable gentleman who has juſt ſat down, had been preſent on a former day's debate, to which he has alluded, he would have known that I neither did, or was it ever my intention, to draw a compariſon between the Royal per-

sonages he has named; I then said what I still think, that the lavish expenditure of public money by the Royal Family of France, lost them the affections of the people, and led the way to all the calamities which have since befallen that unhappy country. The example of France being quoted to us on all occasions, I cannot but regret the consequences which produced that revolution seem so little attended to. If they had, Sir, we should not have been under the necessity of discussing the present question, and one more pregnant with mischief was never brought forward, and of this opinion, there are few either in or out of this House who are not agreed. I can view the question in no other light, than as it affects the happiness and safety of the country. It does not enter my mind to consider the person or his conduct, nor matters it whether one Prince lavished thousands in building a summer house, or the other squandered them on the plains of Newmarket. I wish to see adopted such measures as may avoid the fatal consequences of the loss of the public opinion and affection, so closely connected with Monarchy. Sir, I can neither agree to the plan of the right honourable gentleman, nor with the amendment of the honourable gentleman near me; such is the dilemma we are involved in, that we have only the choice of difficulties. Numberless are the objections to every expedient I have yet heard proposed, I cannot but heartily deprecate the right honourable gentleman, who so solemnly pledged the Royal word, and has been so shamefully inattentive in looking to the observance of it; had he done his duty, a remedy might have been applied, and means found to have extricated his Royal Highness out of his difficulties, without imposing fresh burdens on the Public, or exposing his Royal Highness's character. Sir, that the country are disinclined, dissatisfied, and unwilling to be charged with one penny of the Prince's debts, will not be denied; that a more unfavourable moment than the present for bringing forward such a charge, could not have been found, labouring as the country is under such accumulated distresses, on the other hand, by refusing to extricate his Royal Highness, you subject him to insults which may lessen and disgrace Royalty in the opinion of the People, and produce mischiefs of the most dangerous kind. The momentary dissatisfaction of the People, from the payment of the debts, weighs less with me, than the consequences which may result from continuing his Royal Highness in his present embarrassed situation; and I trust, after the first fullness of resentment is over and forgotten, the country will see it in a different point of view. I am, therefore, Sir, for the payment of the Prince's debts, and shall vote for the larger sum, with a view of forming such a sinking fund, as may

in a reasonable time liquidate the debt. With this view, should the larger sum be adopted by the House, I shall move, in some subsequent stage of the proceedings, that the sixty-five thousand pounds, and the Dutchy of Cornwall, be applied to the liquidation of the Prince's debts; on the part of the Prince, sacrifices must and ought to be made; his Royal Highness ought to relinquish his Court, and retire for a season into privacy, there to regain the good opinion and regard of the people: little, indeed, is the sacrifice, when compared with that which will be obtained. The interest of the Prince and the People are the same, as he acquires the affections of the people, they gain security, for without the affections of the people, no Government is secure. I approve of the commission to inquire into, and settle the debts; I wish a veil to be thrown over them, and that the future conduct of his Royal Highness may make us forget the past. I cannot conceive how Royalty can in any respect be injured by such a proceeding, on a large calculation, not one-thirteenth part of the nation can receive any gratification from the Prince's Court; but I am sensible the relinquishment of it would be felt and acknowledged by every subject in the kingdom. No country surely ever afforded such an instance of what personal virtue and integrity can effect. View this reign, commencing with an attack upon the right of elections, and proceeding, from step to step, till he lost one quarter of the globe, with a Minister, so callous to the distresses of the people, that he had the audacity to come forward with an unblushing front to Parliament, in the midst of that ruinous and destructive war, for the payment of the King's debts, to the amount of upwards of six hundred thousand pounds, and one hundred thousand pounds to be added to the civil list; and was it not granted? Involved at this moment in a war, the end or consequences of which no one can pretend to foretel, deprived of the great palladium of liberty, the Habeas Corpus act, and yet, Sir, notwithstanding all these events, any one of which singly might have overturned any other Government; yet see, his present Majesty, one of the most popular Princes that ever sat upon the Throne, shall we suppose it possible that the relinquishment of the tinsel and frippery of a Court can be attended with any loss of respect to Monarchy; can sacrifices for the people produce any other return but affection and regard on their part? If integrity has done so much, what will gratitude effect, when joined to it?—I wish to see his Royal Highness placed in such a situation, that he may regain what he has lost; a consideration of infinitely more importance, great as the sum is. Considering, Sir, the double situation in which His Majesty stands, and the solemn pledge given to

this House, I confess myself much disappointed that we have had no intimation of His Majesty's intention to come forward and take upon himself part of the burden. I cannot believe, had the right honourable gentleman acquainted His Majesty with the temper and feelings of the nation, that he would not chearfully have evinced his regard and affection for his people, by meeting their wishes. It is inconsistent with every principle of justice and policy, that one branch of the Legislature, and that possessed solely of the power of involving us in war, should alone be exempt from sharing the burdens and calamities inseparable from it. I think the Throne should be the first to feel, and the foremost to sacrifice to the distresses of the country; and I verily believe it would not diminish the lustre of the Crown, to dispense with some of its trappings. Sir, I do not wish to hear the advantages of Royalty placed in its being the cheapest form of Government, for the assertion is not warranted in truth. The Government of America does not, in fact, cost much more than what has been lavished by his Royal Highness alone; less than two hundred thousand pounds a year answers every purpose of that Government. The attachment of the people of this country to its form of Government, proceeds from the sense of the blessings it has long enjoyed under it, and I trust it will long continue to do. Much as we must lament the misery which has attended the new doctrines introduced into another country, and deprecate them, as they have involved us in the calamities of war, the general result of them will be advantageous to mankind, compelling those who govern, to be cautious of their conduct, and not abuse the power they are intrusted with.

Mr. BURDON agreed with those gentlemen who had already delivered their sentiments on this subject, that it was a matter of such delicacy, that could be only conquered by a sense of public duty. He thought it was best to let the question as it was proposed, stand, to give the Prince an opportunity of reflecting on what was past. In case of a peace, the country would emerge from its present situation, and the state of the Prince's affairs could be laid before that House with less regret. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) wished that this subject, could have been avoided; why did not that right honourable gentleman then, when it was in his power, take the proper steps to avoid it, which he might have done; did that right honourable gentleman recollect the hopes and assurances which he held out to that House in 1787, when the subject of the Prince's debts was brought before that House? was it not his duty to have an eye to the management of his Royal Highness's affairs, and if he found that matters were likely to come to

the present issue, to have taken an earlier opportunity to propose to that House one of those measures which he had that night proposed; but instead of that, he now comes with unblushing front, and makes a second claim on the affection and liberality of that House.

Mr. Alderman NEWNHAM was very decidedly of opinion in favour of the greater sum. He expatiated on the necessity of keeping up the dignity and splendour of the Prince of Wales, the Heir Apparent to the Crown of these realms. The splendour of the Prince of Wales, he asserted, was the splendour of the people of England, and all those who were friends to the monarchical form of Government we so happily possessed, ought to be very cautious how they agreed to any measure which might diminish that splendour. Much had been said, he observed, about what had been granted to Frederick, Prince of Wales, the father of his present Majesty; but to him it did not appear by any means in point with respect to the present question. The price of all the articles of provision had so much increased, and the value of money, from the extension of our commerce and manufactures, had been so unbounded, that money scarcely bore the fourth part of the value now which it did then. He thought the circumstance of the Prince's marriage and the situation of his amiable consort ought to weigh with the Committee—she was welcomed to this country by every person in it, and it was proper that the rank and splendour of the new-married pair should be suitable to their dignity. It was of the utmost consequence to the peace, happiness, and domestic comfort of the Prince of Wales, that his establishment should be such as in future to prevent him from accumulating debts, which might draw him into similar embarrassments with those under which he now laboured. These debts were in all probability swelled, from a circumstance with which that Committee was not perhaps acquainted, tradesmen sent in very exorbitant bills, when they did not expect prompt payment. It was of importance to the country effectually to provide against this in future, and to accomplish this desirable end, he saw no way so ready and so certain as that of giving his assent to the original motion of granting to his Royal Highness an establishment of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds a year, exclusive of the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall.

Mr. W. SMITH assured the Committee that it was not his wish to take up too much of the time of the House by adverting to several matters which had fallen from gentlemen on different sides of the question, but that he should confine himself to two points which he thought most material to be considered. He thought it was by no means analogous to argue at all from the comparison of the expences

of this Government with that of America; but at the same time he was of opinion, that it was very proper to square our conduct on the present occasion with what had been done by the Parliaments in former times and upon similar occasions. In the instance that had been alluded to in the settlement of 100,000l. a year on the son of His Majesty King George the First, when Prince of Wales: it was true that provisions and all the necessaries of life bore in a great proportion much heavier at the present moment than they did then; but after making every allowance on that score, which was fair and necessary, it certainly was equally necessary and fair to advert also to the very different proportions of the national debt at that time and at this. This burden on the people was then no more than forty-eight millions, and the annual interest somewhat under two millions; at the present moment the national debt was upwards of three hundred millions, and the interest annually more than nine millions, when these alterations in the circumstances of affairs were put into the opposite scale, with the difference of the price of provisions, mentioned by the honourable Member who spoke last, he believed it would be found to preponderate greatly in his favour. Besides it was necessary to observe farther, that the sum of 100,000l. a year, settled on the Prince of Wales, who was afterwards George the Second, was not any burden on the people, but actually paid out of the Civil List. In the same way, when the question came before the House to increase the establishment of Frederick Prince of Wales, father to his present Majesty, to one hundred thousand a year, it was a mere question of party whether an increase of the Civil List to the amount of that sum which had been asked for, should be agreed to, or whether that sum should be granted to the Prince of Wales. It was on that occasion decided that it should be granted to the Civil List, and from that should be paid to the establishment of the Prince of Wales. Here then was a clear proof that the establishment of the Prince of Wales had, till that time, been uniformly paid from the Civil List, and had never been a burden on the people. In the same reign of George the Second His Majesty had been under the necessity of applying to Parliament for the payment of some arrears which had accrued on the Civil List, and in his message to the Parliament on that occasion he intimated, that in consideration of that, he should make some considerable retrenchments and deductions in the expences of the Civil List, by lessening and reducing several places and pensions appertaining to the same. Mr. Smith could wish to have seen a similar conduct pursued upon the present occasion, and instead of the burden being thrown entirely on the people, that it should have been borne by those who were

much better able to struggle under its weight. Much had been said about the necessity of keeping up the splendour and dignity of monarchy; he was of opinion that both were necessary to be maintained, but he feared they had been very fallaciously blended together, and that many things had been attributed to one which in reality belonged to the other. It had been said, that splendour was absolutely necessary to dignity. In some cases it might be so, but, in his mind, the present case would derive more splendour from a frugal and dignified simplicity, than from all the brilliancy which outward appearance could carry with it. Dignity, would, in his opinion, be best consulted by an abatement of splendour. The honourable Member professed himself as true a friend to the monarchy as any Member of that House; but still he thought there were many cases which were supposed to add to its splendour, but which, in his opinion, tended much to derogate from its dignity. There were many offices in the housholds, both of the Monarch and of the Prince of Wales, which, while they were highly honourable in themselves, lost much of their dignity by the persons holding them receiving the salaries they did to a large amount—These offices were held by noblemen of the first distinction, and who were styled in the Civil List *Menial Servants* of the Crown, or of the Prince. He had not the smallest doubt in his mind but that the first Dukes and Lords in the land really deemed it an honour, and felt the highest pleasure, in being constantly about the person of their Sovereign, and being continually receiving the gratification of his daily converse and personal regards—but when he contemplated those noble personages as a Master of the Horse, or a Lord of the Bed Chamber, he could not conceive that they derived any additional dignity to their characters, from their receiving severally one or two thousand a year for the services they performed. On the contrary, he thought that every nobleman who held any of the great offices of State, would possess and justly entitle himself to real dignity in the minds of the people, who would say to the Public when he accepted their office, I am proud to serve my King and my country in this truly honourable station, but as a nobleman of great fortune, and thereby a truly independent man, I disdain to accept of any emoluments of office, because as my fortune is great, I think my refusal to accept them will reflect more real splendour and dignity on the office I hold, and on the Monarch who confers it, that can possibly result from my receiving annual wages for the performance of that duty which is held out to the world, as reflecting honour on me who perform it, and splendour on him who confers on me the power to do so.

Mr. Smith said, there was only one point more on which he

would trouble the House, and that was, that it at once surprised and grieved him, that no advice had been given to His Majesty, or at least that no intimation had been given by him, that he was ready and willing to bear any part of the burden of paying the Prince's debts. He wished for the sake of the dignity and splendour of the monarchy, that this had been done, but as it had not, the best and safest way that he knew of, was to vote such an establishment as should prevent the Prince from incurring future debts.

Mr. FOX said, that conscious what he felt it his duty to say would be acceptable neither to the Crown, the Prince of Wales, nor the majority of the House, or of the country, he could have no particular inducement to be very forward in troubling the Committee with his opinion. It was necessary to support the splendour of the Crown as an essential part of the Constitution, but he did not understand calling it, as it had been called, the center of the Constitution. The Crown was dear to every man who loved the Constitution, but not dearer than other parts of it, than the House of Commons, the popular branch of the Constitution. To the Chief Magistrate in all Governments, Republics as well as Monarchies, a certain degree of splendour was necessary. This was a point clear from the history and practice of all Governments, but subject to modification, as circumstances might require. There were cases in which the dignity of the Crown might be better upheld by relinquishing part of its accustomed splendour than by a strict adherence to it.—Much had been said of the establishments of former Princes of Wales as precedents. Sorry he was that he could not look to those precedents as the most creditable part of the history of the House of Brunswick. The establishment of George II. when Prince of Wales, had been a mere matter of party, how much more that of his son, Frederick Prince of Wales? The establishment of Frederick Prince of Wales had been at one time 60,000l. at another 100,000l. a year; 60,000l. a year when he happened to differ in political opinion from his Majesty's Ministers, and 100,000l. when he afterwards agreed with them. He had too much respect for the memory of that Prince, to impute to him motives inconsistent with the honour of his high station, inconsistent with the honour of any private gentleman, but the circumstance gave room to suspicions in the country, as injurious in their tendency to the Prince as to the people, for mutual respect and confidence were necessary to the interests of both. What he now deprecated was a conduct on the part of the House that might expose any Prince of Wales to such suspicions. Let all men see that they meant to be guided only by the actual principles of the

... , and not by regard to the individual. Here he must lament the whole conduct of Government with respect to the establishment of his Royal Highness. When an allowance of 50,000l. a year in addition to the Dutchy of Cornwall was proposed, he thought it insufficient. Why then, it would be asked, being one of his Majesty's Ministers at the time, did he concur in that allowance? He concurred, declaring his opinion of its insufficiency, because it was then an experiment, and great deference was due to the opinion of his Majesty, who gave the whole sum out of the Civil List, without calling for the aid of Parliament, and thought that it would be sufficient. A few years after, other Ministers advised his Majesty to apply to Parliament to exonerate the Civil List from this allowance to the Prince. In 1787 an honourable Magistrate (Alderman Newnham) brought forward the subject again before Parliament, when provision was made for paying the debts of his Royal Highness, and 10,000l. a year was added to his income. This was no new experiment, but the result of an experiment already made. He then thought 60,000l. a year in addition to the Dutchy of Cornwall an insufficient allowance; but his mouth was stopped by the terms of the King's message, conveying very clearly both the King's opinion and the Prince's, that it would be sufficient. The declaration of his Royal Highness, that he would give no occasion for any future application to Parliament on a similar account, surprised him not a little. He knew not who had advised him to make such a declaration; but if his Royal Highness at any subsequent period had consulted him upon the subject, he would have said, that, being made, it was a promise which for his honour he was bound to keep. It was, however, the opinion of Ministers, and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in particular, whose duty it more immediately was to form a correct opinion, that 60,000l. a year, in addition to the Dutchy of Cornwall, was sufficient for the splendour of the Prince of Wales at twenty-five, and for reinstating his household which he had dismissed. Upon what principle then did they now pretend to say that 125,000l. a year was necessary? Marriage in the lower classes of life made a great difference in point of expence, but did it any thing like the same proportion among the higher ranks? His Royal Highness before his marriage had a house, and a household; did his marriage require two houses and two households? How then was it possible for those who in 1787 said that 73,000l. a year was sufficient for his expences, to say that 138,000l. must be necessary now? He could not but lament that the same conduct seemed to be adopted with respect to the establishment of his Royal Highness as had taken place with respect to that

of Frederick Prince of Wales; that Ministers measured the extent of his allowance by the degree of approbation he bestowed upon their system of government, and that the House, following them, was to be guided, not by principle, but by circumstances of a very different nature. It might be asked, whether he did not feel such a difference as he supposed Ministers to feel? He would answer, that he did not; that he had never considered his Royal Highness in any other point of view than as the Heir Apparent to the Throne; that he had never looked to his opinions, but to his station. He might then be asked, whether he, who had always thought the former allowances to his Royal Highness insufficient, would not now vote for the larger sum, in preference to the amendment moved by his honourable friend? Undoubtedly he would, and for the reasons he had stated on former occasions, but not without some provision for preventing such applications to Parliament in future. The difference between the present value of money, and the value of it when 100,000l. was an adequate provision for Princes of Wales, required at least an addition of one fourth. He should be answered that the increase of public debts and public burdens, made the country less able to bear large establishments. He admitted and lamented the increased and increasing burdens of the country, but with increase of public debts, let the increase of public means to provide for them be taken into consideration. Let gentlemen look to what he wished Ministers had looked to in 1787, the increased habits of expence in all ranks, and the difference of one fourth would certainly not appear to keep pace with it. His honourable friend who moved the amendment, spoke of the evil tendency of such habits, but was the Prince of Wales the first example they would choose to select for reform, and, in some sort, for punishment? He remembered to have heard a lady, as weak and as frail as the frailest of her sex, say, not ludicrously but seriously, "I am conscious of my faults, but I hope I atone for them by my marked disapprobation of such faults in others." It would ill become him to be very pointed in his disapprobation of imprudent expence in others, but he would say to the City, to Westminster, to the Public at large, "if you complain of increased habits of expence, begin the reformation by reforming yourselves. Reference might be made to the liberality of Parliament to other Princes, to the Crown itself. Whatever they might say about the separation of the three branches of the Legislature, and their independence of one another, it could not be dissembled, that the Crown, having the disposal of all offices civil and military, with the collection of near twenty millions of revenue, must possess great influence in that

House. Would it then be seemly to yield to every extravagance of the Crown, but act harshly and austerely towards a Prince who had no such influence? Something on this occasion might have been expected from the civil list. Queen Anne, from a civil list of 600,000l. gave 100,000l. towards the support of a war, George I. out of 700,000l. a year, gave 100,000l. for the establishment of his heir, and George II. the same sum for the establishment of Frederick Prince of Wales. During the American war, when the country was not certainly in a state of prosperity, Parliament paid a large debt for the civil list, and added to it 100,000l. a year. The sum appropriated to the privy purse, had been gradually increased from 36,000l to 60,000l. a year, why then refuse a proportional increase to the establishment of the Prince of Wales? These arguments he had formerly stated to the House without much effect, and if they produced any effect now, it would be from being enforced by eloquence superior to his. But with the establishment, unfortunately, the business did not end. There were debts, as stated, of his Royal Highness, to the amount of 620,000l. and several other debts for which he was bound. The latter, he understood, much to the honour of those who had contracted them, were already in a course of payment. But supposing the creditors to think the mode of payment too slow, they might call upon the Prince for payment, as well as his own creditors, and therefore, to relieve him from his embarrassments, if to do so was intended, these debts must be put upon the same footing as his own. Hence arose two questions,—Was the Prince well advised in applying to that House on the subject of his debts, after the promise made in 1787? or the Minister justified in making any proposal for liquidating them, without some engagement on the part of his Royal Highness, which might be relied upon as a security against future calls of the same kind? To both these questions he must give a decided negative, and therefore he would consider only what was a proper establishment for the Prince, without noticing his debts.—Here again, a new consideration interposed, viz. that of the Princess of Wales, who had been invited over by the unanimous consent of Parliament and the country, and for whom the House, by its addresses, stood pledged to make a suitable provision. It was in vain to pretend that the House was not aware of the embarrassments of his Royal Highness at the time they gave that pledge; not one of them but knew the fact, although not regularly informed of it by a message from His Majesty. For this reason only he would assent to a plan for relieving his Royal Highness from those embarrassments, but not without an absolute sinking fund, for liquidating the debt

within a reaſonable time. The right honourable gentleman propoſed appropriating 25,000l. a year for payment of the intereſt, at four per cent., although intereſt was at five per cent., and the income of the Dutchy of Cornwall to liquidate the principal, which, according to this plan, would be diſcharged in about twenty-ſeven years. Was this a plan that any man could propoſe ſeriouſly?—Rather let the Houſe own that they did not mean to pay off the debt, than hold out ſuch a mockery Their duty to the Prince and to the Public was the ſame, for in conſulting his dignity, they conſulted the public intereſt. But in what way would his dignity be beſt preſerved? By retaining all the ſplendor of his eſtabliſhment, his creditors unpaid, or by ſetting apart ſuch a portion of it as would liquidate his debts, and atone for paſt diſcretion by future economy? To do this would be his advice to his Royal Highneſs, were he to condeſcend to aſk it in his cloſet. He gave it not, as he then muſt give it, for the ſake of popularity, of which he was no courter, except as it followed an honeſt diſcharge of duty, and which he was never leſs likely to obtain than by the courſe he was taking on the preſent occaſion.

If only 25,000l. were applied to the liquidation of his debts, his carriages, horſes, ſervants, every article of his ſtate, would remind the Public of what it was much better the Public ſhould forget, but let ſuch a reduction as he propoſed be made, and men's feelings woold ſoon take a contrary turn, they would pant for the moment that ſhould reſtore him to the enjoyment of his full income, and when it arrived, view his ſplendour with pride and ſatisfaction, 65,000l. with the income of the Dutchy of Cornwall, would form an adequate fund for the payment of his debts within a reaſonable time. It might be aſked if the Prince could live in a way becoming his ſtate upon 60,000l. a year? He would anſwer, No, nor upon 100,000l. a year, for if he could, Miniſters, upon their own principles, would not be for giving him 125,000l. a year. But for a time he might ſpare his great Officers of State, and other expenſive appendages of his rank, and the Public would gain a beloved and reſpected Prince of Wales. Upon 100,000l. a year he would be expected to maintain his full eſtabliſhment with an inadequate income, and would neither be able to clear away his old incumbrances, nor to avoid new. Upon 60,000l. he would be expected to conſult nothing but his domeſtic ſatisfaction, and the honourable diſcharge of his juſt debts; and when he had once experienced the public eſteem and affection that would ſoon follow ſuch a plan, his future years muſt be proſperous indeed, if he counted the years of his probation the leaſt happy of his life. All this might be done much

sooner, and without expence to the Public. It had ever been his opinion that a land estate was the least proper of any for the Crown, the most objectionable on account of the undue influence it was calculated to create, and the least likely to be profitably managed. The Dutchy of Cornwall, as he was informed by persons well acquainted with it, might be sold for 800,000l.; he would suppose for only 600,000l. The Prince's life-interest in it might be valued at 300,000l. and that sum applied to the payment of his debts. The remaining 300,000l. might be applied as Parliament should think fit: to the future provision for Princes of Wales, if they were so attached to customs, merely because they were old, as to think it worth while to continue that whimsical sort of provision. There would remain 320,000l. of debt, which the fund he had mentioned would pay off in three or four years, when his Royal Highness might resume his state, with the satisfaction that his indiscretions had not cost a penny to any one of those whose fellow-subject he was at present, and whose Sovereign he was one day to be. The middle course proposed by the right honourable gentleman would neither give splendour to the Prince nor comfort to the private gentleman; but above all, the people would see in it no atonement for past imprudence. He approved of taking measures to prevent future debts being contracted, provided the plan was to be general. If it were to apply to the Prince of Wales individually, it would not be a mark of respect but of degradation, if applied to all future Kings and Princes it should have his hearty support. It would relieve Parliament from the difficulty which always occurred when debts were contracted by the Royal family, that unless provision was made for the payment at the public expence, the creditors must lose the money. In making the officers of a Prince responsible for all debts in their several departments, there appeared to be such inconveniences, as he thought could not be obviated. Why had not His Majesty been advised to do something upon this occasion himself? Was it for the interest of regular government that monarchs should never appear to their subjects to feel any portion of the public adversity; that they should grow rich as the people were growing poor? In private families the indiscretion of a son was a misfortune which his family felt, and must make sacrifices to repair. The imprudence they all lamented was partly of this nature, and something might have been expected towards repairing it. 100,000l. would not have gone far in money, but it would have gone far in sentiment. It was not wise in those who talked of the dangers that threaten monarchy, to suffer Kings and Princes to be known only to the people by expences and taxes. A more unpleasant duty he had never

performed in Parliament. The illustrious person whose honour and interest, in conjunction with those of the public, he was anxious to promote, would not perhaps much relish what he had said, if it should be reported to him; but grateful as he was for the personal notice and kindness with which his Royal Highness had sometimes honoured him, he never had spoken, or would speak of him in that House, but relatively to his station, not to his own private feelings. The smallness of his income palliated his debts, and, had it not been for the promise in 1787, might have excused them. All who knew him knew this to have been his constant opinion upon that point. The Prince had not been fairly dealt with, as to the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall during his minority. What the act of Parliament gave to him from his birth, had been applied by successive Ministers to the purposes of the Civil List. It was a miserable plea to say, that they had been expended on his education. Would any man of fortune, whose son had a distinct income, charge him with the expences of his education? He concluded with repeating that he would vote for 125,000l. to the Prince of Wales, but that he would oppose taking any notice of his debts, unless a large fund for liquidating them were appropriated in some such way as he had suggested.

Mr. WILBERFORCE said, in his examination of the question he should entirely lay the debts out of his consideration. As the matter was divided into two points, the establishment and the debts, he should in the present instance confine himself to the former, and throw the latter entirely out of his mind. The question then came to this—What is the proper establishment for the Prince of Wales? The honourable gentleman, who with much eloquence had spoken last, in his opinion, had omitted one consideration very material in this inquiry: he had said nothing of the present situation of the country, and yet it formed in his judgment a material feature to guide their resolutions. We were engaged in a war, the termination of which none of us could predict, and in consequence thereof we are pressed with additional burdens. The ability of the country should therefore be considered, as well as the other points, when the House came to a serious examination of what was proper again to be imposed, for the purpose of granting an establishment suitable to the rank and dignity of his Royal Highness. He had considered the question in his own mind, and must conscientiously declare, he could not afford to vote more than 100,000l. per annum. He had also listened attentively to the arguments used, of the difference of times, and of the increased price of all the articles of life, by which it was impossible to maintain the same state upon the same sum as it

could formerly be done. But, in answer to this, he agreed with the reasonings of a right honourable gentleman opposite. The expenditure of a Prince of Wales could be but little increased by marriage. His house, his servants, his state must be maintained the same, and what was proper for the maintenance of his dignity in one case, must nearly suffice in the other. The present Ministry had thought that 60,000l. was a sum adequate to the object but a short time since, and therefore, when they allowed forty additional thousands for the increased expences of the married state, he thought they allowed an ample provision, even upon their own principle. The maintenance of splendour, glare, and pomp, he could not see to be at all necessary. In other times, when plainness of manners had rendered those things more extraordinary, when, from public simplicity, those things captivated the minds of the multitude, they were more essential than at this day. Now luxury had pervaded the whole mass of the people, and state, parade, and the affectation of dignity had infected the minds of all, he thought, at this time, the best and noblest admiration would be given to a dignified simplicity, and it was the thing which would have more effect upon the minds of men—would more solicit their approbation—more command their attention—and more forcibly demand their applause, than what could possibly flow from the display of splendid equipage, and the adornments of a gaudy and glittering Court. Upon these considerations he was induced to say, that his opinion was, that 100,000l. was necessary and adequate to the station of a Prince of Wales. The honourable gentleman had put it to them, whether they would make that noble personage the sole object of their reform? He thought it would not be wrong, if the provision for preventing future excess were extended to all Princes. In what he said, he consulted the honour and dignity of the Prince, and he was sure his Royal Highness, whatever his present feelings upon the subject might be, would hereafter feel more satisfaction, more comfort and pleasure, than any that could be derived from shew. In that retirement which was proposed, he would enjoy all the comforts and pleasures of life, and would qualify himself for that high situation which he would one day be called upon to fill. His intention was, that the Prince of Wales should have the good inclinations and the hearts of the people, and it was his sincere wish that the feelings of his Royal Highness should accord with the feelings of the country. The right honourable gentleman had told them a ludicrous story of the lady who condemned others, although bad herself: he supposed the lady was not sitting in judgment, she was only giving a character of herself. What should be said to a judge, who would say, "I am

guilty of the same crime for which the prisoner is arraigned, therefore I cannot condemn him." Would this be acting in the execution of his duty? Would he not rather say, "I am bound by a solemn oath to execute the laws, and though a painful duty, yet must I condemn the man who has broke them? They also, as Members of that House, were not to give merely their own sentiments, they were not to be profuse in the disposal of the money of their constituents, they should remember they were delegated to exercise a solemn trust, and whatever their own feelings or sentiments might be, they would discharge that duty which they owed to their constituents. If any thing could add stability to the monarchy of the country, it was that the House of Commons should preserve the respect of the people, while it maintained that, the monarchy possessed the firmest bulwark. He could not here refrain from declaring, he felt the utmost gratitude to the illustrious couple who filled the Throne of this kingdom; their conduct and unblemished morals had contributed much to keep pure the morals of the capital.—While their example was followed, the kingdom would ever reap infinite advantage, for if, on the contrary, levity and immorality were sanctioned by the practice of the Throne, the capital would soon become polluted, and the infection spread itself from thence to the remotest parts of the kingdom, and if ever the fripperies and profligacy of the French were introduced, the consequence would be, that before long a French revolution would follow.

The sale of the Dutchy he condemned, because 300,000l. would thus at once be gone, and successive Princes deprived of their hereditary right. On the first resolution, he said, it was his intention to vote for the amendment. The others did not appear free from objections, and Mr. Fox's mode of liquidating the debts came under this description. With respect to other topics, he should reserve himself till they came more properly before the House.

Mr. FOX rose to explain. He said the honourable gentleman had certainly mistaken what he said. He begged the House to recollect that the Dutchy of Cornwall was only a life estate in the Prince, and that the reversion belonged to the Public. Now said he, if it is agreed to be sold, the Prince will receive what the interest of his estate amounts to, which is about one half, or three hundred thousand pounds. That will go towards the payment of his debts; the remainder will belong to the Public, to be disposed of in any manner which Parliament may think most conducive to its interests.

Mr. D. P. COKE said, that it was his intention to vote for the 100,000l. as moved by his honourable friend, though it was his

wish that the Dutchy of Cornwall should have been disposed of to liquidate the debts of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. But in voting for the 100,000l. he did it in the hope that retrenchment would follow, which would prevent a future application to Parliament.

Mr. POWYS said, in proposing limitations or restrictions upon the income to be granted to His Royal Highness, he hoped he should not be suspected of a want of proper respect for that illustrious personage; but this proposition came forward under circumstances totally unprecedented. In former cases, where a provision was made for a Prince of Wales, the revenue was paid out of the civil list, and therefore Parliament had no right to impose restrictions; but in the present instance, Parliament were voting away the Public money, and to do it with jealousy was their duty.

General SMITH said, he should not feel the slightest hesitation to give his vote for the larger sum proposed: he should even have had no objection if the sum had been larger. He wished the House to take into their consideration the enormous expences which a Prince of Wales was necessarily compelled to incur, which private men, however large their fortune, were exempt from. At the present period, the great increase of price in every article, rendered it proper for the House to make such a fair increase of revenue as would put His Royal Highness upon an equality with his predecessors. He contended, that the reason why his Royal Highness was so involved at present was, that when his establishment was first fixed, it was too small: this compelled him to run in debt, and caused all his subsequent perplexities.

Sir W. PULTENEY disapproved the measure of voting an establishment, and afterwards taking a part of it away. He wished that whatever was done should be openly done, and that the House might tell the Public whatever it was, distinctly and unequivocally.

Mr. ESTE rose to object to the mode of proceeding as irregular, and hoped the House did not mean to vote away so large a sum of the Public money, without making a previous inquiry into the nature of the debts which they were thus called upon to discharge.

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON exhorted the House to be circumspect in their determination on this important question. He could not help thinking the sum proposed was enormous, and, every thing considered, highly impolitic to be demanded. He heartily wished that the propriety of a temporary retirement of the Prince, and a private composition with his creditors, might be suggested to him by that House—a conduct which would be the best proof of respect for the people, and the most effectual means of maintaining

the true dignity of the Heir Apparent to the Crown of Great Britain.

General MACLEOD rose, when there was a loud call for the question. General Macleod complained that a representative of a large county should not be permitted to deliver his sentiments. He was indignant that a Minister should have a clamorous majority, who overwhelmed the sentiments of an independent Member by their vociferous calls for the question. He appealed to the House, if such conduct was decent or proper.—He addressed it, he said, as a representative of the people, and, as such, demanded the attention of Parliament. He was as independent as any man in the House, and had made sacrifices which the Minister could not deny. He was not unwilling that a certain sum should be applied to the payment of the debts of his Royal Highness, on the assurance that a similar application would not occur, but would now content himself with voting for the amendment.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR begged the indulgence of the House for a few minutes. He said, that no gentleman wished more sincerely for an ample provision to the Prince than he did, and as an augmentation to his Royal Highness's income was deemed necessary, he thought the application to Parliament for that purpose highly proper; for the dignity and honour of the Crown of Great Britain could not be said to be supported, if the Heir Apparent was not amply provided for, so as to maintain his consequence and importance in the State. So far he thought it necessary to explain the nature of the vote he intended that night to give, which should be for the larger sum being granted to his Royal Highness. He would, however, add an observation, which, although he could not help making, he nevertheless did not wish the Committee to adopt, or to persuade them of its propriety. His opinion was, that, for various reasons, it would be expedient to institute an inquiry into the nature of the debts which that House was about to discharge, in order that no imposition should be practised either on the Public or his Royal Highness. By such a proceeding, the honesty or injustice of the demands made on him would be properly brought to light; and so fully persuaded was he that many items of the latter description formed a considerable part of the debts, that he doubted not an investigation would be the means of reducing their amount at least one third. So far he was induced to remark, without meaning, in the most distant degree, to dispute the statement made by the Prince, at the same time that he paid a due regard to the interests of his constituents.

Mr. HUSSEY replied to Mr. Taylor, and expressed his surprise that the honourable gentleman should so readily consent to draw on

the Public for the enormous sum now demanded, when there was another fund (the Crown forest lands) which equity, and the necessities of the State, pointed out as the proper one for affording the required relief to His Royal Highness, and which was amply adequate to the purpose. Such a plan, at the same time that it would answer the wished-for end, would be the means of benefiting the country in a very material degree, instead of fixing additional burdens on the people, which the present measure went to accomplish.

Mr. ROBERT SMITH said a few words in favour of Mr. Fox's idea of disposing of the Dutchy of Cornwall. He asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer what ground he had to suppose that the creditors would accept of the payment which he proposed, as it would require so long a period to liquidate their claims?

The House then divided on Mr. Grey's amendment, for allowing an augmentation of only 40,000l. per annum, instead of 65,000l. to his Royal Highness's income, when the numbers appeared,

Ayes, 99, Noes, 260. Majority in favour of the larger sum, 161.

A second division took place on the question for granting 45,000l. for completing the repairs of Carlton House, and 27,000l. for plate and jewels, the numbers on which were,

Ayes, 248; Noes, 99. Majority in favour of the motion, 149.

A third division was occasioned on the proposition for voting 25,000l. to defray the extraordinary expences attending the marriage of his Royal Highness, which was carried by a majority of 141, the numbers being

For it, 241, Against it, 100.

On the House being resumed, the Chairman (Mr Steele) reported progress, and the report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.

*Friday, 15th May.*

Mr. BARHAM gave notice that he would bring forward a motion on the subject of the conduct of the British Commanders in the West Indies, founded on the papers lying on the table, on Thursday se'nnight.

Mr. GREY said, he thought it rather uncandid in the honourable gentleman to fix on so remote a day in the session, when no possible reasons could be given why the motion might not be brought forward on Wednesday or Thursday. The papers had already been laid on the table a sufficient time for the inspection of the Members, and the honourable gentleman himself certainly could not complain

of want of time to make every practicable uſe of them, for he had them full ſix months in his poſſeſſion.

Mr. BARHAM ſaid, he choſe Thurſday ſe'nnight, becauſe it was the firſt open day, Friday next alone excepted; and the reaſon why he did not fix on that day was, that on Thurſday a buſineſs of great importance was to be agitated, which probably would take up the attention of the Houſe to a late hour; and as the honourable gentleman, from his attachment to the perſons concerned, muſt wiſh, as well as himſelf, for a fair diſcuſſion, he could not but agree with him that it was better deferred to Thurſday ſe'nnight.

The report of the Committee on the Prince of Wales's eſtabliſhment being brought up, and a motion made that the reſolution of the Committee be read a ſecond time,

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR roſe to give his reaſons why he had laſt night voted for the larger ſum; it was becauſe he was in hopes that the meaſure for effecting it, propoſed by his right honourable friend, (Mr. Fox) would have been adopted; but he aſſured the Houſe, that he did not vote for the ſum of 125,000l. on the idea of the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the debts of the Prince were to be paid off by ſo very ſlow degrees as to leave ſome of them exiſting for ſo long a time as twenty ſeven years. This, he ſaid, could not be conſidered as relieving the Prince, or rendering his ſituation more eaſy, it was not relieving him in the manner Parliament ſhould do; for it only held out the name of relief, while it left him nearly as much embarraſſed as ever. He wiſhed to throw out for conſideration, notwithſtanding the unpopularity attached to it, whether it would not be better for the Prince and for the Public too, to have the debt put in a way of immediate liquidation, the various items being firſt ſubmitted to the inveſtigation of commiſſioners to be appointed by Parliament, for he thought it very likely, that if fairly aſcertained, they would not amount to the ſum given in that Houſe. He ſaid he was well acquainted with the nature of thoſe tranſactions, and could tell how borrowed money was to be paid, and how articles got on credit were always charged, particularly to a perſon of the Prince's rank. Mr. Taylor then enlarged upon the extortion and frauds to which the Prince was [illegible] exemplified it by the recital of a matter of fact which [illegible] within his own immediate knowledge: "A friend of his, [illegible] the elegance of a pair of buckles in a certain ſhop, went in [illegible] them; the ſhopkeeper demanded four guineas and a half, [illegible] gentleman thinking an exorbitant price, declined giving; [illegible] retaining a wiſh for the buckles, returned in a few days, [illegible] for them, when, to his ſurprize, he was informed that

the Prince of Wales had sent for them, and that the shopkeeper had let His Royal Highness have them for fifteen guineas." It was, therefore, Mr. Taylor contended, for the interest of the Prince and the Public, to ascertain the extent, the nature, and the grounds of the debts; and that being done, the Parliament should pay them, and make the Prince an allowance—sufficiently splendid, but not so splendid as they would, if no such incumbrances existed. As for the plan of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) it would not extricate him, and he would have again to submit similar demands to Parliament.

Colonel STANLEY said, he was not in the House last night, but if he had been, he would certainly have voted for the smallest sum, because he was firmly persuaded that such profuse grants of the public money would produce more serious mischief, more disaffection, and more discontent than all the seditious pamphlets that had yet been published.

Mr. CURWEN gave notice, that he should follow up on a future day what he had said last night, and propose that the whole of the 65,000l. should be applied to the liquidation of the Prince's debts. And one reason of his doing this was, that he was certain many of the creditors would take less than their demand if they were offered prompt payment.

Mr. JOLLIFFE said, he would not dispute but the Prince might live with comfort, and even splendour, on half what was proposed, but for the House to be occupied with disputes whether the sum to be allowed should be 100,000l. or 125,000l. was illiberal. He was sorry, he said, to have heard very severe and unkind things said of the Prince. The right honourable gentleman who brought forward the measure had lamented and deplored the unfortunate circumstances which had given rise to it. Another gentleman had talked of the Prince's breach of promise. Gentlemen should recollect that they themselves were once young, and look to their private conduct, and see whether they should not forgive the most amiable, the most generous, the most accomplished Prince and Gentleman in Europe.

Mr. HAWKINS BROWNE said, he disagreed with the honourable gentleman who spoke last, for he considered 25,000l. a year as a very important consideration in such times as the present; he was therefore for the smaller sum.

General TARLETON thought that His Majesty's Ministers had managed the nuptials and establishment very badly, or, to use a vulgar expression, put the cart before the horse. They should have provided for the establishment before they brought the Princess

over to ſhare in the bad fortunes of the Prince. In private life, no father of honour would agree to the marriage of his ſon, if deeply in debt. This came home, he thought, to the Miniſters, in the preſent caſe.

Mr. WHITBREAD ſaid, ſuch was the complexion of the preſent buſineſs, that there was no perſon who could make any obſervations that were not of a diſagreeable nature. He roſe, however, on the preſent occaſion to aſk, why the proviſion to be allowed the Prince of Wales was to commence from the 10th of October laſt? His Royal Highneſs's increaſed eſtabliſhment did not take place ſo early, and therefore it appeared to him that a deſire was ſomewhere entertained to get poſſeſſion of a ſum of money, and that a fraud had been practiſed upon the Public. An honourable Member had complained that the Houſe were wrong in being ſo liberal to the Princeſs and ſo illiberal to the Prince. If the Prince, exclaimed Mr. Whitbread, is in a ſtate of diſcredit with the Houſe, it is not our fault that he is in that ſtate. I decidedly diſapprove of that advice by which the Prince was induced to come down to the Houſe; for we did not receive from his Royal Highneſs what we conceived to be a ſolemn aſſurance that no debts ſhould be contracted again, and therefore I think that his Royal Highneſs was ill adviſed in putting his ſacred word at hazard, by making a ſecond application to the Houſe. The only way, Mr. Whitbread continued, by which the Prince could retrieve his credit with the Public, was to ſhew that he wiſhed to diſcharge his debts by appropriating a large part of his income. But was it decent in thoſe who adviſed the Prince, or was it decent in the Prince himſelf, to commence his eſtabliſhment, before he knew that the Houſe would conſent to relieve him from the incumbrances under which he laboured? He ſhould certainly vote for the ſmaller ſum. There was, indeed, a ſplendour that ought to be attached to the Heir Apparent; but would that ſplendour or dignity be leſſened, if the Prince were to ſhew a diſpoſition to relieve himſelf from the embarraſſments in which he was at preſent involved? There were virtues which no obſcurity could ſhroud—and there were circumſtances which no magnificence or ſplendour could veil.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, it was impoſſible that the Prince could have entered into his marriage, without contracting a large previous expence. Gentlemen would recollect that he had ſtated the amount of the ſum to be voted for jewels and plate to be 27,000l. Although the actual coſt had been 68,000l. Beſides, it would be recollected that the marriage was expected to have taken place ſooner than it did, and that the Prince, therefore, had been forced to com-

ment his establishment some time before the actual celebration of his marriage; and this was the reason why he had proposed that the increased income should commence from the 10th of October.

Mr. WHITBREAD expressed his satisfaction at Mr. Pitt's explanation, and made some allusion to the difference between the sum to be voted for jewels and plate, and the actual costs of them.

Mr. GREY said, that although the income was to commence from October, the increased expence, on account of his Royal Highness's marriage, had not been incurred previously to Easter. The House would certainly feel no objection to relieve the Prince from his embarrassments, if they saw any promise of future economy. But instead of this, the House had seen that his Royal Highness had already begun to consume his increased income, and had even contracted a debt of 68,000l. before he knew that the House would consent to relieve him from the embarrassments under which he laboured. In the proper stage of the bill, he should move the introduction of the sum of 40,000l. instead of 65,000l. At present, he only meant to move an amendment to that effect, for the purpose of having it inserted on the journals.

The report of the Committee was then read a second time, and the amendment being put from the Chair, was negatived without a division.

Mr. HUSSEY moved an amendment to the report, by inserting the Crown lands as a fund from which the debts of the Prince should be paid.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that this being a question about an annual income, the sale of lands could not well apply to it, and added, that there could be no greater delusion than the notion, that applying the Crown lands to this purpose, would be a saving to the Public; for if applied to this, there could not be other occasions for which they would futurely answer. Introducing it here, therefore, only rendered the affair more complicated and confused.

Mr. HUSSEY, in reply, said, that the Crown lands now answered no end but one, the proper name for which was too harsh for him to utter—influence, or something worse. He wished to see them turned to private property, and cultivated for the general benefit of the community.

Negatived without a division.

*Monday, 18th May.*

General MACLEOD said, that notwithstanding the importance of a subject which had lately been agitated, and was still depending before the House, namely, the conduct and debts of the Heir Ap-

parent to the Crown; notwithstanding his knowledge that another circumstance of great magnitude, and of an extraordinary nature, viz. the irregular and unprecedented recall of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, would be submitted to their consideration to-morrow; notwithstanding the general expectation of the speedy discussion of a matter still more interesting and important, that of war and peace, yet he hoped that day to obtain the attention and indulgence of the House; for he was going to state to them a business infinitely more interesting and important than even any of those to which he had alluded. In submitting to the House the statement and the motion which he should have the honour to make, he was going to call them to a recollection of their most sacred functions, to point out a most daring and flagrant violation of their best and dearest privileges; and to urge them to an effort to preserve their due weight and authority in the constitution. It must be obvious to the meanest understanding, that whether the powers and duties of the House of Commons were legislative or inquisitorial, whether they were controlling over the Executive or Judicial branches of Administration, all the weight of their power and authority depended on their retaining the power of the purse; consequently every attempt to deprive them of that went to the annihilation of their House.

He then stated, that in 1792, during the recess of Parliament, the King had granted to the army an allowance of three halfpence per day for bread, and one penny for sundries; that on the meeting of Parliament, this was stated to the House, and included afterwards in the Extraordinaries of the Army, but it had then been challenged by Mr. Fox as unconstitutional, inasmuch as all grants to the army, or to any purpose, should originate in the Commons. It was then, however, passed by, and now this challenged precedent was made use of to cover a still more extraordinary one of Ministerial power. On the 18th of April, the Duke of York sent a letter, which he read; the War Office sent another; and on the 25th another, all to the General Officers commanding districts, ordering them to give one penny per day to the troops for bread, and to furnish them with meat at fourpence halfpenny per pound, whatever might be the price. That these several allowances, all granted without consulting Parliament, amounted to no less a sum than 760,000l. per annum, taking the army at 100,000 men, which he believed was below the real number; but the Secretary at War having denied him a return of the army, he was obliged to take it at a guess; but whatever was the number, it did not make the least alteration in the principle of his argument or motion. *It was the most dangerous idea that could be proposed for the Constitution, that the*

*King had a right to grant one farthing of money to the army, without the consent of Parliament. He wished to assert this on the broadest basis, and in the strongest terms which the English language could afford.* An abuse of language often led to an abuse of things; he would therefore mention that the army was commonly called the King's army, in some senses it undoubtedly was the King's army; that is, the King, as first Magistrate of the State, was entrusted with the appointment to commissions, with the discipline, with the distribution and stationing, and with the command of the army; so far it was his army, but the existence of it depended on the annual votes of both Houses of Parliament, and its pay could only originate in the annual vote of this House, consequently, any Minister who advised the King to grant any money in any other mode, was guilty of treason against the Constitution. It would not be denied that the King had not the power in himself alone over the national purse; therefore of himself he could not grant the money of the nation to the army: but he would put a still stronger case; the King might have funds of his own; savings from the Electorate, or bequests or gifts from his many Royal relations. Even then, the House ought not to allow him to give one shilling of this to British soldiers, because it was to them alone the soldiers were to look up for pay.

This great principle being discussed, there remained some smaller features of the measure which deserved attention. By the order to Commanding Officers to furnish their men with meat at fourpence halfpenny, two consequences would ensue; namely, the people would pay in a tax the whole amount of the difference of the price; and next, as the meat must be bought for the soldiers at any price, the price must be raised to the community, and thus they would pay doubly. A worse consequence would happen, the soldiers and the people would be arrayed in two most dangerous distinctions; one paying cheaply and the other dearly for provisions; and this seemed a natural introduction to a military despotism. All this might have been avoided, in a manner equally dignified for the King, equally good for the soldiers, and less hurtful for the people; and at the same time the privileges of the Commons would have been preserved. The Ministers ought to have brought down a message from the Throne, stating the necessity and propriety of some further allowance to the troops, and it would have been chearfully and regularly granted. Every body knew that the old pay, having been fixed in the time of Oliver Cromwell or Charles the Second, was now inadequate to the subsistence of officer or soldier; but he repeated, and wished to impress it in the strongest manner, that relief should

come from the Parliament, and not from the Crown. He would therefore move for a Committee of the whole Houfe to confider of the papers which ordered, by the fimple mandate of the King, thefe allowances. If he obtained the Committee, he fhould move in it a refolution that the grants in queftion were unconftitutional. He then read his intended motion, and moved,

"That the Houfe do refolve itfelf into a Committee of the whole Houfe, to take into confideration certain circular orders iffued on the 18th day of April laft, by his Royal Highnefs Field Marfhal the Duke of York to the General Officers commanding diftricts; alfo, circular orders of the fame date fent from the War Office; and alfo, other circular orders fent from the War Office, dated April 25th, all refpecting allowances lately granted by His Majefty to the Army, without the advice or confent of Parliament."

The following are Copies of the Orders referred to in the above motion:

(COPY.)

*York Houfe*, 18th *April* 1795.

MY LORD,

IT having been reprefented to His Majefty, that the prefent allowance of one penny half-penny per day to the foldiers in Great Britain, for the purchafe of one pound and a half of bread, is, from the very advanced price of that article, inadequate to purchafe the quantity fpecified; His Majefty has been gracioufly pleafed to take the fame into confideration; and I have to acquaint you, that it is in contemplation to allow the troops in regard to bread as they would be in camp.

His Majefty has been farther pleafed to fignify his pleafure, that in confequence of the prefent high price of provifions, contracts fhould be immediately entered into by the commanding officers of regiments, for the fupply of meat for their corps, under certain regulations, to be tranfmitted from the Secretary at War; fo as that the expence of meat to the foldier fhall not exceed four pence half-penny per pound.

War Office,
30th April 1795.
W. WINDHAM.

I am,
MY LORD,
Your's,
(Signed) FREDERICK, F. M.

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(COPY.)

Circular.

*War Office*, 18*th April* 1795.

SIR,

THE King having been pleafed, in confequence of the very high price of bread, to direct that his forces, as well in quarters as in barracks, fhall from this time receive their bread at the fame rate as it will

be furniſhed to them in camp; I have it in command (in the abſence of the Secretary at War) to acquaint you, that the difference between the uſual camp ſtoppage, of five pence per loaf, and the actual price will be allowed to the non-commiſſioned officers and private ſoldiers of the troops within your diſtrict, which difference, it is ſuppoſed, will not exceed four pence per loaf, each loaf being of ſix pounds weight, and as nearly as poſſible of the ſame quality with thoſe delivered in camp. You will be pleaſed forthwith to communicate this to the Commanding Officers of the different corps, that they may govern themſelves accordingly.

The extra allowance above mentioned is to be charged in the public accompts of the reſpective corps.

I have, &c.

(Signed) *M. Lewis.*

War Office,
30th April 1795.
W. Windham.

(COPY.)

*War Office, 25th April 1795.*

SIR,

THE price of butchers meat being at this time extremely high, and there being little proſpect of its reduction till the ſeaſon is farther advanced, I have the honour to acquaint you (in the abſence of the Secretary at War) that the King has been graciouſly pleaſed to direct, that the extra price thereof, beyond four pence half-penny per pound, ſhall be allowed to the non-commiſſioned officers and private ſoldiers of the troops within your diſtrict, and be made a charge in the public accounts of the reſpective corps. In making known to the Commanding Officers of corps this freſh inſtance of His Majeſty's goodneſs, you will be pleaſed to caution them in the ſtrongeſt manner to watch over the application of it, and to give the utmoſt attention to prevent any exceſs of expenditure, by taking care that no higher price is given than is abſolutely neceſſary for procuring good and wholeſome meat, ſuch as ſoldiers are uſed to have; and that no extravagance be admitted, either as to the quantity or quality thereof.

I have, &c.

*M. Lewis.*

War Office,
30th April 1795.
W. Windham.

Mr. COURTENAY roſe for the purpoſe of ſeconding the motion of his honourable friend, and glad he was, that this matter had at laſt been brought before the Houſe, for a more daring and unconſtitutional proceeding had never happened in this country.— His honourable friend had expreſſed ſome ſurprize at not ſeeing the Secretary at War in his place this day, and he felt the ſame; however, as on a former occaſion a right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him (Mr. Dundas) had been anſwered for by Mr. Windham,

he ſuppoſed he would have the generoſity to return the compliment to-day. He ſuppoſed the reaſon why his honourable friend, the Secretary at War, was not preſent, was, that he had been againſt the iſſuing of theſe orders; for he obſerved that his name was not to the orders, but that they were ſigned by the Firſt Clerk, or Second Secretary. He well knew his honourable friend valued the Conſtitution, and believed he would not do any thing to violate its beſt and moſt eſſential principles. It was a fixed, a ſettled principle of the Conſtitution, that the King cannot diſpoſe of money for any purpoſe whatever from the pockets of the ſubjects, without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. Here was an attempt to diſpoſe of near a million of money by the King's ſole authority, without any application whatever to Parliament, though it was ſitting at the time. It was a dangerous precedent, and it behoved the Houſe to look to it with a jealous eye. This money was given to the ſoldier as a mere gratuitous donation of the King himſelf, and it was evidently intended thereby to impreſs on the minds of the ſoldiers that it was the King alone, and not the repreſentatives of the people, who, in fact, were to pay the whole, though it was held out as if it came from the hands of the King only. It was a meaſure which he deemed of ſo daring and unconſtitutional a nature, that he thought thoſe Miniſters who adviſed it, deſerved to be impeached if ever any Miniſter deſerved that proceeding to be adopted againſt him. He ſaw no difference between this and the caſe of ſhipmoney, and indeed if the Principle were once admitted, there was no knowing where it would end. He illuſtrated his argument by a quotation from the luminous Gibbon, upon the donatives of the Roman Emperors, whereby the hearts of the ſoldiers were corrupted, and the liberties of the Roman people overturned. In the Roman Emperors, theſe donatives, he obſerved, were more excuſeable, becauſe they concentrated in themſelves the exerciſe of all dominion, but in Great Britain, where the abſolute rule and Government is veſted in the people, or by them entruſted to their repreſentatives, it more eſpecially became their duty and their intereſt to exert their prerogative, and check the evil in its growth. Was it not ſurprizing, he aſked, that theſe allowances ſhould have been granted without the leaſt intimation to Parliament? It had been lately ſaid, that Parliament entertained an inſtinctive reſpect for the meſſage of the King: ſurely then a meſſage might have been brought down by His Majeſty's Miniſters, expreſſive of their intentions when they could have confided in the inſtinctive reſpect and veneration of the Parliament for their ſupport. Formerly the Parliament ſat there to exerciſe their reaſon, but now they obeyed a ſtronger impulſe and

decided by instinct. Reason was a slow comparative faculty, which was formed upon established principles by experience and deliberation, whereas instinct was a bold, intuitive, and subtle quality which distinguishes at a glance, and brutes have the happiness to enjoy it in a greater degree than man. Fortunately for us we have discovered the vast utility of this admirable talent, and henceforward we may hope to act in an *inverse ratio*, and as our reason declines, find our instinct enlarged, so that we may say with the Poet,

> " And Reason raise o'er Instinct as we can;
> " In this 'tis God directs, in that 'tis Man."

Mr. Windham appearing in his place at this time, Mr. Courtenay said, he was happy to see his honourable friend in his place for two reasons first, because he would have an opportunity of disclaiming any share in issuing those circular orders if he really had been against them, and next, because he would save the right honourable gentleman opposite to him the trouble of returning that compliment which the Secretary at War had paid Mr. Dundas on a future occasion. [A loud laugh.] Mr. Courtenay with great readiness said, " *Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurret.* He then repeated what he said in Mr. Windham's absence, and concluded by declaring, that it was with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction that he seconded the present motion.

The SECRETARY AT WAR apologized to the House for his absence at the commencement of business, from which he felt the inconvenience of not having heard all the animadversions directed against himself, and, in consequence, of not being prepared to reply to a great part of what might have been said. The honourable gentleman who had spoken last had drawn from the measure, a great deal more than he thought it contained, he was a good performer, and had fetched from the instrument strains which could not have been expected. For his part he could not discover the degradation to himself, the unconstitutional policy, the danger among the soldiers, or the injury to the people, which the honourable gentleman had described, as attached to the measure. It was a measure dictated by the urgency of the occasion. If there was any degradation in the way in which the orders came to him, it was a degradation inseparable from his office, since they had come through the regular and customary channel of communication. The objections urged might be divided into two parts, first as they applied to the general principle, and secondly to the particular measure. The objection on the ground of principle, if carried to its utmost extent, would equally apply to every allowance in kind. It had always been usual

to give bread to the soldiers while in camp. This was done from the consideration, that Government might, by contract, procure a large quantity of bread more advantageously than the poor soldier could purchase in retail. So, in the present case, Government might be able to find meat at four-pence halfpenny per pound, when the soldier going to market could not have it at the same rate. In a great part of the country there was no rise, which would render it necessary for Government to pay more than four-pence halfpenny, and in the few places where there was a rise, he submitted to the House whether the propriety of granting the relief was not justified by the pressure of the times. As to soldiers purchasing at what prices they please, sufficient precautions were taken against that abuse. The House had now the whole of the fact before them; it was for them to consider whether it was of so serious a nature as to justify the alarm which had been attempted to be raised on the subject. He referred to the precedent of the augmentation which had taken place in 1792. As to the principle, no objection would apply on that score, which would not equally apply to every regulation granting provision in kind.

Mr. FOX said, that the question was exceedingly simple, and on which he conceived there could not be two opinions in the House. The question was, whether, during the sitting of Parliament, it was fitting, upon any pretence of urgency, to grant an augmentation of pay to the army? As to the point of economy by granting provision in kind, that had nothing at all to do with the discussion. The present was a direct addition of pay to the army. His honourable friend had said nothing of the allowance granted for bread. He had confined his remarks to meat, which he had supposed could still in most places be purchased at four-pence halfpenny per pound. He was afraid that such was not the case. With respect to bread, a great advance had unquestionably taken place, the loaf which formerly was sold for 5d. was now sold for 9d. which made on every loaf an advance of 4d. This must necessarily be attended with a very great expence. He would not say that the allowance was improper, or not warranted by the pressure of circumstances, but ought not the relief to have come from Parliament, and not from the Crown? His honourable friend had referred them to the augmentation which had taken place in 1792, he lamented the fact at the time, and much more so, if it was now to be adduced as a precedent. He considered too that the present might be used at a subsequent period, as a pretence for a more alarming advancement. He thought that it was a thing fit to be done in itself, if it had been done in the proper way, not by an interference of the Executive

Power, but by the wifdom and authority of Parliament. If Parliament had not been fitting, the pretence of the urgency of the occafion might then with fome fhew of plaufibility have been urged as a juftification of the meafure. But how could fuch a pretext be brought forward at a time when Parliament was fitting, and when the meafure had taken place not only without their confent, but even without the notification of a meffage? It might at a future period be urged as a pretext for a fimilar advance, that a precedent had been afforded in 1795, when fuch a meafure had taken place, of which no official notice had been given to the Houfe, till they were afterwards called upon to pay the expence incurred in the Extraordinaries of the Army, without having any opportunity afforded them for the exercife of judgement or difcretion. Upon the whole he could not help confidering this meafure as an attack upon the Conftitution, of that nature, which called for the moft ferious attention of the Houfe.

Mr. Chancellor PITT faid, that the right honourable gentleman appeared to have miftaken the queftion, as ftated by his honourable friend. He remarked that he had taken notice of bread, for this plain reafon, becaufe, while in the camp, they were in the habit of receiving the fame allowance of bread. So that in the prefent inftance, the meafure adopted was only accelerating to them a relief under the preffure of extraordinary circumftances, or which they muft at any rate have been in poffeffion in the courfe of four or five weeks. The reafon why no meffage had been fent to the Houfe, was becaufe no eftimate could be made out of the amount of the relief which it might be neceffary to grant. It was entirely a contingent relief, varying according to the circumftances of place and time. He admitted that it would have been more regular to have previoufly conveyed fome notification to the Houfe, but where no eftimate could be made out, nothing was more common than for Parliament to give their fubfequent fanction to a meafure adopted from the urgency of the occafion. If the prefent was a thing right to be done, it was a thing which muft neceffarily have been done without eftimate. He referred to what had taken place in 1792, when the right honourable gentleman had brought forward exactly the fame fort of arguments, and when the Houfe by their filence had expreffed their approbation of what had been done on the occafion. The honourable mover had faid, that it would have been much better to have granted an augmentation of pay, this was furely a ftrange argument, that it would be better to grant an augmentation of pay, which, once given, could not be taken away without hardfhip, than a mere temporary relief in the nature of a loan adapted

to the extent of the occasion, and ceasing with the exigency of the times which gave it birth.

General SMITH said, that what he heard from the Minister this day alarmed him much. It increased the jealousy he always had of Executive Government in affairs of this nature. He thought it ought to increase the jealousy of the House. He never would give his consent to any plan for submitting to the demands of soldiers with arms in their hands, even although they should demand what was their right, because that tended to establish a very bad precedent. If soldiers demanded any thing with arms in their hands, it was the duty of Government to resist them boldly at once, because if the point was once established that soldiers had what they demanded while under arms, they would soon be brought to demand what they never ought to have. His rule, therefore, in such cases, would be to resist and subdue those who thus demanded, and if just, to grant such demands afterwards.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that after what had been just said by an honourable General, it became necessary for him to allude to a fact which applied to the tendency of the argument of the honourable General. Some of the military had, in a particular instance, made demands in the manner alluded to. There was the utmost vigour used on the part of Executive Government to bring the insurgents to a due sense of their duty, and they were all quelled before any thing they asked was granted to them.

General SMITH was glad to hear this. But when the Chancellor of the Exchequer talked of the instance alluded to, he did not take the whole subject into view. Instead of there being only an instance, there were many. The case was general over the country where the military were stationed.

Mr. MARTIN said, he had only a few words to say upon this subject. He was not prepared to say much, were he so inclined, for when he came to the House, he was not aware that this subject was to be debated this day. He heard the honourable gentleman who brought the matter forward. He gave the best attention he was able to his arguments, and also to those of the honourable Member who seconded the motion. They made considerable impression upon him, and he wished to hear them answered. When the Secretary at War arose he expected from his talents and from the situation in which he stood, that a complete answer would be given. The right honourable gentleman had spoken for a considerable time, but after all he said, he must confess, he never heard less said to the subject in the same space of time in his life. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, he formed another and similar ex-

pectation of him; but he must again say, that in his mind, that right honourable gentleman said as little to the subject. This was a measure that appeared to him to be as unconstitutional as any that ever came for discussion before that House. It was a very alarming one. The manner in which Ministers had treated it, made it still more so. It was not, however, new, for every four or five days something hostile to the Constitution came from His Majesty's Ministers, and was always supported by unconstitutional arguments. He hoped there would be a division upon this question, and under that hope he should stay in the House, if it were necessary, until seven in the morning to give his vote upon it.

General TARLETON said, that gentlemen on the other side had endeavoured to involve the question in difficulties which did not belong to it, but they had not touched on the motion itself. Perhaps Ministers had a Constitution of their own, but by the old Constitution of England he understood that the King had the command of the army, the disposition of its discipline, and the promotion of its officers. But that the House of Commons had the purse, by which that army was paid, and the power of voting for its number and continuance, therefore when any addition was wanted, either to the number, or the pay, the House of Commons was the power to apply to, especially when Parliament was sitting. To all Royal donatives to armies he objected, for they had never been much in use, except when they preceded, at a small distance, the downfal of an Empire. The House ought to look at the effect which this measure would unavoidably produce, next year we should have to vote pretty nearly a million of money to pay the expence of it. In one word, it was part of the system which Ministers had long ago adopted, and which had been manifested by the building of barracks all over the kingdom. By the landing of the Hessian troops, and the arguments in support of such measures, all put together, proved that the present Ministers aimed at introducing an entire military government in this country.

Mr. M. ROBINSON approved of the motion. He disliked the influence of the Crown, particularly so when that came from the army. If the pay of the soldiers was found to be too little, it ought to be increased, but he considered any thing given to them as a boon, totally wrong.

Mr. STEEL said, that if all the troops had been in the field on one day, he apprehended there could have been no objection to what had been done. The question now was—Whether, under all the circumstances, what had been done in this case, was necessary? He stated some points in which the expence had been over-

rated, and concluded with declaring, that, in his opinion, there was not the leaſt neceſſity for the motion.

Mr. GREY ſaid, that the amount of the ſum which this meaſure might call for did not appear to him ſo important as the principle which it tended to maintain. That the Houſe of Commons ſhould hold the public purſe appeared to him to be a principle never to be given up. This was exemplified by the uniform practice of Parliament. If the Houſe of Lords made the ſlighteſt alteration in any money bill—a common turnpike-road act for inſtance, the Houſe of Commons, upon principle, invariably rejected the bill. All that part of the argument, therefore, that referred to the ſmallneſs of the ſum, went, in his mind, for nothing, for the principle in this caſe was every thing. Even were it otherwiſe, he ſhould be bound to ſay that Miniſters defended a bad principle by a falſe aſſertion as to facts. The right honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt had ſaid, that if the troops were all in camp, there would have been no objection to the meaſure. How did that ſtand? if it had been for one month in that way, the principle of giving the allowance, without intimation to Parliament then ſitting, would have been the ſame as if they had been all in quarters. and the queſtion was, how far the principle of granting an allowance in this way could be defended? A great deal had been ſaid on the precedent, which ought to make the Houſe cautious how they ſuffered precedents to accumulate, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer had obſerved that a debate aroſe on former occaſions on this ſubject, and as the Houſe had not diſapproved by a vote of the conduct of Miniſters, the ſilence of the Houſe was to be conſtrued into poſitive approbation. If ſuch was to be the conſtruction, the Houſe ought to look at the effect of it. This allowance had been made without any communication to Parliament, and it was for the Houſe to conſider whether that ought to paſs unnoticed. It was ſaid to be impoſſible, from the circumſtances, to prepare an eſtimate. That might be true, but was it impoſſible to make any communication to the Houſe, by way of a meſſage from his Majeſty, ſtating the neceſſity of making ſome additional allowance, leaving the expence to be made good by Parliament, when the amount ſhould be aſcertained? Moſt unqueſtionably nothing could have been more eaſy or more regular. Indeed there appeared to him to be too much management about this buſineſs on the part of Miniſters, to attribute the whole of it to mere accident. If ſuch a grant was neceſſary, which he by no means denied, he ſhould have been ready to vote for it. He did not agree with the honourable General as to the prudence of refuſig what was right, becauſe it was demanded by

men under arms; he thought that if men were driven to the necessity to claim what was right, they ought to be attended to whether under arms or otherwise. But he thought that Ministers had neglected their duty in not making a communication to that House, and therefore he should vote for this motion.

Mr. FRANCIS said, that he should be sorry to let the present business pass without expressing his sense of it, and declaring how little he was satisfied with the pretences set up by the King's Ministers in defence of their conduct. That he wished not to embarrass the consideration of the main question before the House, or to let their intention be diverted from it, by agitating collateral questions, which, though connected with it, were not essential, or not immediately the subject of debate. The question was, not whether the measure in itself was proper or improper, necessary or unnecessary. Neither was it, how far the Ministry might be justified, under pressing circumstances, to take the steps they had done, if Parliament were not sitting. The true question was, whether the King's Ministers were authorized to bring a great charge of any kind upon the public for any service not voted by Parliament, and without the approbation or consent of that House, or any previous application to the House, while Parliament was actually sitting? He said that, if any principle in the Constitution of this Government, or in the institution of the House of Commons, was clear and indisputable, it was that they alone had the command and disposal of the public purse, and that the Crown had not the command or disposal of it for any purpose whatsoever, and least of all, for the purpose of augmenting the pay of the army, by bounties or allowances of any kind. That for the Crown to take upon itself to dispose of the money of the subject, in favour of the military, was not only to invade the essential privilege and duty of that House, but to invade them for the worst and most dangerous of all purposes; that is, to secure the attachment of the army to the Crown, in contradiction to the House of Commons, by making them consider the Crown as the source of every advantage they enjoyed, or expected to enjoy. Such a power in the hands of designing Princes hereafter, or of wicked Ministers now, would soon make the House of Commons odious to the army, and useless to the people. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, that previous application could not be made to Parliament, because the amount of the expence could not be exactly estimated. What then? The object might have been approved—The service might have been voted, and authority given to the Crown to provide for it—But the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that enough was done by resorting to the subse-

quent fanction of the Houfe. Suppofe the Houfe, on ferious confideration of the fubject, fhould refufe to give that fanction, and fhould refufe to provide for the expence already incurred, or fhould order it to be immediately ftopped, what fituation fhould we ftand in then? On one fide, the Crown would entitle itfelf to the gratitude and affections of the army, by acts of bounty, liberality, and patronage, while, on the other, the Houfe of Commons would neceffarily become the object of their revenge. Gentlemen ought to confider ferioufly the confequence of fuffering the two powers to be placed in that fituation with refpect to each other, and of eftablifhing in the minds of the army fo invidious a ground of comparifon between them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had faid that there was a precedent for this proceeding, that the Houfe on a fimilar occafion had paid the charge, and by fo doing had approved of the meafure; Mr. Francis, on the contrary, contended that paying a charge incurred did not neceffarily include approbation. In the cafe of money already fpent, it might be an act of neceffity. The Houfe might have no choice left. The truth of the principle fet up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer would foon come in queftion on another fubject. Suppofing the Houfe fhould refolve to clear away all the incumbrances which had lately been under their confideration, would the Minifter, would any man, affirm, that by difcharging the debt, they approved of the objects, or fanctified the principles on which it was incurred?—Would he fay that by doing fo they eftablifhed a precedent, by which fimilar incumbrances might again be incurred and ought to be provided for? It that propofition could not be afferted, the right honourable gentleman's precedent was of no ufe to him. It proved nothing but that the Houfe had fubmitted in a cafe of neceffity, and that it was fo much more their duty to take care that the Miniftry fhould not have it in their power to appeal to fuch precedents again.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL thought that the only queftion in this cafe was, whether what had been done was prudent? The Execute Government had not in this cafe, in his opinion, taken upon themfelves the diftribution of the public purfe, for the whole proceeding had afterwards been fubmitted to Parliament, and therefore, he thought the motion unneceffary.

Mr. EAST faid, that the queftion before the Houfe was, whether they fhould go into a Committee to enquire? he fhould vote against that inquiry, but not upon the ground that he thought His Majefty's Minifters ought not to have fubmitted the matter to Parliament before it took effect; on the contrary, he thought that they

ought. But the ground of his vote was, that he could not impute to Ministers any improper motive for what they did.

Sir HORACE MANN said, he could not possibly remain silent, after some words had been used which appeared to him to be improper. He could not avoid expressing his disapprobation of the invidious distinction which had been attempted to be made between the Executive Power and the Parliament. Some allusion had been made to the imperial donative; now every gentleman must know that those donatives were the means by which the Emperors endeavoured to overturn the Constitution of their country, no man could suppose, that any Monarch of this country would be inclined to attempt the overthrow of the Constitution, or that any Minister would be found hardy enough to abet his design if he were so inclined.

Mr. COURTENAY said, that what he had observed on the imperial donative, had been misunderstood. The Emperors had the whole of the revenues of the country at their own disposal, and might do as they pleased with it, without overturning the Constitution. He therefore did not cast any reflection on the Emperors. In this country, however, such conduct would be subversive of the Constitution.

General MACLEOD observed, that he was not the cause of any invidious distinction being made between the Executive Power and the Parliament, if the Executive Power had never acted unconstitutionally, the House would not have been troubled with the motion. He was of opinion that the principle and not the expence was the true object of consideration.

Sir W. PULTENEY said, he approved of the measure, though he could not entirely applaud the mode in which Ministers had conducted it. As he did not wish however for the inquiry proposed by the honourable General, and as he was desirous of doing something which would not express his disapprobation of the measure, nor give his approbation of the mode, he should move the previous question.

The House divided.

For the previous question, 67; Against it, 22.—Majority, 45.

The House adjourned.

*Tuesday, 19th May.*

Mr. BARHAM asked why some papers, for which he had moved, were not laid on the table?

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that these papers had never been in the office.

Mr. GREY said, that the Proclamations of Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey not having been acted upon, never were returned to the office. As they were avowed, he had no objection that the honourable gentleman should bring them forward in any other way.

Mr. JEKYLL addressed the House nearly to the following effect. If it were either my habit or disposition to call the attention of this House to matters of light or trivial import, I should but little deserve to obtain a patient and candid hearing for the object which I now propose to submit to their consideration. But as I feel the importance and magnitude of the question, which it is my lot to bring forward on the present occasion, I place some reliance on their indulgence and attention. But as, at the same time, I am sensible that it is a subject which has already in a great degree occupied the consideration both of the Public, and of gentlemen in this House, I shall endeavour as much as possible to study brevity in stating the grounds and motives which have induced me to bring it forward.

[Here Mr. Jekyl was interrupted by a summons from the Black Rod. The Speaker after his return stated that the Royal Assent had been given, by commission, to the Sea Insurance, the Dutch Letter bills, the bill granting relief to inn-keepers, and several other public and private bills.]

Mr. Jekyll proceeded. At the moment that I was interrupted by the summons to attend in the Upper House, I was endeavouring to conciliate the attention of gentlemen, by stating my conviction how much the subject for their present consideration had been both privately and publicly discussed, and the necessity which I thence felt of as shortly as possible intruding upon their time. In bringing forward this question, it may not be improper to declare that I stand, both politically and personally, wholly unconnected with that noble person, whose fate and reputation are involved in the discussion; diapproving even of a great part of his public conduct, and particularly lamenting his secession from that Phalanx, to which, for a considerable time past, I have looked as the salvation of the Empire. But when I consider that the question involves not only the character of the noble Lord, but is connected with consequences that tend to no less than the dismemberment of the Empire, I feel it to be my duty to bring forward the subject to the most serious consideration of the House, and that they are called upon not only by their feelings of what is due to that noble personage, whose conduct has been called in question, but by the strongest motives of patriotism, and their regard to the most essential interest of the country, to enter upon that inquiry, which I shall propose to them to institute. I have always thought that the Public had an interest in

watching over the characters of public men, and in vindicating them from insinuated abuse, and unjust aspersion. Public character I regard as public property, ever to be held sacred, till it has openly been forfeited, and not to be frittered away by indirect attack, or consigned to censure without inquiry. If we are to believe the assertion of the noble Lord, his public character has been impeached by his recal from the high office which he held in the Government of a neighbouring kingdom. And here I hope I am not to be told that the prerogative which empowers the Crown to dismiss its officers at discretion, operates as a bar to any inquiry in the present instance,

I am disposed to subscribe to the just exercise of the prerogative on all proper occasions. But where the House see a Minister stretching the prerogative for particular purposes, and beyond ordinary bounds, I am aware that they are possessed of an inquisitorial power to examine into the grounds of such extraordinary and unwarranted exertion of an authority delegated by the Constitution, and, if they shall find necessary, to confine that prerogative within its fair and natural limits. It is particularly the business of the House to watch over the extention of Court influence to that sister kingdom, whose situation forms the principal object of the present consideration — This jealousy of Court influence is a principle which ought to actuate the Legislature of both countries, and this vigilance to guard against its progress in either, a duty of reciprocal protection which they owe to one another. That on this score there is ground of serious alarm, cannot be denied. Let the House only advert to a question formerly brought by that great lawyer (Mr. Dunning), whose seat I now unworthily fill, and adopted in a resolution, "That the influence of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." It will not surely be contended that the danger is now less than it was at that former period.

Having said so much to the general principle, I shall now more particularly advert to the transaction which has given birth to the present discussion. And I think that it must *prima facie* be admitted that the recal of a Viceroy of Ireland by the Cabinet of this country, at a time that he was acting with the greatest applause of those whom he was appointed to govern, and that addresses from all quarters were heaped on his table, is tantamount to a charge of not doing his duty. On a former day, when the subject was stated by my right honourable friend (Mr. Fox), though I then happened to be engaged in the country on a professional concern, I have understood that the right honourable gentleman declared in his place, "That whenever the period came for investigation, he should un-

dertake to prove that no blame whatever attached to the Ministers of this country for any share which they had in the transaction."—What was this but a charge by implication? If the blame of the transaction did not attach to Ministers, it necessarily must attach to Earl Fitzwilliam. It would indeed have been a more open and manly mode of procedure if the right honourable gentleman had come forward, and charged the noble Lord with obstinacy and contumacy, with disobedience to the instructions of the Cabinet here, or disregard to the interests of the country which he was deputed to govern. But it might, perhaps, better suit the views of the right honourable gentleman to whisper away the reputation of the noble Lord, and to insinuate blame of his public conduct. It would well, however, become the House to reflect that, if this procedure be countenanced, there is no public man whose character is safe, or whose conduct may not be overwhelmed in disgrace or obloquy without the smallest chance of enquiry or vindication. This declaration then of the right honourable gentleman, "that no blame attached to the Ministers of this country," I must consider in every point of view as a charge against the noble Lord. In this light it was considered by the noble Lord himself, who, in a paper which is published with every proof of authenticity, puts a direct and complete negative to the charge. In this paper, which I shall quote as part of my speech*, the noble Earl represents, that, previous to his assuming the government of Ireland, the Duke of Portland, and the whole of the Cabinet, concurred with him in his opinion on the question of Catholic emancipation, and that had he found it otherwise, he never would have undertaken the government. Under this conviction he sets out and arrives in Ireland: he there finds it impossible, both from the situation of the country, and the opinion of the most respectable individuals, to resist the immediate discussion of the question.—And here it is material to attend to dates. He writes two letters to the noble Secretary of State, stating to him what was the situation of the country, and the mode of procedure which he should in consequence find himself compelled to adopt. Of neither of these letters was any notice taken, and the noble Earl drew the conclusion which any rational man would have formed in the same circumstances, from the silence of Ministers, namely, that their silence gave consent. Four weeks were suffered to elapse before the noble Earl received a letter from the Duke of Portland, putting a direct negative on the business. At last comes out the *fons malorum*;

* Vide the two Letters of Earl Fitzwilliam, to the Earl of Carlisle, in the proceedings of the House of Lords, of the present session.

the noble Earl had thought necessary as a measure of his government to dismiss from office the family of the Beresfords, who, whatever might be their claims in other respects, were at least no favourites with the Public. And here I cannot help noticing a piece of conduct adopted by the right honourable gentleman in the management of this business, the Duke of Portland is the person selected from the rest of the Cabinet, on this occasion, to wound the fame and the feelings of his friend. This is a refinement of cruelty, in which the right honourable gentleman excels, it was not enough simply to murder the reputation of the noble Lord, the hand of a friend must be directed to plunge the dagger in his bosom. The Duke of Portland, connected with the noble Earl by habits of early friendship and old political connection, appeared to be the fittest instrument of the cruel and insidious policy of the right honourable gentleman. "Cruelly," says the noble Earl in the paper to which I have referred, "Cruelly as the Duke of Portland has treated me, I feel no difficulty to say, that his judgment was deceived before he abandoned me: on whatever ground he has suffered himself to be induced to change his former opinions respecting the politics of this country, and the characters and views of its principal personages, he did change those opinions, and, in consequence of that change alone, he has been driven to consent to the measure of my instant recal." At last the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself comes forward, and tears off the veil. In a letter addressed to Earl Fitzwilliam he tells him openly the grounds of his removal. He says, "that on the subject of arrangements, he felt bound to adhere to these sentiments, not only with respect to Mr. Beresford, but to the line of conduct adopted in so many instances towards the former supporters of Government, by these sentiments he must, at all events, be guided, from a regard to the King's service, and to his own honour, however sincerely he might lament the consequences which must arise from the present situation." Here the interest of the Beresford family, and of the former supporters of Government, is held out as the only ground of dissention, the question of the Catholic emancipation appears to be a mere stalking horse assumed by Ministers for the convenience of the occasion, while at the same time every hireling paper on the side of Ministers was representing the conduct of the noble Earl on that question as a source of the most serious alarm to Ministers, and as pregnant with consequences the most mischievous to the country in which it was agitated, consequences which could only be obviated by the immediate removal of the noble person from office. All the while, says Earl Fitzwilliam, it was the object of the right honourable gentleman "not to strengthen Admi-

niſtration by an acceſſion of character, but to debaſe, degrade and diſgrace that character; he did not wiſh for our aſſiſtance, but knowing the importance we gave to the ſyſtem then purſuing relative to France, he ſnatched at the opportunity, and made that the means of diſgracing our characters, and rendering us fit for no other ſervice but to be his vile tools and inſtruments." If this turns out to be the fact, a ſcene of more groſs duplicity, of more ſcandalous dupery, was never exhibited by an artful and intriguing Miniſter in the moſt credulous or corrupt periods. Here then was a virtual charge, and a recrimination upon which to found an enquiry. But this is not all. In another place, to which the etiquette of Parliament does not allow me more particularly to allude, a noble perſon (Lord Weſtmorland) came forward, and diſſolving all the regard which had been ſo affectedly attached to the oath of ſecrecy of a Cabinet-Miniſter, ſaid that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom he called by an ordinary and coarſer name (we ſuppoſe the plain appellation of Mr. Pitt), had aſſured him, "That Earl Fitzwilliam had no authority whatever from Miniſters in this country for taking the ſteps which he had done on the Catholic queſtion:"—nay, he went farther, and ſaid, "That they were ſteps taken not only without their authority, but even with their poſitive diſapprobation." Mr. Ponſonby, in the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, broadly ſtakes his reputation, "That all meaſures adopted with reſpect to the Catholic queſtion, under the adminiſtration of Earl Fitzwilliam, were taken with the previous concurrence of the Cabinet of this country." Here then we have the charge, the defence, and the recrimination. Under theſe circumſtances, will the Houſe decline to go into an enquiry, on a tranſaction which involves the public character of a diſtinguiſhed nobleman, perhaps the diſmemberment of the empire, and, at any rate, a great and important conſtitutional queſtion? Perhaps it was the intention of the right honourable gentleman to degrade the character of public men in the eyes of the nation. It might be part of his ſyſtem to degrade all thoſe with whom he acted. Where now are his original friends? The degradation of his new allies, he might conſider as the beſt ſecurity for their future ſupport. He might feel it to be his policy to degrade others, as it was only from the degradation of others, that he could himſelf poſſeſs pre-eminence. This ſyſtem he had in many inſtances attempted to practiſe, though in all he had not been equally ſucceſsful. The public voice had reverſed the imperious decree, and attached to a removal from office, by that right honourable gentleman, a ſentiment very different from that of diſgrace. Did he diſgrace the Duke of Leeds, when his conduct was too raſh to ſuffer that noble perſon

to remain in the Cabinet,—when, to the immortal honour of the noble Secretary, he refused to plunge his country into a war with Russia? Did he degrade, though the attempt was made, the manly and learned Lord (Thurlow) who held the seals, when he dismissed him, because he would not lend himself to some dirty job, some new forest bill brought in by some person too insignificant to remember by name — some clerk I believe of the other House of Parliament? Was any presumption of disgrace to be formed from the removal of the Duke of Richmond from the Board of Ordnance? Let another person (Mr. Windham), whom I have seen writhing and agonizing, under the new friendship he has formed, during the whole of the session:—Let him beware — perhaps he is to be the next victim of chicane and duplicity. Here it may be proper to advert to the unhappy situation of Ireland. The age of bigotry is now over, a difference of religious opinions is no longer considered of that consequence which was attached to it by the mistaken and intolerant policy of former times. Of four millions of inhabitants in Ireland, three and a half are estimated to be Catholics, let us recollect the advantages we derive from that country, with respect to our fleets and armies, and then say, whether we ought to refuse to indulge a body of men those enjoyments, to which, from their natural, moral and religious rights, they have the most undoubted claim? But not only have these common privileges been refused under former administrations: oppression has been aggravated by insult, a fallacious hope has been lately held out to them of relief, and they are now to be driven to despair. They are now distinctly told, that they are not to look for any redress, and at what moment is this line of conduct adopted to this numerous and aggrieved body of men? At the moment that France has become a great and warlike nation, and is likely to remain warlike for ever do Ministry suppose that at such a moment, they may safely venture to reject the just claims of the sister kingdom, and spurn from them their delegates, without even deigning an answer to their remonstrances? Have they so soon forgot the example afforded by America on a similar rejection of her claims, and the consequences that followed from the contemptuous treatment of Franklin. Had they not already plunged the nation into a most disastrous war, on a mere point of etiquette, because forsooth their pride would not stoop to acknowledge Chauvelin as the Ambassador of the French Republic? The language of conciliation, I well know, is not pleasing to the right honourable gentleman, but I will frankly tell him, that if it is not adopted in this instance, that he may perhaps lose Ireland. I will not say, that I see as yet any insurrection in the country; but I see a sulky

and fullen fpirit of difcontent, which may ultimately be more dangerous. I may be told that the government of Earl Fitzwilliam is to be fucceeded by a government of fencibles, and that five men and a corporal may march through Ireland, as formerly it was faid that a regiment of cowards might march through America, without danger or moleftation.

Such boafts may indeed be made in the infolence of long-eftablifhed and unrefifted power, but the Irifh are a brave and generous people, eafy to be led, but hard to be driven. The confequence of fuch foolifh and boaftful language may be, that the jewel of Ireland may be torn for ever from the Britifh crown, which will then only retain, as a fubftitute, the paltry bauble of Corfica. Corruption, it was to be lamented, had in former times exifted in Ireland to a very great degree. But what muft we think of the Minifter, who attempted to make corruption the cement of the Government, who preferred the interefts of a junto, to the welfare of a nation, who wifhed to govern through families of monopolifts, inftead of teaching the country to look to their common Father, and fought to eftablifh his authority by corruption and intrigue, rather than looking for its fupport in the affection and confidence of the people! Why is the church of England eftablifhed, but becaufe it is the religion of the greater part of the inhabitants, and what danger could arife to the Proteftants of Ireland, from a participation of privileges with their Catholic brethren? Strange, that, when Minifters might hold Ireland united to this country by a chain of iron, they fhould prefer to hold it by a very thread! I truft that I fhall not to day hear, in oppofition to the motion, with which I fhall conclude, the common place topics of the prerogative of the Crown, the neceffity of State fecrecy, the delicacy of the tranfaction, and the danger of any expofure of correfpondence on public bufinefs. If this veil of State fecrecy is always to be obtruded before our eyes, there is an end of all refponfibility on the part of Minifters. My motion will not go to command the whole of the correfpondence of Minifters, but only fuch parts as may be fufficient to explain the tranfaction, and which they, no doubt will take care to garble and mutilate in the firft inftance. In another place fomething was faid about the Coronation Oath, as prefenting an obftacle to the meafure of Catholic emancipation: but, I will afk, Has His Majefty violated his oath, by the Conftitution granted to Quebec; by the eftablifhment of the Roman Catholic religion in Corfica, and of the confequent communication with the Pope, whofe Nuncio was avowedly entertained in the country? Does Corfica, which is thus exclufively favoured, fupply the Britifh navy with feamen, or fend her abfentees to enrich

England, by spending their incomes drained from her opulence or industry?

Mr. Jekyll proceeded to remark on the circumstances of the times, which rendered the conduct of Ministers towards Ireland particularly impolitic and dangerous. The country was at the lowest ebb of misfortune, and so far from being united in sentiment, that a war carried on with approbation of a majority in that House, was reprobated as ruinous by the great body of the people. In what object of their policy had Ministers succeeded? They had commenced the war in order to destroy the French Republic—the Republic was now established—In order to save Brabant to the Emperor, and Holland to this country—Both were lost, and not only lost to the confederacy, but in alliance with France. The East Indies were in circumstances of danger. The West Indies exhibited a scene of defeat. Was this the moment to refuse their just rights to three-fourths of a great people, to alienate their affections, and endanger their allegiance? He should also have expected that a Minister who came into power on the avowed system of diminishing corruption and influence, would not have attempted to increase it in the manner which he had now done. Ten years, perhaps, of continuance in office, might have caused considerable change in his sentiments—many changes, indeed, had been observed in him. He had come into Administration testifying strong disapprobation of coalition, yet he had lately formed a coalition, not as might be conceived for the purpose of strengthening Government by an accession of character. No, he seduced only to betray and disgrace, formed a coalition only to degrade the characters which composed it, then, like a libertine with a cast mistress,

> "Whistled them off, and let them down the wind
> "To prey at fortune.

He sincerely hoped that the House, in the case before them, would exert their censorial power, which had been vested in them for very wise purposes. He was of opinion that changes might be made, without disgrace, in ordinary and common cases, yet that in no great cases could a change be made, of which the cause was apparent on the face of it, without disgracing in some degree the person dismissed. He thought that a noble Lord (Hood) then in his place, would do well to demand an inquiry into the cause of his dismission, which he confessed he thought disgraceful. Even under the military law, which was by much the worst in the country, a common sentinel might demand a court-martial, to inquire into his conduct; yet a man in one of the highest offices of the State was denied common

justice. Perhaps the noble Admiral himself might be refused an inquiry if he should demand one. As to any danger which might be apprehended, he could not see how any was to arise from what had already been so much discussed, except a danger which, he believed was the only one apprehended, a danger to those who wished to veil their actions from the public view, because they were conscious that they could not bear inspection. As to the delicacy of the question, he confessed he knew of no delicacy which could lead to the refusal of an opportunity of clearing the character of an estimable man who felt his reputation injured. If Lord Fitzwilliam was really guilty, he ought to be accused and censured, but if, said Mr. Jekyll, the Catholic question has been made the colourable pretext of the removal of the noble Earl, while the real object of the Minister has been to degrade his character—If that noble person has been vilely calumniated with respect to his public conduct, and is now refused the inquiry necessary for his exculpation, there is no disgrace which present times or posterity ought not to heap upon the head of a Minister, who, while base enough to inflict the deepest injury, has at the same time insolence to reject every demand for that redress, due to the wounded feelings and insulted character of the noble Lord.

Mr. Jekyll then moved—

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before this House such part of the correspondence between His Majesty's Ministers and Earl Fitzwilliam, late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as relates to the motives and grounds of his recal from the Government of the said kingdom, during a session of Parliament, in which the two Houses of Parliament had voted their confidence in him, and of their approbation of his conduct, and with a munificence unexampled, had granted supplies for the general exigencies of the State.

Sir WILLIAM MILNER seconded the motion, and bore ample testimony to the honourable character of Earl Fitzwilliam. He thought an inquiry was highly necessary to satisfy the public mind upon this important subject, and he trusted that inquiry would not be refused.

The motion being read,

Mr. POWYS said, he was particularly anxious to deliver his sentiments upon this subject, before the speech of the learned gentleman who made this motion should make that impression which it was calculated to produce, and excite feelings of asperity which might perhaps prevent the House from going into a discussion of this

kind with perfect fairness. He begged leave to put it to the House, whether it would become their wisdom to entertain a motion which must be admitted to be a vehicle of general invective against His Majesty's present Ministers. What advantage, he would ask, could be derived to the nation at large, or to the respectable individual more immediately concerned, from the inquiry now proposed? With regard to the noble Earl who was thus concerned in this subject, he confessed he could not say he had lived in any habits of confidence or friendship with him, but he had known him long enough both in public and private life, to respect him highly.—He knew the amiableness of his character as a private man—he knew the soundness of his political principles. If he conceived this inquiry essential to the character of that noble Earl, he should not be prevented from voting for it by any consideration whatever, unless he had been compelled to refuse such an inquiry from a sense of his public duty. He objected to this inquiry, because granting it, would imply there was criminality somewhere. Indeed the learned gentleman who made the motion stated in part of his speech, that criminality had been imputed by Ministers to the noble Earl, by the manner in which they had acted on the subject of his recal. It was because he did not believe this, that he objected to the motion. He knew that the noble Earl was appointed to an high and important station under the Government of this country. That appointment met with the general approbation both of Ireland and of this country. He knew, and he felt that very shortly after this appointment, a fatal difference of opinion arose between His Majesty's Ministers and the noble Earl, which rendered it impossible for him to continue, consequently he returned. He was far from stating, that the loss of such a person, either to this country or to Ireland, was not a very serious thing, but he must be allowed to add, that there was no blame imputed or imputable to the noble Earl. Where had he been blamed? In the newspapers? Was he the only person who had been treated with scurrility by them? Administration had had that honour as well as the noble Earl, and the charge brought against him through that medium the noble Earl had in another place boldly stood forward, and called for accusation, if any there was against him. What was the answer? That there was no accusation whatever against him, and there the matter rested. A noble Duke chose to stand forward in another place, and to call for an inquiry. What was the language held in answer to that application by His Majesty's Ministers? Did they not in the most clear terms bear testimony of the character of the noble Earl? What farther could be required, for really the noble Earl must now

consider himself to be justified? What sort of justification could he receive from a discussion in that House, with such materials as they should have before them? Now, supposing the inquiry to be gone into, he should wish to ask what was to be the result of it; were we to look to the reinstatement of the noble Earl? That he would dare to say would not appear wise in the opinion of the noble Earl or of the Public. Was it to remove His Majesty's present Ministers, who had been the authors of his recal?—Admitting blame to be imputable somewhere, that blame could not be made the ground of his recal, nor should it be a ground, perhaps, of removing Ministers. Another objection occurred to him; and he would state it thus:—Was it for that House to pass judgement on the proceedings of the sister kingdom?—Was it a matter of sound policy for that House to dictate an opinion on the Legislature of Ireland? The learned gentleman had stated a principle, which, if true, proved the Constitution of this country to be very different from what he ever thought it. He had stated, that every man who was removed from any office under Government was disgraced, if he had not an inquiry into his conduct. He begged leave to dissent from that principle. If every person thus dismissed was to be considered as stigmatised, there would be a wide field indeed for the inquiry of that House. He could not help taking notice of the manner in which gentlemen had been alluded to, who had lent their assistance in Parliament to Administration. If they were to be stigmatised as deserters, he could not agree in the appellation. He thought that the event of their having so joined Administration was the best part of our history. He thought that this motion was calculated to disunite friends, instead of being serviceable to the country; but, he hoped, the majority of the House would feel they were engaged in a different cause. They had a common cause to maintain, and that was of superior importance to this—superior even to the Unity of the Empire itself. In that cause, he trusted he might look upon the noble Earl as one of their distinguished leaders. He trusted the majority would join with him, in endeavouring to heal the wound, instead of increasing it. In this hope and expectation, Mr. Powys declared, he had, without consultation with any one, formed a determination to take the best steps, which, in his opinion, could be taken, to pass by this discussion, and therefore he now moved the order of the day.

The question for the order of the day being read from the Chair;

Mr. FOX said, he certainly could not, like his learned friend who made this motion, allege he had no particular intimacy or ac-

quaintance with the noble Earl; he could not poſſibly deny, that, through the whole of his political life, he had a friendſhip for the noble Earl, a friendſhip and an intimacy in private, and, until lately, a connection in political affairs; a friendſhip formed on ſuch a baſis that no difference of opinion upon any ſubject cou'd entirely do away. He thought he had a right to ſay, and he expected to be believed when he ſaid that, however great ſuch friendſhip might be, it could not warp his political opinion, nor affect his political conduct, for, however pleaſing the preſervation of that friendſhip and connection might be, he had never ſo regarded them as not to conſider them inferior to the conſideration of his public duty, againſt which he never had nor ſhould place any thing in competition, therefore, this good he hoped would reſult to him, that as he had been ſo unfortunate as to differ from that noble Earl upon political topics, the Public would have no doubt that he was actuated by pure principles in endeavouring to promote the inquiry which was now propoſed. This inquiry was called for upon two grounds which were diſtinct from each other. Firſt, with regard to Earl Fitzwilliam perſonally, ſecondly, with regard to the intereſt which the Public had in the inquiry. The firſt of theſe was certainly the leaſt important; but even ſuppoſing that the firſt was the only ground, he was of opinion it would have been ſufficient to call upon the juſtice of the Houſe to accede to the preſent motion. He ſaid, he could not go the length of agreeing entirely with his learned friend, that a diſmiſſion by adminiſtration of any individual muſt be regarded as a perſonal cenſure; but he agreed entirely that in this caſe an attempt had been made by His Majeſty's Miniſters to convey ſome cenſure on the character of the noble Earl. He allowed that the prerogative of the Crown to diſmiſs its officers, was ſuch as not upon all occaſions to be queſtioned, but when exerciſed in an extraordinary manner it became the duty of that Houſe to inquire into that exerciſe; and although he did not allow that every diſmiſſal conveyed a cenſure upon an individual diſmiſſed, yet he could not go the length of ſaying, that no circumſtances under which a perſon may be diſmiſſed could convey a ſtigma. In this caſe, he believed, the common ſenſe of mankind was, that Miniſters had, in the manner in which the noble Earl had been recalled, attempted to caſt a ſtigma upon his character. There muſt be one of two reaſons for the diſmiſſal of the noble Earl; either that he exerciſed his power as Lord Lieutenant very improperly, or that he miſunderſtood his inſtructions. Some ſtrong reaſon the Public muſt expect to have occaſioned his recal, ſince it was a circumſtance attended by great public inconvenience, great public riſque, and many very ſtrong remonſtrances. Lord Fitz-

william told us that he was dismissed, not from misunderstanding his instructions, or for making improper use of his power, but for acting, as he had been taught to think, in the manner which was the most agreeable to his employers. He told us that he had been dismissed for acting in direct conformity to the instructions he receiv-ed from the Cabinet of Great Britain. But, if what had been declared in the Parliament of Ireland was true, he acted not only contrary to the intentions of those who employed him, but with great imprudence and impropriety. If this be true, he was guilty of a great crime, for imprudence in a character of such eminence was a great crime. Here, therefore, Earl Fitzwilliam and Ministers were at issue. The parties differed upon the fact, and it was right for the Public to know the real truth between them. Earl Fitzwilliam understood his recall as a stigma on his character. It was true, that the act itself might or might not be a stigma, because that depended on the circumstances that created it. But surely, in the common sense of the thing, the recal must be deemed a disapprobation expressed by the censure of His Majesty's Ministers with respect to the conduct of the noble Earl, and that too of the most extraordinary kind. Here Mr. Fox proceeded to read some parts of the letters of the noble Earl upon the subject, wherein he states the understanding between him and the Cabinet upon the question of the emancipation of the Catholics: and wherein he justifies himself for the part he had taken upon that subject, Ministers alledged there was no such understanding between them. Now the question for the House to inquire into was this, was the statement of Earl Fitzwilliam true or false? To ascertain this was the object of the present motion, and it was an important object. The character of the noble Earl had been said to be unsullied. He hoped, he trusted, and he believed it was. But why was it so? It was from the impotence of his enemies; for, if their conduct had been right, the character of the noble Earl, instead of being unsullied, must have been highly criminal, as they had given to the public more than insinuation upon that subject. It had been alledged also, that this motion tended to excite animosities, particularly by the honourable gentleman who spoke last. He disclaimed all ideas of exciting animosity. Many of the parties in this dispute had been old friends, and while he was a friend of theirs, he saw them always as brothers. In their old friendship and connection he witnessed nothing but honour, confidence, friendship, and attachment. It was only after they had got into their new company, that they found discord, distrust, and animosity. Such was the fate of their new connections. Had the noble Earl continued united with his old

friends, he would not have been brought into his present disagreeable situation. But when he formed his new connections, he found he had got into a family compact, with whose principles it was impossible for him to agree. The consequence was, that the parties quarrelled, and bitterly accused each other. He remembered the time when it was fashionable to accuse certain gentlemen of having formed a political connection, which was supposed to be a species of aristocracy, hostile both to the prerogative of the Crown, and the interests of the people. He always thought that observation ridiculous, but if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ever any real apprehensions of the danger of such a coalition, he had acted wisely in the last step he had taken upon that subject, for, by entering into a coalition himself with some branches of all parties, he had completely destroyed any danger from them all. With respect to the other part of the subject, which he owned appeared to him to be the most important one, namely, the interest which the public had in this enquiry, he must observe, in answer to the question, For what purpose was this subject to be discussed? that the public had a right to complete information as to those persons whose conduct had created such public inconvenience. If mischief had been done, if danger had been occasioned, it was fitting the public should know to whom it was owing, it must be owing to His Majesty's Ministers or the noble Earl. Nothing could clear up that point but the inquiry proposed in the motion now before the House. Then certain gentlemen came with a cavelling to the whole subject, they object, they objected to this inquiry because they did not know that the result might not be that of removing His Majesty's Ministers. Upon this he owned it did not appear to him that if Ministers should, upon this inquiry, appear to deserve the censure of the House, they should therefore necessarily be removed.

The honourable gentleman who spoke last had gone so far as to say, that even if it appeared to him Ministers had misconducted themselves, he should not vote for this enquiry, for the cause in which they were engaged was more important than even the union of the empire. Now he wished the House to mark the end of this, for under such a principle no enquiry could ever take place, the cause in which we were engaged, according to this doctrine, must supersede every other subject. Let the Public know that this was the sort of answer that was to be given to all questions, when the conduct of His Majesty's Ministers was proposed to be discussed. If this was to be really the practice of that House, he thought it was but fair for the House at once to say so, instead of betraying their constituents, by pretending to hold a power of inquiring into

any circumſtances relative to the conduct of the ſervants of the Crown. It would be better and more honeſt, at once to ſay that the functions of Parliament ſhould be ſuſpended until the end of the war, than to ſit there day after day to act mockery after mockery, and to pretend to have any idea of enquiring into any thing, the poſſible reſult of which might be the removal of the King's Miniſters. Much has been ſaid of the dangers of ſuch inquiries as theſe. He was of opinion that the greateſt of all dangers that could poſſibly threaten a free ſtate, was that of Miniſters being enabled to go on, without cenſure, with any plan which their ambition, folly, or madneſs might ſuggeſt, this was the danger which threatened this country, it was from this we ſuffered, were now ſuffering, and he feared were ſtill doomed to ſuffer much calamity. He would ſay, that the imagination of man could not conceive any thing more injurious to the true intereſts of this country, than that of refuſing an inquiry into the conduct of the Miniſters of the Crown, merely becauſe ſuch inquiry might lead to their removal. It was this, as he had before ſtated, had brought on all our diſaſters. He would aſk the Houſe to look at the ſituation of this country in the year 1792, and to compare it with our ſituation now, and then to tell him whether they thought it poſſible for diſtreſs to have been more dreadfully accumulated upon us by any combination of misfortunes. Let us, therefore, reflect upon our ſituation, and let the Houſe adopt the old practice of a good Houſe of Commons, entertain its conſtitutional jealouſy, and inſtitute inquiries independent of all conſiderations, as to the reſult leading to a removal of any Adminiſtration Here Mr Fox compared the diſmiſſal of Earl Fitzwilliam with the reſignation and diſmiſſion of Lord Carliſle, Lord Temple, Lord Northington, and others, and pointed out the difference between this and all of them In the caſes of all thoſe noble perſons, the diſmiſſals and reſignations aroſe in conſequence of the change of Adminiſtration, and therefore, they differed entirely from the preſent caſe. Some perſons might perhaps object to this motion, as the very words of it conveyed an idea, that it was dangerous to ſuffer any inquiry whatever to take place, as it ſtated circumſtances, which went to infer that Ireland was in danger. The conduct of Earl Fitzwilliam was certainly very dangerous. But to whom was it dangerous? To the people of Ireland? By no means. It was dangerous only to the few individuals whoſe plan it was to govern Ireland by corruption: it was dangerous to thoſe who held the intereſt and the ſentiments of the people of that country in contempt, and therefore the cauſe of the removal of the noble Earl upon that principle was eaſily perceived. The noble

Earl was, he believed, the only person who had the good fortune to obtain the applauses of all the Catholics and Dissenters of Ireland; the only person who, since the accession of the House of Brunswick, had been able to unite all parties in that kingdom, and that, circumstances, perhaps, to His Majesty's present advisers, was a sufficient reason for his recal. Here Mr Fox entered into a short history of facts with regard to the administration of Earl Fitzwilliam in Ireland, as also of the applications which were made to the Throne by delegates from that country on behalf of the Catholics, and maintained the right which the House of Commons of this country had to institute inquiries into public matters which related to the interests of both. He was of opinion, that what had been allowed to the Catholics in that country and in this, so far as it went, was highly proper, but that while there was any distinction made between them and the Protestants with regard to political rights, they would still continue to have claims upon the justice of the Legislature.—His opinion, indeed, was well known to those who had done him the honour to attend to him: it was, that at all times, in all countries, and upon all occasions, there should be no distinctions in political rights, on account of religious opinions. He thought that the prejudices of the people were, generally speaking, worthy of attention. But when prejudices bent against the general principles of toleration, he did not think them entitled to much respect. What was the case in Ireland when Lord Fitzwilliam became Lord Lieutenant? When he arrived in Ireland, he found the Protestants so far from having any alarm at the idea of the emancipation of the Catholics, that they all wished for it, even when his recal was known to be about to take place, there was only one place in the whole kingdom where alarm was affected to be felt, in consequence of the plan proposed in favour of the Catholics; and even there the vote upon that occasion was carried by a small majority, and therefore it was demonstrable, that the almost unanimous wish of the people of Ireland, was for the entire emancipation of the Catholics. Nor was this wonderful, for the people of Ireland had sense enough to distinguish between the effects of slavery and emancipation. It was said that no man could wish to see, under the present circumstances, Lord Fitzwilliam restored to the government of Ireland. That the noble Earl, considering his recent experience, would be very willing to hazard again his comfort, his character, his reputation, under the controul of those who had already betrayed him, was very doubtful; but he confessed, from what he knew of the disposition of that Nobleman, he would be as ready to sacrifice every thing that related to his own ease for the

public good, as any man in the kingdom, but yet he thought, after what had already happened, he muſt heſitate a good deal before he would ſay, I am ready to go to Ireland during the continuance of the preſent Adminiſtration. Such an event would certainly be deſirable, for the noble Earl was popular throughout the whole kingdom, which was evident from the addreſſes of all conſiderable towns, from Belfaſt to Cork, and alſo from what had paſſed in the city of Dublin. To pleaſe every man was impoſſible, but Lord Fitzwilliam had pleaſed the Houſe of Lords of Ireland, and the Houſe of Commons, who had granted, during his adminiſtration, ſupplies that were unparalleled in extent. He had pleaſed the Catholics of Ireland and the Proteſtants of Ireland. He had appointed a learned, reverend, and pious Prelate (to whoſe character Mr. Fox bore teſtimony of eſteem in the moſt handſome terms) to the primacy of the country in the moſt diſintereſted manner. The noble Earl, in ſhort, had pleaſed the maſs of the people in Ireland, but he had diſpleaſed two or three individuals, Mr. Bereſford and others.—Thus when the people of Ireland were put into one ſcale, and Mr. Bereſford and a few individuals into the other—the people, with all their weight, flew up, and the intereſt of Mr. Bereſford preponderated. When this ſubject had been mentioned by him on a former occaſion, and when he had given it as his opinion that an inquiry ſhould be inſtituted, the Chancellor of the Exchequer aſſerted that His Majeſty's Miniſters had done nothing in the affairs of Ireland, for which blame was imputable to them, and that it would ſo appear when an inquiry ſhould take place. This, Mr. Fox ſaid, convinced him the moment he heard it uttered, that no inquiry would ever be conſented to on the part of His Majeſty's Miniſters, for it was their conſtant practice whenever charged boldly, to aſſert they were not guilty, that they were ready to prove it whenever an inquiry ſhould take place, and when afterwards that inquiry was propoſed, to refuſe to grant it. Of this they gave a ſpecimen, when the Secretary to the Treaſury had been called upon to account for his conduct, in a caſe which had been inveſtigated in a court of juſtice. He therefore would continue to ſay, that if this inquiry be entered into, to uſe a phraſe which had been applied upon another occaſion, the Miniſter and his troops would be found to be covered with nothing but filthy dowlas. He owned it appeared to him impoſſible upon any principle of integrity to refuſe entering into this inquiry. Facts were alledged on one ſide, and, if not contradicted, were certainly not admitted on the other, and therefore, as the ſubject was important, that was ſufficient ground for an inquiry. Lord Fitzwilliam alledged, that Adminiſtration had deceived him; he ſaid ſo

in plain words: there might be ſome paſſion mixed with his narrative—how could it be otherwiſe?—Where was the man, who, under ſuch circumſtances, would be totally free from paſſion? But, after making all allowances upon that head, it muſt be admitted, that the facts alledged by the noble Earl, and not admitted by his opponents, were of ſuch a nature as to demand inquiry in that Houſe. The noble Earl alledged, it was not in reality his diſmiſſal of Mr. Bereſford that was the cauſe of his diſagreement with His Majeſty's miniſters, that the real cauſe of his recal was, the determination of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to ruin his reputation as a politician, and, with it, to ruin the reputation, and finally to get rid of, the whole of his new federates, whoſe character might ſtand in the way of any of his meaſures. Mr. Fox ſaid, he did not pretend to ſay what were the motives of the Miniſter which led to the conduct he obſerved upon that occaſion. He ſhould not enter into a minute detail of [illegible] but this he would ſay, it was eſſential for the Public to know the whole truth upon that ſubject. He had heard, it had been alledged to-night by his learned friend who made this motion, that, in another place, there had been a very full and frank declaration, that upon application being made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to know his ſentiments on the conduct of Earl Fitzwilliam, that he explicitly diſavowed the whole of it. Now Earl Fitzwilliam inſiſted that with that very Miniſter he had converſed upon that ſubject, that he had communicated his ſentiments to that Miniſter, had ſtated his intentions to him, all of which he expreſsly approved. Upon ſuch a difference of aſſertion, he would aſk that Houſe, was it or was it not fitting that they ſhould inquire, and be ſatisfied how the facts ſtood? He might think that the removal of Mr. Bereſford was not an event in itſelf of great importance, but when ſuch a man as Mr. Bereſford was put in competition with the united wiſhes and the common intereſt of the whole people of Ireland, Mr. Bereſford roſe into great and ſtriking importance, and in that view the circumſtances became worthy of the inquiry of that Houſe. Here Mr. Fox took notice of ſome diſputes which commenced in October laſt, between the two parties of Adminiſtration, he ſpoke, he ſaid, from public rumour only, having no ſpecific knowledge on the fact. From that rumour he underſtood a plan was in agitation to ſever the whole of the new Adminiſtration from the old, and he did not think there were any perſons qualified to form an opinion upon the ſubject, who doubted the truth of that rumour. He certainly lamented that any of his old friends had joined the preſent Adminiſtration, or had formed any connection with them; but he was ready ſtill to

regard their characters with tenderness, and therefore he wished to support every inquiry that was necessary to vindicate their honour. That Lord Fitzwilliam should have pursued the measures he did in Ireland; was perfectly natural. Long before that Nobleman became the Lord Lieutenant of that country, he had ceased to converse with him upon political subjects, because he knew they differed, but yet he was perfectly satisfied of the course which the noble Earl would take during his Administration in Ireland. It was as natural to expect that he should have pursued the plan he did, as that if he were to be Minister to-morrow it would be natural to expect he would make some attempt to negociate with France. It was said when Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, there would be an end of the old system of government, of the influence of the Beresfords, and there would of course be a complete emancipation of the Catholics. Therefore, it was extraordinary to affect surprise at the part which Lord Fitzwilliam took upon that occasion. There was something extremely singular in the manner in which some gentlemen affected to say that the recal of Earl Fitzwilliam from the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was no insinuation by Ministers against his character, and yet that these gentlemen should insist upon it that the dismissal of Mr. Beresford by the noble Earl was a direct attack upon his character. Now he wished to know which of the two events was the more important? Had Mr. Beresford been dismissed for ever, did the House believe that there would have been an address and remonstrance from the Catholics in consequence of that event? The truth was, that facts spoke for themselves too plainly in this case. Lord Fitzwilliam was popular in Ireland, but popularity with the people was one thing, popularity in the King's Cabinet another.

After having exhausted all their shifts upon this subject, the King's Ministers found out by accident, that to give complete emancipation to the Catholics was a thing dangerous in some degree to the King's coronation oath. This was a sort of objection which it was very difficult to state gravely, and when he saw men of sense attempting to make use of it as an argument, he was led to conclude that it was adopted merely as an evasion, for surely, when men capable of forming a just opinion upon things, assigned a reason which could not be stated to children without exciting their ridicule, the real reason must be such as did not suit their characters to disclose. The reverend, the learned, and the pious Prelate, to whom he had already alluded (Archbishop Newcome), and whose province it was to guard against any dangerous innovation in religion, had been able to discover none of this alarming hostility to the King's

coronation oath, nor had any of the people of Ireland or of England in the measure of the Catholic emancipation. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary of State, in the plenitude of their piety, and their zeal for the due obſervance of religious rites and ceremonies, forſooth, had lately made this diſcovery.

The next point to be conſidered, was the opinion which the maſs of the people of a country entertained of the Government under which they lived. He knew there were ſome who affected to deſpiſe that idea, but they were weak, ſhallow, miſerable politicians. He knew that Ireland was in that reſpect in a very dangerous condition. It was eſſential to the welfare of a country that the common people ſhould have a veneration for its laws. This was by no means the caſe in Ireland, and why? Becauſe the law was there regarded as an inſtrument of oppreſſion, and as having been made upon a principle of partial monopoly, and not for the general protection, welfare, and happineſs of the maſs of the people. It was too common there for the lower claſs of the people to reſiſt the execution of the laws. Theft itſelf was not regarded by them with the ſame abhorrence as with us. Indeed, if we would have the maſs of mankind regard our laws with veneration, we muſt make them feel the benefits of them; ſhew them that they are equal, and alike adminiſtered to all without diſtinction. It was this principle which made the laws of England ſo much the object of our admiration, it was this which made the people parties, as it were, in the execution of the laws, for when any one infringed them, a proſecution againſt him was generally a popular meaſure. What he ſaid with regard to laws, was alſo applicable to religion. He would have religious toleration as equal as the laws of England, and that all men ſhould be eſtimated in ſociety by their morals, and not by the mode of religious worſhip. To root out prejudices altogether was not a thing to be accompliſhed at once, but it was a thing to be attempted, and every ſtep towards it would be an advantage to the country. Such was the plan of Earl Fitzwilliam, which, inſtead of being aided, as it ought, was thwarted by the meaſures of our Miniſters. They had renewed the old plan of corruption, which had made the Government of that country odious; this was too well authenticated to be doubted: it had been ſtated publicly in the Houſe of Commons there, by a gentleman whoſe talents were highly eminent, and for whom, notwithſtanding ſome little differences upon political ſubjects, he had a high eſteem, (the celebrated Mr. Grattan), that gentleman had ſtated that Peerages in Ireland, inſtead of being a matter of honour, were an article of ſale; that they were purchaſed from the corruption of ſeats in the

Houſe of Commons. He had heard much of the influence of the Crown in this country. He believed it to be as great as it was ever ſtated to be. But in Ireland corruption had been publicly avowed and acted upon. Such a Government muſt certainly be in a very decrepit ſtate, and therefore any plan for the relief of the people was highly neceſſary. What, then, were we to think of Miniſters, who held out an encouragement at one time for ſuch a plan, and afterwards recalled a Lord Lieutenant for attempting to carry it into execution! The queſtion, therefore, reſted upon the cauſe, and the manner of the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, and upon that ſubject it was impoſſible fairly to paſs by the conduct of His Majeſty's Miniſters, without inquiry. He had heard much ſaid of the danger of inveſtigating this buſineſs. danger, he admitted, there was, not from an inquiry, but from abſtaining from inveſtigation. He had heard alſo a good deal ſaid about the honour of His Majeſty's Miniſters. Upon that topic he was not concerned, they would defend their own honour, and deal with it as they might think beſt. Earl Fitzwilliam deſired only an inveſtigation of facts, in which, he ſaid, his honour was concerned, and alſo the intereſt of the nation; and therefore he thought it imported the Houſe to inſtitute the inquiry. He knew, indeed, that if Earl Fitzwilliam had adopted the plan which others had ſet for him, he might long ſince have been very eaſy, he might have had an opportunity of accepting a good place, Miniſters would have ſaid, "It is true you have uttered ſome hard ſentences againſt us, but now we are good friends, every thing is underſtood between us." But the truth was, my Lord Fitzwilliam did not enter into what is called the ſpirit of the preſent Adminiſtration, that is to ſay, he did not ſacrifice his character, for the purpoſe of putting himſelf upon an equality with them. He had, thank God, not entered into that ſpirit: he ſaid thank God, for no political difference of opinion ever had, or ever ſhould, deſtroy his friendſhip for that noble perſon Earl Fitzwilliam had acted honourably, he called for inquiry, he ſtated his claim to it, he had a right to demand it of the juſtice of that Houſe; his honour was in their hands, and therefore they ought to grant him an inquiry. Should the Houſe refuſe it, Mr. Fox ſaid, he knew not among the various names that have been given to various Parliaments, what name to give to the preſent Parliament, it certainly was not an inquiſitive Parliament. They had ſeen large ſubſidies granted, and they had not inquired into the ſervices performed; they had known alliances entered into, and our allies afterwards deſert us, and they had not inquired for what reaſon; they had ſeen our armies defeated, and they had not inquired into the cauſes of

such failures; they had seen this empire very nearly ruined by the conduct of the King's Ministers, and they had continued their confidence in such Ministers. It was for want of inquiry we had been brought into our present calamitous situation. Knowing this, he must leave it now to the wisdom of the House to reflect on the consequences of continuing to refuse inquiries into subjects in which the prosperity and happiness of this and the sister kingdom were so deeply involved.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that whatever effect might be produced in the minds of some, by the efforts of the honourable gentleman who made the motion, and those of the right honourable gentleman who followed him, to persuade the House and the Public that His Majesty's Ministers wished to avoid the proposed inquiry from a consciousness of misconduct, he was almost confident that he should have the sense of the majority of the House with him in the part he proposed to take. Feeling as he must feel, what the strict line of his duty was as a Member of the British Parliament, and still more particularly as a Member of the Executive Government, he was convinced that he should betray that Government, if he agreed to give a verbal explanation of the subject in hand, when it could only, from its nature, be effectually known by a thorough investigation of the whole of the correspondence which took place during the time of Lord Fitzwilliam's residence in Ireland, a proposal for which, he averred, could not proceed from substantial purposes of sound policy, or from any well grounded sense of public expediency or private justice. Whatever the view of the motion might be, whether it was injustice to Lord Fitzwilliam, or to those who composed the Executive Government—Whether it was the welfare of the British Empire at large, or the benefit of the Irish nation—or to discuss and take the opinion of the House on topics depending before the independent Legislature of Ireland, it was impossible to enter upon it at all to any effect, without going at large into a complete investigation of the whole.—And whether the House would agree to take a step at once so indelicate and dangerous, as to open the secret transactions of Government, and touch the vital parts of the British Empire, by probing every little unimportant wound to its utmost extent, was a question that he would not insult their patriotism or their wisdom by considering as at all dubious. If an inquiry, however, was to take place, it could be properly done only by application to the Throne, and not inquisition of the confidential servants of His Majesty, who were withheld by the very nature of their office from the promulgation of the secrets of the Cabinet; and he assured the House, that whatever advantage might be made

of his ſilence, or however the ingenuity of gentlemen might turn it to the purpoſes of bold preſumption and invective, he was too well uſed to ſuch treatment not to ſacrifice the firſt feelings of his temper to the deliberate ſenſe of his duty. He could well bear the uncouth ebullitions of intemperance and acrimony, and condemn the groſs miſrepreſentations of his conduct, which he was ſo much in the habit of hearing from the other ſide, becauſe he entertained a well-founded hope of receiving a fair and candid judgement from the Public, and had, at all events, an ample reſource for tranquillity in the conſcious integrity of his own mind. He did not, he ſaid, want the candid and ſalutary advice given to him by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Powys,) not to be betrayed into warmth by the very provoking and unmerited expreſſions which fell from the other ſide, for he had been, antecedent to that advice, determined not to enter into any particular verbal explanation—and in the ſpirit of that determination he would neither retort nor deny the facts or inferences ſo looſely charged, but ſtate to the Houſe what he conceived to be the general principle which governed the caſe, and which he was convinced would lead to the concluſion of rejecting the motion on the grounds of ſound policy and public ſafety. Having ſaid ſo much, he would take up no more of the time of the Houſe with preliminary matter, but proceed to the points of the queſtion as they aroſe from the arguments on the other ſide—and firſt, to the aſſertion that no prerogative could bar the inquiſitorial function of that Houſe, he would admit it under ſome qualification. No part of the King's prerogative was more peculiarly neceſſary to the exiſtence of Government, the facility of its operation, and the ſecurity of that country for which ſuch Government is formed, than the power of nominating and diſmiſſing his ſervants, without alledging any cauſe, yet he would not ſay, that even this, in a caſe properly made out, might not come before the Houſe as matter of inquiry. That this power of ſelection or rejection without aſſigning cauſe, veſted in the Crown, and was an indiſputable part of the Conſtitution, he would not weary the Houſe by demonſtrating, and that the moſt perfect confidence of each other (not confidence of moral opinion, but confidence of having the ſame views, and a concurrence of opinion on the political meaſures to be purſued by all) ſhould ſubſiſt between the various Members of the Executive Government, as the means which could alone enable them to conduct to advantage the public concerns, was equally obvious. If then motions of this kind were to be granted, and inquiries of the nature it ſought were ſet on foot, this great and ſalutary proviſion of the Conſtitution was deſtroyed at once. Before an experiment ſo ha-

zardous could be attempted, a special case should be made out of positive danger—or public misconduct or delinquency, none of which at all appeared in the present instance, for he called on the House to recollect what were the grounds offered to them to justify the inquiry. They consisted of two points—The first was, justice to Lord Fitzwilliam—The second, that an inquiry was necessary to the public interest—Both these he would consider in their turn

As to the first, the whole of it, he said, rested on a mere groundless assumption, that the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from the Government of Ireland implied a [illegible] him. But though the honourable gentleman who made the motion insisted that the removal of the servants of the Crown from their places implied such a charge, the right honourable gentleman who followed him did not contend for the principle to that extent; and indeed if that were so, there was an end to the position he had laid down, that the safety of the realm depended on the constitutional right of the Crown to nominate and dismiss its servants at pleasure, and there would be a necessity to inquire into the cause of every dismissal. The right honourable gentleman could not but see how very prolific a source of inquiry there would be, from the mention which had been even that night made of the noble Admiral (Lord Hood), and he would be able to form a judgement of the expediency of such inquiries, and decide more justly upon that right, when he recollected that the gallant Lord Rodney, in the most interesting and critical period of a very ruinous and exhausting war, and in the very moment of victory, was recalled by the Minister of that day, without any cause assigned, and no such inquiry was called for, or thought to be necessary.—[Here, on the suggestion of some of the Members behind him, Mr. Pitt corrected himself, and said] —Yes, an inquiry was called for, and the right honourable gentleman himself resisted it, and, what was more, while he professed that he had himself advised the change, moved for the thanks of the House to be given to the noble Admiral! If, then, in such very extraordinary circumstances, an Admiral, who was a solitary instance of successful valour in a most calamitous war, was recalled by the very Minister who moved the thanks of the House to him, was it possible to say that any stigma could attach to dismissal without inquiry, and with the utmost respect for Earl Fitzwilliam, he conceived that there was nothing in the case of a Lord Lieutenant more than in that of any other servant of the Crown. Besides, he put it to the reflection of the House, to determine, whether there might not be a cause for removal without a crime. Could it not happen, that there might exist a difference of opinion on some case

of transcendent importance, though the parties differing retained he most cordial affection for, and good opinion of, each other?—Would the House, he demanded, suppose any thing more in recalling a Lord Lieutenant during a session of Parliament, than in withdrawing a Secretary of State pending a negociation for peace? Certainly not. Yet did the House forget that the right honourable gentleman resigned his office, on a mere matter of difference in opinion, just at the end of the war, in a most important moment of negociation—on a difference in opinion with one Member of Administration respecting the independence of America—a Minister (Mr. Fox), whose talents and political character made his assistance in the highest degree important, abandoned his office in the most difficult crisis, though he was conscious that his doing so would lead to the dissolution of an union formed on grounds of public necessity—yet there was no inquiry on that occasion; and when a noble Duke, in the midst of a preparation for a war with Russia, resigned the situation he held, he did not feel himself bound to ask an inquiry; nor did any other gentleman, though extremely hostile to the war with Russia, make it the foundation of inquiry. Taking these facts as they were, he applied them to the case before the House, and said, that there was not that difference between Lord Fitzwilliam and the noble Duke, or the right honourable gentleman, that could make him more an object of inquiry—nor was it any disparagement to apply the same principles to him that applied to them. But it was stated, for the purpose of shewing that his Lordship's case was out of the ordinary course, that he had been encouraged by His Majesty's Ministers on this side of the water, to hold out to the Catholics of Ireland the expectation of emancipation, which was afterwards opposed by them. This, if true, might arise from a difference of opinion, which did not necessarily imply a crime on either side; and if that difference did exist between them, how could they act in concert for the service of the British empire?

A construction had been put on some words which had fallen from him on a former night, utterly different from what he could have imagined, or what he had then expressed. On occasion of a motion for an inquiry into the state of the Nation, the state of Ireland had been introduced into discussion, and he, in answer, stated as his opinion, that the agitation of that subject in a British House of Parliament was hurtful, on the very same grounds as he should now, namely, that it was injudicious, if not highly improper, to anticipate the business of the Irish Parliament on the one hand, or to assume the right of canvassing their determinations on the other—he that night stated the evil that would probably arise from inquiry; and

ſaid, that if any miſchief happened in Ireland, no part of it could be attributed to His Majeſty's Miniſters on this ſide of the water. The Houſe would judge whether gentlemen in this caſe had given candidly his words; but if they determined, with the honourable gentleman who made the motion, that there muſt be guilt, becauſe there was a diſmiſſal, they muſt go farther, and ſay with him, that there was no juſt reaſon againſt inquiry in any caſe—that there was no caſe in which the public diſcloſure of the Councils of Government could be dangerous, or elſe that it was right to ſacrifice public duty to the delicacy of private reputation; more than this he would not ſay.

As to the point of juſtice to Lord Fitzwilliam, why did the honourable gentleman confine it to him?—Why, in the matter of juſtice, did he ſeparate his Lordſhip from the reſt of His Majeſty's Miniſters?—The plea of juſtice applied to them as well as him.—If his Lordſhip had ſtated to the Public all that he had to ſay for himſelf, and they had any thing more favourable to ſay of themſelves, it was not his Lordſhip, but they, that ſuffered, if they ſuppreſſed it. But however aggrieved, his Lordſhip and they ſhould ſubmit to the lot of public men, and ſacrifice private to public intereſt. On the grounds of public policy, he deprecated the introduction in that Houſe, of the points on which the motion of the night was grounded—they were points on which there was a wide difference of opinion in the country to which they belonged, and where they originated.—As to the Catholic queſtion, he would not ſtate all the delicate political points on the great ſcheme of the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions of Ireland, involved in it, but would ſuppoſe any one of them, and put to the conſideration of the Houſe the propriety of the diſcuſſion of it—for to make the inquiry anſwer any purpoſe, they muſt enter into and examine all the opinions on thoſe points. He would ſuppoſe that examination to come on while the ſame queſtion was pending in the Parliament of Ireland; would it be right to treat that independent Parliament ſo?—to ſelect the very moment of their deliberation—to tread over the ſame ground, and examine the ſame queſtion? If the queſtion was the ſame, it was a wound to their independence; and if the inquiry only led to the ſame reſult, there was nothing gained to the Public—but if, on the contrary, the Houſe was to decide differently, the diſcuſſion and deciſion would be an impeachment of the independence of the Parliament of Ireland. Fortunately, however, no ſuch riſk could now be incurred—no ſuch diſcuſſion could take place here, for that great and delicate queſtion had already been decided by the Iriſh Parliament. Thus, what good could the agitation of the queſtion do?

He would ſuppoſe, for argument ſake, that the Britiſh Parliament decided in oppoſition to the Iriſh Parliament. What would be the ſituation of His Majeſty's Miniſters, if on every queſtion depending in Ireland, the Parliament of Great Britain pronounced judgement, and if any of them a contrary judgement, what would be their ſtate to adviſe His Majeſty to reject, as King of England, that which, as King of Ireland, he might feel himſelf engaged to give his aſſent to? Did thoſe who wiſhed the Houſe to adopt this mode, really mean to promote the harmonious connection between that country and this, by introducing meaſures ſo pregnant with confuſion and diſcord? As to the arrangements of office in Ireland, how were they to be examined here? It might, he knew, be conſidered as a miſerable ſquabble about place and power, and a conteſt of avarice and ambition, but it might alſo be conſidered in a different way. But who were to be the judges of ſo very important a queſtion? not the Parliament of England, certainly not, but that of Ireland, who were familiar with them, who had the means of examining, and the right to decide, who were judges in point of power, and witneſſes in point of fact, whereas here we had neither power to make a deciſion effectual, nor means to make an inquiry complete. Some names had been mentioned (the Beresfords) but thoſe bore with them the teſtimony of ſucceſſive governments for talents, integrity, and fidelity—that, however, was not a ſubject, to the examination of which a Britiſh Houſe of Parliament was competent. He concluded by declaring, that as he thought the Houſe ſhould not entertain the motion at all, he would vote for the order of the day.

Mr. M. ROBINSON ſpoke for the original motion.

Lord MILTON ſaid, the cauſe of the recal of Earl Fitzwilliam was a dereliction by Miniſters here of all that had been agreed on before he ſet out for Ireland. It was perfectly underſtood, that every thing expected by the Roman Catholics was to be granted at ſuch time as might appear moſt conducive to the general tranquillity and harmony of the two countries, of which the noble Earl was to be the judge. With the complete perſuaſion that this was ſo, he entered upon the government of Ireland, and whether the difference that ſoon after appeared aroſe from his miſtake, or from their change of opinion, they never ſent him the leaſt intimation of either, although they had full time to do ſo, till the application of the Catholics had received ſuch countenance as could not be retracted with honour. That Earl Fitzwilliam was highly popular in Ireland, he ſhould be wanting in proper feeling not to declare, but he was bound alſo to declare, that his popularity was not ſo much owing to the opinion entertained of his perſonal character, greatly as that was re-

spected, as to the hopes conceived by the people of Ireland, from the appointment of the Duke of Portland to the high station he now filled in His Majesty's service, and the sending for Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan soon after to this country. The Irish nation complained of being deceived, of being treated with duplicity. On the part of Earl Fitzwilliam he claimed an inquiry, that he might either be [illegible] from suspicion, or censured if blameable, for even mistake in affairs of such importance would be blameable. He would affirm, however, that Earl Fitzwilliam was not to blame, but that Ministers here were culpable as far as respected the difference upon measures.—With respect to the removals from office in Ireland, either effected or intended, they were wished for by the people of Ireland, and must have been expected by Ministers here. They knew of Earl Fitzwilliam's intention, and ought to have stated their objections before he [illegible] they [illegible]. The removals in [illegible] necessary for the public service. Mr. [illegible] was dismissed, Mr. [illegible] was not. The persons appointed to succeed them had done their duty with diligence and ability, and one of them had been continued in office. Earl Fitzwilliam had no objection to carrying the motion to any extent Ministers might wish, that themselves were the judges of State secrecy, and of how far it would be fit to carry it. The dismissal of former Lord Lieutenants had been referred to as parallel cases. They had been dismissed by new Ministers with whom they had no political connection, Earl Fitzwilliam had been dismissed by his colleagues—that wounded to the quick.—He would not say who were those colleagues—He would not trust himself upon that subject.

Mr. ORDE contended, that the insinuations which had been thrown out in the course of the debate respecting the supposed corruption which prevailed in the government of Ireland, were without foundation; from the situation which he had the honour of filling in that country, he was enabled, with a considerable degree of accuracy, to decide upon this point, and he affirmed, upon an inquiry, the reverse of that assertion would be found to be the case. He then alluded to several gentlemen who had been mentioned, as having been displaced from situations of high responsibility in Ireland, and spoke in the highest terms of their abilities and attention as public characters, and of their honour as private gentlemen.—He concluded with giving his decided vote against the motion.

Mr. DOUGLAS said, he felt himself called upon by the turn which the debate had taken, to intrude upon the attention of the House for a few minutes. It was a duty which he owed to persons with whom he had been connected, and which his own feel-

ings called upon him to perform. It was his intention to state in as few words as he could, consistently with the magnitude of the subject, his reasons for giving his vote against the motion of the honourable gentleman. He was ready in the most unequivocal manner, to give his assent to the position advanced on the other side of the House, viz. That it was the duty of Parliament to watch over the conduct of the Executive Government, and to institute inquiries when they thought it necessary.—But there was another position, equally conformable to the theory of the Constitution, and more reconcileable to its practice, which he should insist upon, viz. That His Majesty had the undoubted prerogative of dismissing, and of appointing his own Ministers according to his pleasure.—He did not mean to contend that no possible case [illegible], in which it might not be proper for Parliament to interfere upon the [illegible] of a Minister; but in such a case there ought to be the grounds stated to shew the necessity of such an interference [illegible] question, and the only one which called for consideration [illegible], was, Whether there were sufficient grounds laid before the House to induce them to go into this inquiry, in other words, to address His Majesty for the production of the papers.

In order to form a correct judgement upon this part of the subject, it would be necessary that the House should not be led away by the general observations which had been thrown out against the Government of Ireland. He had an opportunity of forming a judgement upon this subject, and hoped he should be able to convince the House, not by declamation or by assertion, but by positive truth.—If there did exist that degree of corrupt influence in Ireland which had been represented, it must have been known to the Parliament of that country; and yet when a motion was brought forward upon this ground, in the Irish House, by a gentleman of the first abilities and eloquence, the motion for the enquiry was negatived, he believed, without a division, but at all events by a large majority. This was a strong proof what were the opinions of persons residing upon the spot, and the most likely to know of that corruption, if it really existed. But it was not upon negative facts that he meant to defend the Government of Ireland, particularly under Lord Westmorland; a variety of measures were adopted under the Administration of that noble Lord, which were calculated to gratify the feelings, and at the same time to support the interests of the People of Ireland. He should state to the House, in as brief a manner as he possibly could, the different measures to which he alluded. He did not believe he should meet with opposition when he stated, that the happiness of a people depended as

much upon the mode of adminiftering juftice, as upon the laws under which they live.—He was forry to fay that confideration had not always prevailed in Ireland, too much regard had been paid to parliamentary interefts in the diftribution of legal fituations.—But during the adminiftration of Lord Weftmorland an oppofite fyftem had been adopted, and every effort made to procure the due and impartial adminiftration of juftice.—The next grand point in Governments conftituted like that of Great Britain and Ireland was, to preferve the independence of the legiflative Body. This effential point was fecured, under the Adminiftration of Lord Weftmorland, by the introduction of a Place Bill, which difqualified perfons holding various offices from a feat in Parliament, and even in cafes in which it did not difqualify, the acceptance of a place vacated the feat, and the Member was again fent back to his Conftituents to receive their judgement upon his conduct. Thus, upon this point, the laws of the two countries were put upon nearly a fimilar footing. The next grand object attained in the period in which Lord Weftmorland was Viceroy of Ireland, was the eftablifhment of a refponfible Treafury Board. Formerly there ufed to be a Lord High Treafurer and a Vice-Treafurer, both of whom had finecure places, but they were now replaced by an effectual and refponfible Treafury Board.—The laft point which he fhould allude to was, the eftablifhment of the Militia, which had been effected with a degree of fuccefs that exceeded the moft fanguine expectation, and, notwithftanding very great obftacles, had produced in one year a body of twelve thoufand men. All thefe were important regulations which took place in the time of Lord Weftmorland, and which he hoped would convince the Houfe that it was the object of that Adminiftration to reform abufes, and not to continue error. Having difcuffed thefe points, the honourable gentleman requefted leave to join his fincere teftimony to that of others in favour of thofe gentlemen under Government in Ireland who had been difmiffed.—Having paffed the higheft encomiums upon their conduct, he concluded with giving his vote againft the motion.

Mr. GREY faid it was not neceffary to take much notice of a great deal that had been faid in oppofition to the motion. It was of little importance to the prefent queftion, whether Lord Weftmorland's Adminiftration had been more corrupt than preceding Adminiftrations, or had relieved Ireland from fome of the abufes with which former Adminiftrations had loaded it. He might, without any prejudice to the argument in fupport of the motion, admit every thing the honourable gentleman had faid in praife of

Lord Weſtmorland's Adminiſtration, for which, however, the people of Ireland had made this moſt extraordinary and ungrateful return, that, adopting other meaſures, and employing other men, had rendered the Adminiſtration which immediately ſucceeded, popular beyond all precedent. If the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt but one had waited till he heard the panegyric on Lord Weſtmorland's Adminiſtration, he would have had an opportunity of ſhewing, and, no doubt, would have ſhewn, that the Duke of Rutland's was equally pure, and equally meritorious. Mr. Grattan's charge of ſelling ſeats in the Iriſh Houſe of Peers to purchaſe ſeats in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons failed, becauſe the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, who were the judges, refuſed to grant an enquiry. It would be very unbecoming to ſay, that the Iriſh or the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, in agreeing with Miniſters to negative motions of enquiry, could ever act improperly, and therefore he muſt ſuppoſe, that Mr. Grattan's motion, like ſeveral motions here by his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox), failed for want of ability on the part of its ſupporters, and was overpowered by the ſuperior weight of argument and ability oppoſed to it. But he muſt ſay, that Mr. Grattan's charge affected perſons, who were bound to anſwer by ſomething more than a vote of the Houſe of Commons, and that in all ſuch caſes there was a great difference between thoſe who offered proof, pledging their character on its validity, and thoſe who refuſed going into proof. This advantage his noble Friend (Lord Milton) now poſſeſſed. He challenged enquiry, he appealed to proof, which thoſe to whom he imputed blame had in their power, and they ſhrunk from the production of it. He was curious to hear the anſwer of Miniſters to the charge made againſt them, but, pre-determined to refuſe enquiry, they had wiſely declined attempting an anſwer. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) was, at leaſt, as able in confounding as in explaining. When he wiſhed to avoid facts, which he had frequent occaſion to do, he entered into a magnificent declamation upon general principles, ſometimes of the prerogative of the Crown, ſometimes of the privilege of Parliament, juſt as happened to ſuit his purpoſe for the moment. The queſtion was not now about general principles, but ſimply and plainly whether ſufficient ground was laid for enquiry into circumſtances which no man could deny to be within the ſcope of parliamentary enquiry? He admitted concurrence of ſentiment and of opinion among thoſe who were jointly to conduct the affairs of Government, to be neceſſary, but, after what the Houſe had heard, was the want of this all that marked the caſe before them? If Lord Fitzwilliam had differed in opinion from

from his colleagues, upon measures, however important, he might have been removed upon that difference before such measures were brought forward as the measures of Administration, without affording any ground for enquiry. But here measures of the utmost importance had been brought forward, the dereliction of them had been the cause of great discontent and great danger, and to ascertain by whose fault this danger had been incurred was fit matter of enquiry. The removal of his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox), from the office of Secretary of State for the foreign department, at a period when negociations of the utmost consequence were depending, had been alluded to. Supposing that to have been a difference of opinion with respect to recognizing the independence of America, would it have formed ground for enquiry by Parliament? Certainly not. But if his right honourable friend had offered independence to America in a way to which his colleagues in office refused to agree, then it should have been fit matter of enquiry to discover by whose fault an offer had been made which Ministers refused to confirm. In a more recent instance, when the Duke of Leeds went out of office, upon the dispute with the Empress of Russia upon Ockzakow, he would suppose, as the right honourable gentleman, when bent upon going to war, affirmed, that upon Ockzakow depended the Commerce of Poland, and the peace of Europe, and that the Duke of Leeds, without the concurrence of his colleagues, had offered to give up, viz. the whole question about Ockzakow, which the Duke of Leeds had too much regard for his own honour to do, and been dismissed in consequence, would not that have been a fit subject for enquiry? Such must both the cases have been to make them in any respect applicable to the present. If Lord Fitzwilliam had resigned in consequence of the dispute previous to his setting out for Ireland, there would have been no ground for enquiry, but forward, what was the case? He went to Ireland, he brought measures much desired, and eagerly expected, and while these were going on with the unanimous approbation of Parliament, and applause of the whole country, he was recalled, and his measures countermanded. To bring forward those measures, he had the authority of Ministers here, or he had not. Lord Fitzwilliam said he had, the Minister durst not contradict the assertion, but when challenged to proof, resorted to general principles and evasive cases. On the Catholic question in Ireland, or the removals from office, although individuals could not help forming opinions, and he had no difficulty in avowing that his own agreed with the opinion of the people of Ireland, the House by this motion was not called to say one word All they had to con-

sider was, "Did or did not the measures brought forward in Ireland excite the most sanguine hopes, and the dereliction of them the greatest discontent and agitation, which it was to be feared might end in disaffection to the British Government?" If that question must be answered in the affirmative, it was the duty of the House to enquire by whose fault those measures had been introduced, and by whose fault they were afterwards retracted? whether by the fault of Lord Fitzwilliam, which he did not believe, or by the fault of Ministers? This was the ground, and the only ground of discussion: it was the natural course of men, who had the proofs in their own hands, to court enquiry when they were conscious of innocence.—However the House might decide, impartial men would form their own judgement. His noble friend (Lord Milton) had put a home question—Why if the measures brought forward in Ireland, if the reform of a corrupt system of Government were not intended, were Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby, men to whom, with their connexions, the People of Ireland had been accustomed to look for them, sent for to England?—Was it expected that such men could be prevailed upon to go back impostors and apostates from their former principles? For these reasons he should vote for the motion, which he thought it would be difficult to resist by argument.

Mr. Serjeant ADAIR said, he rose with very painful feelings, not wishing to influence the vote of any Member of the House, but merely to state that, in voting himself for the order of the day, he did not approve of the conduct of Ministers towards Lord Fitzwilliam. He went over the circumstances which induced him to think that Lord Fitzwilliam had been harshly, and even rigorously treated. Ministers could not be ignorant of the measures expected in Ireland after the accession of the Duke of Portland to the Cabinet: if they had known them from no other quarter, they must have known them from Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby, who spoke upon the subject without reserve.—If, in pursuing new measures, Lord Fitzwilliam was not to employ men in whom he could confide, he would have been placed in a situation very different from that of any other of his Majesty's Ministers. He admitted, that there was great blame, and strong ground for enquiry; but, before voting for enquiry, he must answer to his own conscience, *cui bono?* Would enquiry heal the discontents or avert the dangers in Ireland? It would have a contrary tendency.—Knowing, as he did, Lord Fitzwilliam's high sense of honour, he did not wonder at the solicitude with which he courted

enquiry; but what had already passed on the subject was sufficient to set at rest the most delicate feelings.

Mr. JEKYLL said, the barrenness of the arguments against his motion rendered it unnecessary for him to say much in reply. In the place of arguments, continued he, we have had panegyrics—the panegyric of persons by one right honourable friend of mine, who are not within the scope of the question before the House. In a long and elaborate composition of another right honourable and learned friend of mine, we have had a panegyric on the incorruptible nature of all Irish Administrations, and ever of my Lord Westmoreland's; and, lastly, we have had the most extraordinary of all panegyrics—namely, a panegyric by the Minister upon himself: within and without this House, he may suppose there are few who could praise him so eloquently, and perhaps so cordially, and he kindly and disinterestedly takes the fulsome and singular task upon himself. If my motion goes to any thing, it goes perhaps to place him as a delinquent, and the defence that delinquent sets up in opposition to direct testimony of malversation is, his own good opinion of his own virtues.—I trusted, that I had in opening this debate deprecated the stale topics of prerogative and state secrecy, but in the sterility of other resources, they are again resorted to. State secrecy, as a matter of frequent necessity, is deplored by the Minister, as a political evil attached to office. It is a dreadful calamity indeed, that a Minister, by virtue of his office, shall at any moment in silence be able to find a complete indemnity.

To the question *cui bono?* Mr. Jekyll said, that he would answer by another—Was it of no consequence that the men, whoever they might be, whose misconduct had been the cause of so much danger to the empire, should be dragged forth to public odium? If such was the opinion, the House of Commons might resign their functions, and be content to register the edicts of the Minister.

The House divided on the motion for the order of the day; Ayes 188; Noes 49.

*Wednesday, 20th May.*

Mr. DENT observed that the Committee appointed to inquire into frauds and abuses committed in franking letters and parcels, had now sat for many days. It was not likely that they should be able to make their report in the course of the present session. He therefore moved, "that there be laid before the House a copy of the minutes of the Committee.

Mr. LONG opposed this motion. The Committee having

been appointed for the purpoſe ſtated in this motion, if they did not report ſome ground why they did not do ſo, why after having ſat about a month they came to make this propoſal to lay what they had already done upon the table, inſtead of proceeding to make their report. We were not yet ſo near the end of the ſeſſion as to make it impoſſible to proceed farther. On theſe grounds he objected to the motion.

Mr. WILLIAM DUNDAS objected alſo to the motion, on the ground that in the evidence much abuſe had been imputed to individuals who had not yet had an opportunity of ſaying any thing in their own behalf.

Mr. DENT obſerved, that as he was not aware that any objection was intended to be offered to his motion, he had omitted to urge any arguments to enforce it. He ſhould now beg leave to aſſign his reaſons for the motion. It appeared from what was called the Dead Letter Book, that there was loſt annually to the public by letters miſlaid or ſtolen, a ſum no leſs than 42,000l. a year. The Vice-Preſident of the Poſt-office gave his evidence as to the abuſes of the office, for which he was diſmiſſed, although he had filled that ſtation for upwards of twenty-ſeven years. Before that gentleman gave his evidence, he received a letter from the Poſt-office, ſtating, that if he knew of any abuſes, he ſhould inform the office of them, to which he anſwered, that he knew of none that were not as well known by themſelves. He gave his evidence before the Committee and loſt his place. Another abuſe was that of keeping back newſpapers by the clerks of the road. Theſe clerks, by what they called their privilege, ſent to the country twenty-five thouſand newſpapers a night. The only competitors which theſe clerks had in the circulation of newſpapers, were the hawkers, and it was a common thing for the Clerks of the Road, on the night there was an important debate in Parliament, or any thing that was generally intereſting in newſpapers, to ſend their own, and keep back the papers ſent to them by the hawkers, and this expounded the myſtery of gentlemen not receiving their papers regularly in the country. He adverted to the abuſes of the Cuſtom Houſe and Exciſe Office, &c. He obſerved, that by the evidence which had appeared before the Committee, a prodigious ſum of money had been loſt in conſequence of half guineas having been ſent by ſervant maids and indigent people under the ſeals of letters. It appeared by the evidence of Mr. Bonnor, who had been ſtated to be Comptroller of the Poſt Office, that he is now exonerated from the duty of his office, that he attends now for about a quarter of an hour a day, for which he received 700l. a year ſalary, which he certainly con-

fidered as a finecure; that Mr. Palmer had a finecure alfo of 3000l. a year. When Mr. Bonnor applied, under the direction of the Committee, for an infpection of a book at the Poft Office, he was refufed the fight of it, although it was well known under what authority he came. Mr Dent faid that Mr. Bonnor appeared to him to be a very fenfible man, and had given his evidence very intelligibly and fairly. He ftated thefe things that the Houfe might have fome idea of the nature of the fubject. The reafon why he wifhed that this motion fhould be carried, was, that the Houfe fhould have fome knowledge of what abufes did exift, in order that gentlemen fhould turn the fubject in their minds, before any parliamentary regulation fhould take place. He thought that nothing fhort of a bill for each of the offices would anfwer the purpofe.

Mr W. SMITH had no objection to the Report alluded to being laid on the table, fince time was to be allowed for gentlemen accufed to be heard.

Mr. LONG, in order to obviate the effect of the fpeech of the honourable gentleman who fpoke laft on the public mind, obferved, that the calculation of the loffes at the rate of 42,000l. a year, was made on the claims made for loffes within the laft four months, three fourths of which at leaft would be accounted for as others had been, and recovered. Thefe things arofe from miftakes in delivery, &c. With regard to the general obfervations of the honourable gentleman, they did not belong to the duty of the Committee, which was to inquire into the abufes of franking, and not to the general abufes of the Poft-office.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY obferved, that it ought to be explained how an obftruction was given to an officer of the Poft-office, acting under the authority of a Committee of that Houfe, when he applied for an infpection of a book at the Poft-office, in order to obtain information to be given to that Committee. He wifhed to hear fome reafons affigned upon that fubject.

Mr. LONG faid, this was the firft time he heard of this circumftance. He underftood that as Mr. Bonnor did not act officially at the Poft-office at prefent, he, according to his own account of himfelf, having been exonerated from the duties of the office, and that of itfelf was a circumftance to be attended to when the Houfe came to confider on the nature of his evidence.

Mr. WILLIAM DUNDAS obferved that Mr. Bonnor was refufed the fight of the book at the Poft-office, becaufe he was regarded there as having no right to the infpection of it any more than a ftranger, for he had not taken any active part in the office for the laft year. He faid he doubted whether the Deputy Chairman had

been difcharged, as the honourable gentleman had ftated, on account of the evidence he had given, with regard to abufes at the Poft-office.

Mr. DENT faid, he did not pofitively know that this gentleman was difcharged as Deputy Prefident, on account of the evidence he gave of abufes at the Poft office, but he underftood fo. He obferved alfo, that the proceedings of the Committee were very much perplexed on account of the Committee being an open Committee. Gentlemen often came in juft after a witnefs had anfwered a queftion; and, not being acquainted with his previous examination, infifted on going over the whole of what he had to fay again. This fort of practice retarded very much the progrefs of the Committee, and might perhaps render it impoffible for the Committee to conclude their report at all. He, therefore, thought that the Committee ought to be made a clofe Committee, or that fome fuch meafure fhould be adopted to give effect to the object which the Houfe had in view, namely, to obtain accurate knowledge of the abufes which he had already mentioned.

Sir JOHN CALL and Mr. BERNARD faid a few words.

The queftion being put, and only 30 Members being prefent, the Houfe adjourned of courfe.

*Thurfday, 21ft May.*

This being the day appointed for Mr. Wilberforce's motion refpecting peace, at three o'clock the paffage was completely crowded, and in the courfe of a few minutes the gallery was filled, feveral who had come from anxiety to hear the debate, being excluded—but at four o'clock, there being only 28 Members prefent, the Houfe of courfe adjourned.

*Friday, 22d May.*

A motion was made, and agreed to, "That the Houfe at rifing adjourn to Wednefday next."

The Speaker ordered two writs to be iffued for the election of Burgeffes to ferve in Parliament for the Borough of Yarmouth, and the Borough of Agmondefham, in the room of Henry Beaufoy and William Drake, both deceafed.

Mr. Secretary Dundas brought up an account of the different fums of money paid to the Emperor by His Majefty's Commanders, with the dates of the refpective payments. Ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. WILBERFORCE faid that he rofe to give notice of his intention to bring forward on Wednefday next a motion refpecting

peace. As private business was now almost over, he hoped that a sufficient number of Members would attend on that day in proper time to make a House.

Mr. COKE (of Norfolk) said that he hoped, from the intimation which he had now given, that the honourable gentleman would himself attend in his place. [illegible] alluded to the absence of Mr. Wilberforce [illegible] when the House was counted out.]

Captain BERKELEY gave notice of his intention, after the recess, to move for leave to bring in a bill for the more easily convicting [illegible] with [illegible]

On the question that the Duchy of Cornwall bill be now read a third time, the House divided,

[illegible]

The bill was [illegible] third time, and passed.

In consequence of a summons from the Lords, the Speaker stated that [illegible] the House of Lords, where the royal assent had been given [illegible] to the Dutch Property bill, the bill [illegible] Officers and Privates in the Militia, [illegible] bill.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS [illegible] Convention between His Majesty and the Emperor, signed at Vienna on the 4th of May [illegible]

Mr. [illegible] moved, that [illegible] be printed for the use of the Members, [illegible] Committee of the whole House [illegible]

Mr. FOX [illegible] stood for discussion [illegible] relative to the conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis during their command in the West Indies.

Mr. Chancellor [illegible] more convenient for the House, [illegible] postponed, as the discussion on the Convention between His Majesty and the Emperor would require to be followed [illegible]

In consequence of Mr. [illegible] his acquiescence, his motion was postponed till [illegible], June 2.

Sir CHARLES BUNBURY moved, that the petition presented to the House for the relief of the owners of market carts be read; which being read, he observed, that great discontents had arisen in various parts of the country from market carts being obliged to pay the same duty as chaises. This exaction, he said, amounted in fact to a prohibition, and was a grievance that deeply affected the agriculture of the nation. He wished that some duty inferior to that

on chaifes fhould be laid upon them; and moved, that on Wednefday next the Houfe fhould refolve into a Committee to confider of the acts relating to duties on two-wheel carriages.—Granted.

Some converfation took place on the call of the Houfe; Mr. Stanley moved, that, for the convenience of Members, it fhould be difcharged; but Mr. Wilberforce fuggefting that, as feveral Members had come from a confiderable diftance in the country, if the call fhould now be difcharged, it might leffen the refpect to calls in future, the motion was withdrawn, and it was underftood that the call fhould take place on Thurfday next, the day for which it was appointed.

Mr. MARTIN concurred in fentiment with Mr. Wilberforce; that if calls of the Houfe were fo feldom to be enforced, all refpect for them would neceffarily ceafe.

Mr. PORTER prefaced his motion for granting an addition of pay to fubaltern officers in the army, with ftating the difference of times when that pay was adjufted, and the fubfequent rife in all the articles of life. At prefent, the pay of military officers remained the fame as at the time of Charles II. He mentioned the increafe that had fince been given to the foldiers, and the allowance lately granted to officers in the militia, and concluded with moving,

"That an humble addrefs be prefented to His Majefty, requefting His Majefty to take into his gracious confideration the ftate of the pay of the fubalterns in his regiments of infantry of the line, and that His Majefty will be gracioufly pleafed to grant them fuch relief as, from the increafed price of all the neceffaries of life fince the period at which their prefent pay was originally fixed, to His Royal wifdom fhall feem meet, and that this Houfe will make good the fame."

The SECRETARY AT WAR objected to the motion, on account of the time and mode in which it was brought forward, it involved too great a change to be haftily adopted, more particularly as there was no neceffity of the fervice, which called for any fuch augmentation as that propofed by the honourable gentleman. He faid, that if in the prefent inftance the principle was admitted, it would apply to all offices, civil and military, and it would be impoffible to know where to ftop.

General TARLETON faid, he fhould have been glad to have difcuffed the queftion then under confideration, in a fuller Houfe and to have entered at large into the fubject, becaufe he thought the intereft and welfare of a moft valuable and meritorious clafs of men involved in it, and the dignity and juftice of the nation materially concerned. But if the extraordinary heat of the weather, or any

extraordinary avocation, had induced the Members to absent themselves from their seats, he should content himself, on the present occasion, with compressing as much of the subject as he was able in an extraordinarily small compass.

It was known to every one that was in the least conversant with military matters, that the pay of the subalterns of the army had not been increased since the time of Charles the Second. It was equally known to every individual whatever, that the value of money had considerably diminished since that period, and every article of life had materially increased in price. Many arguments and proofs must suggest themselves to the minds of gentlemen in support of these declarations. There were many Members of that and the other House of Parliament, no doubt, who had been educated at Oxford and Cambridge, and who had sent their sons to the University for education, and it must be within their recollection, that the income allowed had been increased in the proportion of one-fifth in every thirty years. If, therefore, an increased allowance is requisite for gentlemen in the course of thirty years, must it not be apparent, that in the lapse of more than a century, an additional allowance should be thought necessary for the subalterns of the army? General Tarleton said, he was not arguing for a certain description of officers, who had found protection under the present Ministers; he did not mean those officers who were Ensigns to-day, Lieutenants to-morrow, and who sprung through all the gradations of service to a Lieutenant-colonelcy, like mushrooms, which arrived at maturity in a month: but he was contending for that meritorious class of men who felt the pressure of every tax laid on them as British subjects, for a considerable time back, and which had been imposed during the present session of Parliament with redoubled weight and severity. It must be admitted by every one, that many of the late taxes, and particularly that upon Port wine, materially affected the subalterns of the line, and that they have an equal claim to exemption with any other class of individuals whatever. It must likewise strike every one, who is not resolved to be blind and deaf to all information and knowledge, that if innkeepers, and the non-commissioned officers and privates of the army wanted relief, an equal assistance ought to have been extended to the Ensigns and Lieutenants of marching regiments. If any additional argument was wanting, a late debate upon the establishment of an illustrious Personage would of itself place the cause of the needy subaltern in the strongest point of view. If Princes had occasion (and necessary occasion there might be) for additional allowances in the course of every fifty years —if Princes, he said, had this just title to the public favour, upon

whom no taxes were levied, had not the subalterns of the line a just right to the attention and generosity of the Public? Or can it be maintained, that the suffering Clergy of France ought to receive 98,000l. a year from this country, and that the boon required for the subalterns of the line, which his honourable friend had calculated at 60,000l. only, should be withheld by the voice of Parliament?

The General then proceeded to state the deficiency of subalterns in the line. He remarked, that towards the conclusion of the American war, that deficiency was serious and lamentable, and called upon all officers who had been employed in that service, to bear testimony to his assertion. In this war, the service has been exposed to the same inconvenience and the same disadvantage. On a former occasion, when the allowance to militia officers was under the consideration of the House, he had called upon the Secretary at War to declare, from his official documents, if the deficiency of subalterns was not greater in the line, [illegible] in the corps of militia? but [illegible] most discreet silence. He now [illegible], and he expected no answer but what the old adage [illegible], "that silence gives consent." It, therefore, the deficiency was great, and this inconvenience was of a growing nature, [illegible] to the House, that the evil [illegible] more and more prejudicial and detrimental to the public service?

The General then shortly recapitulated and enforced some of his former arguments, and strongly contended, that the additional allowance to subalterns should be conceded with a good grace, because their claim was founded in [illegible], and could not long be resisted. He then continued, "I will keep my promise to the House, though it is difficult to set bounds to [illegible] my good wishes, touching the honourable class of men of whom I have been speaking. But the right honourable gentleman reasons calmly and coolly upon the subject. Like one who enjoys a cool military station at the Horse Guards, where no danger intervenes, and where there is equal protection against vertical heat, and from every other inclemency of the weather,

"He jests at scars that never felt a wound."

Sir, I can give the right honourable gentleman that information, with respect to the duties and value of a British subaltern, which he cannot derive from his clerks or collect at his bureau. It is equally the pride and the profession of a British subaltern, to serve his country from the Poles to the torrid Zone. He is crammed into ships

like a negro, though he is not provided with an African constitution. He is exposed to heats and colds, and every vicissitude of weather; he is subjected to the pestilential vapours which teem from the earth and atmosphere in the corrupted climates of the East and West Indies: he sets the example of patience, when famine pinches the suffering battalions. The scarce his hardships!—What are his labours?—He stands in the front of the camp during the night; he leads the battle during the day. He is foremost on patroles and picquets; he conducts forlorn hopes to victory or to death: he adds laurels to the brows of the most renowned Commanders, and sometimes plants them where they would not otherwise have growth.

Now, Sir, let us advert to the employment and situation of the subalterns of the militia. I mean no invidious comparison, for I profess that I have for the militia the highest respect and veneration, because I consider them as the constitutional guardians of the country; but it cannot be deemed improper and disrespectful, in this point of view, to advert to the duties and labours which, from the different nature of the service, they are destined to perform. It is their lot to encounter dusty marches from Hounslow to Windsor, or to the different camps in the vicinity of the metropolis—To endure warm dances with the matchless beauties of Britain—to pass the night in merriment and revelry—to restore exhausted nature on beds of thrice-driven down—to enjoy the summer months on elevated and well selected encampments, pitched in the coolest and most salubrious situations in the kingdom; to sheathe the exercising sword on the approach of winter, and find quarters provided for them in the gayest and most commodious towns and cities in England. Now, Sir, is it to be believed that this House, which has voted rewards this very year to these gentlemen, to tempt them to endure the fatigues of warfare, and to relish the hardships of service, can refuse such a trifling remuneration as is now proposed to such an useful and valuable body of men as the subalterns of infantry? Gracious God! Sir, is it possible that a British House of Commons can foster and protect its domestic troops, and reject a consolation so necessary for men who expose their lives to every peril and vicissitude of climate—who fight the battles of their country over the surface of the habitable globe—who have extended the empire of Great Britain—and who, at this juncture, defend its dominion and its commerce!

General SMITH, and Mr. M. ROBINSON, likewise supported the motion, on the grounds of the inadequacy of the pay to supply the necessaries and comforts of life, which a gentleman had a right to expect.

Sir W. PULTENEY opposed it, adopting the idea of Mr.

Windham as to the principle, and expressing a great anxiety, that the House should be careful of establishing precedents for increasing the expences of the country.

The House divided on the motion;

Ayes, 7; Noes, 37—Majority against the motion, 30.

On the question being put, "that the other orders of the day be now read," Mr. Martin moved, that the House be counted, when there not being forty Members present, an adjournment took place of course.

*Wednesday, 27th May.*

A copy was ordered to be laid before the House of an affidavit made by General Myers, relative to the affairs of the West Indies, and transmitted to one of His Majesty's Secretaries of State.

Mr. WILBERFORCE began, by observing, that the subject which he was about to bring before the House, was one which he could assure them he had deeply considered, (as it became every one to do, who took so forward a part,) that he had revolved it again and again, and that he had even been somewhat confirmed in his opinion upon it, by what appeared to him to be evidently the general sentiment of the Public: for there had certainly prevailed an opinion almost every where of late, that Ministers were either actually negociating a peace, or at least were purposing to negociate; and the ground on which many, the greatest friends to Government, had, in various letters, advised him to decline his motion, had been, that he was doing that which, if Government were left undisturbed, would soon, by their own steps towards a peace, be rendered unnecessary. This expectation of peace had arisen, as he insisted, not from any terms in the resolutions of Administration, or in their language in the House, for in these they had plainly intimated that they had no thought of making peace with France at present, but from the general posture of affairs, which had naturally led men to imagine that this was a time when pacific measures might be taken. Much joy had been infused into the public mind in consequence; and it might certainly therefore, become Administration to shew why, at such a period as this, they should not treat. He thought it a very important duty in every war, not only to take care that in the commencement it was just and necessary, but to look out also from time to time, for every opening which might be given for the conclusion of it; to see whether the original motives for it continued—whether our own country, whether that of the enemy, whether the state of other powers, and the general circumstances of the times, made it needful still to pursue the path we were treading. He had done so

in his own mind in this case, and he would now state to the House that train of reasoning, which in consequence of his doing so, he had naturally been led into in his closet. The general subject of the effect of the war on our finances, population, and commerce, had been so lately discussed, that he should dwell little on those points; he would only observe, that there seemed to have been a mistake in taking such credit as had been done for the present magnitude of our export of manufactures when, that very export was probably to be ascribed in part to the war itself; in proof of which, he quoted an observation from an author on the wealth of nations, noticing the mistake which had arisen in a former war on this point. He spoke next of the navy, which though certainly at present much superior on the whole (though likely to be less so since the treaty by which a Dutch force was to be added to that of France) was certainly not to be depended on as always superior in every part: the French, by leaving themselves quite weak, either in the Mediterranean, or in the West Indies, or else by being weak at home, might contrive to be superiour, if they pleased, at least for a time, in one if not in two of those important stations, and as they had no commerce to defend, they might, without much sacrifice of interest, strike even with their fleet a temporary stroke. When the extent of our territories also was considered, which it belonged to our fleet to defend, it certainly seemed to be too much to say that in this respect we should be harmless and untouched. He next adverted to the general state of the allied powers; and particularly dwelt on the subject of the Emperor's late rescript, in which he tells the German powers that he is ready to make peace with France, a rescript which he (Mr. Wilberforce) understood the Emperor signed on the same day on which he signed the treaty with this country for a loan for carrying on the war. He had heard it said abroad, that this rescript was only intended to amuse the German powers, and that the Emperor was not sincere in it, but wished rather thereby to prevent a peace; a supposition which he would not so calumniate his Imperial Majesty as to allow himself for one moment to make. What! could it be supposed, that when the Emperor said, as he did, [Mr. Wilberforce here read the words of the rescript] "that he was ready to enter into negociation," that he meant in reality to avoid a negociation? when he said that "he would consult the general interests of the Empire," that he meant not to consult their interest? and when he spoke of "permanent and secure peace with the French Republic," and "of his endeavouring to accomplish so desirable an end," was it to be supposed that he thought a secure peace impossible or undesirable? or, that he thought the French Republic ought not to be ac-

knowledged? If such were the Emperor's meaning, no language could be strong enough for him to use in reprobating such deceit.— But besides, if this were the mode of doing away the meaning of the rescript, and we were to trust the Emperor's disposition to go on with the war on such ground, we were to trust him on the very ground of his being unworthy of trust, on the ground of his rescript being an act of duplicity to the States of Germany, and on this ground we were to presume on his being faithful towards us; and all this at the very time when we refuse to make peace with France because she would be regardless of her treaties, "being incapable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other nations.' But even if the words of the rescript should be explained away, the professed object of the Emperor was, to arrest a treaty which was commencing without him, by saying, that he was willing also to treat: the Emperor therefore declared in substance, that he thought France might be treated with. On every ground, then, he must suppose that the Emperor thought thus, and was sincere.— What then was the state of the confederacy? Our allies were vanishing away very fast. Whether the Emperor signed the rescript in his quality of head of the Empire only, or in that of King of Hungary, &c. also, he did not exactly know, but at any rate, he was not two separate men, and if peace was desirable for the German Empire, any one who cast his eye on the map, must see that it must on the same ground be desirable for the other possessions of the Emperor also. The aid of Germany, and even of a quintuple contingent, had been stated by many declarations of this very Emperor to be absolutely necessary to the general success of the war, and now if Germany fails him, Prussia also having withdrawn, his own territory being reduced, and his arms being shut out from crossing the Rhine, how could it be hoped that he would make farther head against the French? As to Spain, she likewise was reported to be negociating, and her known weakness was one ground of the report. From Sardinia little was to be expected. An alliance, indeed, with Russia was spoken of, and certainly he felt disposed to commend and not to blame the endeavours of Government to interest her in the war; provided, however, we should not thereby draw down upon us more enemies than would be compensated for by her assistance. Mr. Wilberforce added, that even though his understanding should dictate a policy of this sort, still his feelings would follow very slowly, for he should find it very hard indeed to bring himself to wish success to such a power as Russia had shewn herself to be. Having described the state of the allies, Mr. Wilberforce next adverted to that of France, and here, he said, that

some new considerations came in, which the House had never had the full opportunity of deliberating upon before. First, that the had quieted those great internal insurrections, which had occupied some very considerable armies during all the preceding periods of the war. Not only the allies were lessened in numbers, and in force, not only the King of Prussia had withdrawn, and the Empire seemed likely to follow his example, not only the British troops (a circumstance which ought also to be considered) were removed from the continent, while the line of frontier, both by the capture of Holland and the peace with Prussia, was also exceedingly narrowed, but, on the other hand also, by the quieting of these insurrections, there was a large accession of disposible force gained to the French, which they might bring at once to bear on any new point. The advantage to the French by the above mentioned defection of our allies, and the accession to their own strength, he computed at between 2 and 300,000 men. Next, as to the French resources. Their paper money, as he understood, was much depreciated, and had fallen still more very lately, nevertheless, every thing went on as before. In America paper money had been depreciated during the war far below the present depreciation in France, and yet new resources had after this been opened, and the fallacy of supposing that a nation's pecuniary means must end with its paper credit, had been evinced. In point of subsistence, Mr. Wilberforce stated, that he had received information from various quarters, and from some persons who had arrived from France within these 2 or 3 days, that generally speaking they were in no sort of distress, that in Paris indeed bread had been scarce, but it was now grown less so than before, and in many parts, he believed he might say in most, provisions were at this time, cheaper in France than in England. But when it was considered, moreover, that peace was now made between France and Prussia, and that a new market for grain was thus opened, and even that the King of Prussia (if what report said was true,) had shewn himself disposed to refuse corn to England, until he had supplied the French necessities (not to mention the like aids to be got from other new allies,) surely the want of food would not be urged as a reasonable ground for supposing that France would be exhausted; besides which, it should be considered, that the time of harvest was now nearly approaching. Such then were the circumstances of our enemies in point of the great article of provisions; next, what were their tempers and dispositions? In the armies there had been no sign whatever of disaffection. A general satisfaction prevailed in the country, as was natural to expect, on account of the termination of the troubles of La Vendee and of the

Chouans; and ſome hope of peace was excited by the treaties already made, or entered into; and whatever partial or temporary tumults might ariſe in Paris, the idea of a general riſing in the country was laid aſleep, and ſeemed now to be over. The general circumſtances of the war alſo tended to make them think their troubles nearly come to an end, for peace ſeemed to them (as it did to the people of this country) not far diſtant, and any evils which might ariſe were likely therefore to be ſubmitted to, under the idea of their being temporary. The conduct of foreign nations to them tended alſo to confirm this ſentiment. The Duke of Tuſcany's treaty with them was a ſmall matter, when conſidered in the light of an additional ſtrength gained, but it was very important in another view, namely, as a ſymptom of the ſort of confidence which foreigners now placed in them. Here was a ſhrewd Italian Prince, who ſome time ago thought himſelf ſafer under the wings of the confederacy, but who now thought it was time to commit himſelf rather to the protection of France. The French peace with Pruſſia, and Sweden's recognition of the French Republic, tended in like manner to increaſe their ſtrength, by ſuſtaining their reputation in Europe.

Mr. Wilberforce here adverted to a new event in France, which he ſaid he had heard of ſince he came into the Houſe. He meant the commotions recently excited in Paris (which appeared in the newſpapers of that day). This, he ſaid, was a kind of event which he was not particularly ſurpriſed at, and which, if any body meant to make it an argument againſt a motion for peace, he ſhould wiſh to expreſs his opinion againſt ſuch an uſe of it very ſtrongly indeed. We muſt not (ſaid he) allow the happineſs of the people of England to be the ſport and play of theſe ſucceſſive events. He had obſerved, on many occaſions, a diſpoſition in the Houſe, as well as in ſome people without doors, to be on the watch, as it were, for ſome new event, and to reſt almoſt the whole ground of going on with the war on ſomething future, which they could not define; and which they had waited for month after month, and year after year. Every little incident was magnified by perſons of this deſcription, and was turned into an argument againſt making peace. He knew not how he could better enforce the miſchief of acting, in ſo momentous a queſtion, as that of war and peace on theſe tranſient and ſlight grounds, than by putting the Houſe in mind of what would be the conſequence, if France were to act on her ſide in the ſame manner. What if her government were to urge the high price of proviſions (which as he had ſtated, were in general higher here than in France), in the ſame manner as we urged [illegible] namely, as a proof that we were juſt exhauſted? What if the

vast bounties given to man our navy, or to increase our army, and the several new efforts made in those respects, should there be any; and what if the risings which had taken place in this country, which in one instance had seemed for a short time rather formidable, should be magnified; the account of them being conveyed by persons the least favourable to our Government? Would not in such case a very erroneous judgment be formed in France concerning our resources, and concerning the probable period of our terminating the war, if these alone were the grounds on which the French Government should argue on the subject. This reflection, then, should teach us caution on our part: it should teach us to look out for some future footing, not taking up any light circumstance, which made little or nothing to the general argument, and on which a mind that was able to survey the whole of the subject ought not to rest. As to the probable consequences of pursuing the war, Mr. Wilberforce declared, that he considered them as in their nature in a great measure uncertain. We had very extended foreign territories, and they the contrary. With respect to the West Indies, he believed every West Indian would reply, if he were asked, that peace on their account was desirable, and if it should continue the policy of the French (as it had hitherto been), rather to ruin us, than assist themselves, it was obvious that accession of territory in St Domingo was hardly to be desired. There were 400,000 slaves in that Colony, many of whom had been in actual rebellion, and others had had great concessions made to them, so that the reduction of that island into an English colony was in his mind far from desirable.—As to Guadaloupe, it should be remembered what venom had been spread there also, where a British fort had been taken by Blacks armed against us. Government themselves also had admitted that it was not in the power of any naval force effectually to secure our West India possessions. Much therefore, was to be lost by war, but little was to be gained in that quarter. In the East Indies, we were more out of the reach of the enemy, yet the recent French treaty with Holland affected in some measure our interests in that quarter, and Indian Princes, as experience has always shewn, are apt to take occasion of making war when they knew us to be involved in hostilities in Europe.—The French, though they should give them little help, might at least give them promises of it, and might possibly blow up a flame; so that there also we had much to lose, and little or rather nothing to acquire. There was another quarter, he meant Ireland, on the subject of which it would be better to hint, than to say much. It had been expressly advised the Catholics to press their claims rather in a time of peace than of war. If there

or all of our allies should fail us, he would leave it to the imagination of the House to support the ground for making peace that arose on this quarter. Lastly then, as to the probable effects of war on this country; heretofore, indeed, it might justly be said to be carried on in order to prevent the progress of French principles; but now he believed there was much more danger of their being strengthened by a general discontent arising from the continuance of the war, and from the consequences of its continuance, than from any importation of the principles themselves from France, for the nature of them had now been seen through, the spirit of Jacobinism and fraternization had subsided, even in that country, and a gradual change in this respect had taken place. Another bad effect of the war in this country was, the drawing off so great a part of the people to a military life. Government, indeed, deserved praise, and not blame, in his opinion, for this measure, so long as the war existed: still, however, it was a very serious evil, tending to hurt essentially the morals of the people, to detach them from the habits of civil life; and though no present consequences might be felt, yet very material ones might, at some distance of time, perhaps follow. Mr. Wilberforce here took occasion to introduce a remark respecting the effect of our persevering in the war, on the minds of the people of America. On the arrival of the news of the capture of Holland, in the capital of America, he had read in an American paper, that great passions of joy were manifested, and that not only by individuals, but the city guns were fired, and the city bells were rung. If, therefore, we should appear to them to push the war to a most extreme and unreasonable length, might it not be supposed, that some jealousy would be excited on that Continent, either through the idea of our wanting to possess ourselves of the whole of the West Indies, (a supposition which he believed they had already made) or of our having a rooted enmity to all Republican Governments; neither of which could be very pleasing circumstances to their minds. As to the effects of the continuance of the war on France, Mr. Wilberforce declared himself very strongly persuaded that the war tended, under the present circumstances, rather to prevent a counter-revolution than to forward one. Suppose the most successful events of [illegible] to happen: suppose Austria to penetrate into France: suppose [illegible] new Russian allies, fresh from the capture of Poland, [illegible]ed with them, and to march into that country, would not [illegible] of France unite more than ever against those fresh in[illegible] forget their internal animosities, and be again compressed [illegible]? Or, suppose these animosities to continue, we had [illegible] France, though weak and disturbed in her center[illegible]

might still be terrible in her extremities. An idea, he [illegible] prevailed, that, if peace should be made with one party in France, and that party should be dispossessed, the succeeding [illegible] would, of course, not abide by it. This supposition seemed to him extremely false. If the people were for peace (which they most certainly and almost universally were) every new party would court the popular favour by the preservation of peace, and not by the breach of it. The party now in power was that which was peculiarly favourable to peace, more so probably than any which could be supposed to succeed them. Mr. Wilberforce having spoken of the consequences of pursuing the war, next turned to those which might be expected from making peace. He said, that wherever we turned our view, the most evident advantages seemed likely to result from it. In the West, in the East, in Ireland, and at home, much was to be expected from it. He particularly noticed, that our markets, which the prolongation of the war might deprive us of, remained still open. If then peace was so desirable, what obstructed it? Would not the people of this country be persuaded to agree to it? If they should see Government treating for peace, did the House think the nation would feel disappointed? He had already noticed their wishes on the subject. Were the allies unwilling? The chief doubt was, whether if we pursued the war, and even paid them for it, they would continue to join us. Were the French unwilling? Either the French people or the French Government? He was firmly persuaded, that if any such pacific language was held out, as that which his motion conveyed, means would be taken to try by [illegible] neutral powers the effect of a negociation. There had been in France a growing spirit of moderation. In Bourdeaux, British property to a great amount had lately been suffered to be taken away, though known to be British, and that part of it which the Convention had taken for its own use had been restored in value, upon an appraisement made by the brokers usually employed by the merchants. He could not help wishing for his own part, to hail any thing like a cessation of frenzy, and to take care lest we ourselves, by our high language, should again bring on the paroxysm. Hitherto our language had been, that though we would not refuse to make peace with France, even under the form of a Republic, yet we were decidedly against making peace with the present men in power, and with the present Republic; for we have implied that the present Government is incapable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other nations.

The present motion, he said, would not oblige Government to treat; it would merely prepare the way for it. It would

do much leſs than the Emperor had done, for the words of it were much weaker. He had expreſsly declared France to be capable of maintaining these relations, by the whole ſpirit, as well as words, of his reſcript. What he had done thus ſtrongly, and at the ſame time partially, he wiſhed the Houſe to do in a more dignified manner, by declaring itſelf not unwilling to entertain negociation, with a view to peace with all the allies. Mr. Wilberforce here read his motion, viz.

"That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that the preſent circum-
"ſtances of France ought not to preclude the Government of this
"country from entertaining propoſals for a general pacification, and
"that it is for the intereſt of Great Britain to make peace with
"France, provided it can be effected on fair terms, and in an ho-
"nourable manner."

Mr. Wilberforce having read his intended motion, proceeded to make ſome anſwer to what might be ſuppoſed to be the arguments againſt the meaſure he recommended, particularly adverting to the objections to peace urged by Government in former debates. Many of theſe he remarked were now turned, in a great meaſure, through the change of circumſtances, againſt thoſe who uſed them. Thus it had been ſaid, as a reaſon for continuing the war, that if we would not continue it while we had the advantage of ſo many allies, we ſhould in the end have to make war alone. This would not be urged in the ſame degree now:—This very event was approaching, not through our making peace, but through our too long continuance of the war, and if we wiſhed to ſecure a future co-operation of allies, the way now would be to diſſolve what remains of the confederacy by conſent, before it entirely diſſolved itſelf, as the only chance of reſuming it, if hereafter it ſhould be neceſſary: he might therefore in this particular inſtance retort their own argument on themſelves. Another argument, always hitherto uſed, would not now be repeated, viz. that we could not make peace with France without acknowledging the Republic, and without acknowledging it as founded on the principles of Liberty and Equality, and the Rights of Man. But had the Emperor of Germany, had the King of Pruſſia, had the King of Sweden, had the Duke of Tuſcany, in this ſenſe acknowledged the Republic? Had they ſigned, or propoſed to ſign (as all who acknowledged the Republic were ſaid to do) their own depoſition? No; the treaties entered into had been mutually ſigned as other treaties uſually are, and it had been ſhewn that no impediment of this kind had exiſted. Again, the ſafety of Europe had been declared to be a principal ground of war; but if Europe was determined to take care of itſelf, and to make peace as the

best means of consulting its safety, did it belong to Great Britain to fight her battles for her, and to fight them alone, or almost alone?

The declining resources of France had been stated as another encouragement to go on with the war—but when was the cessation of them to arrive? Their armies did not want fresh requisitions, and every thing went on still much as heretofore. There was one view of the subject, which he had not yet taken, which seemed so highly important, that he must here touch upon it. He alluded to the prospect which naturally presented itself to some minds, of a general war in Europe, as likely, ere long, to arise. Russia, it might be supposed, would take part with us. Turkey, on the other hand, and other powers, with France, and a new scene of the most extensive hostilities might in that case follow. Humanity shuddered at such a scene, but even, putting humanity out of the question, it seemed to him, in the view of dry policy, that such a course of events must be highly prejudicial to Great Britain. Who could say what might be the consequence of strengthening Austria and Russia, as their successes might do, or of the irruption of French troops into almost all Europe, if the other side should prove superior. The very opposing armies might catch the spirit of French democracy, and when it was considered that the French revolution owed its rise to a great pressure on the lower orders of the people in that country, what might not be the consequence on the happiness as well as on the minds of all the lower orders of people in Europe, if an expensive, destructive, and almost universal war should prevail? Certainly, the effects would be incalculable.

Mr Wilberforce here observed, how important a duty it was to endeavour to stop the flames of war from extending themselves over the world, and how ardently he wished to prevent the extermination of so large a part of the human race. Never did he more strongly feel his obligations to his constituents, than in such a crisis as the present, when, by sending him to Parliament, they enabled him, perhaps, to be an instrument (however unworthy of it) of lessening the destruction of mankind, and promoting the attainment of the peace of Europe. And what were the objects to be effected by our pursuing war, to obtain a Government in France worthy of trust? Every nation almost might carry on eternal war on this principle. Might not Turkey say the same of Russia, who had uniformly broke faith with her, and even Russia of Turkey, of whose religion it was the professed principle never to make peace with infidels. Mr. Wilberforce concluded, by remarking what would, in his opinion, be the true line of policy for this Court, namely, to cultivate our domestic resources, to consult the happiness, the

good morals, and the comfort of the lower orders of the people; and to excite their confidence in Administration: to keep, on the other hand, as much as may be from continental connections, on account of the general uncertainty of them, the character of foreign Princes, and the situation of the affairs of Europe. He ended with observing, that what he had said had been distinct, as he trusted, and determinate, he hoped that those who made objections to his arguments, would treat the subject in like manner, and not resort to any subtle distinctions, nor merely advise the House in a general way to go on, hoping that things (though they knew not why) might turn out better. Predictions of the success of war had seldom answered. Predictions of the advantages on the side of peace had generally been fulfilled. In the case of America it had been said, and by high authority, that if we made peace, and recognized her independence, the sun of Great Britain would be for ever set; but by the operation of the most simple and common causes, the greatest prosperity had followed our pacification with that country. The same, he believed, would happen, if they would make peace with France, and the motion which he proposed would hardly fail, if it were carried, to bring about that object.

Mr. DUNCOMBE rose to second the motion. He adverted to an argument that had often been urged, that it was impossible to have a permanent peace with the present Government of France, and asked whether we ever had a permanent peace with France, or whether, during the last half century, we at any time had a peace that had lasted for more than seven years? The fact was, that we had been continually embroiled in wars, from the ambition of that very Monarchy which we were now so anxious to restore. He remarked only one difference in our present situation, formerly, we were at war with the Kings and Ministers of France, now we were at war with the people. He remarked on the state of the confederacy against France, and on the absurdity of any reliance on the profered assistance of the Empress of Russia. Such an offer on her part could only proceed from a strong presumption of British credulity. Had she really wished to lend any effectual assistance to this country in the prosecution of the present contest, she had opportunities sufficient to have evinced the sincerity of her intentions. He did not wish to reflect on the character of the soldiers and officers who had been engaged in action; their conduct was such as, in his opinion, to add fresh lustre to the military fame of the country; but he could not help thinking that there had been something remiss in our naval operations. He quoted the conduct of the fleet which in 1759 gained the famous victory of La Hoche, and which

'during almost all the winter had been out at sea, cruising off Brest, and preventing any depredations upon our commerce. He considered the present motion as a call upon Ministers to put a stop to the scene of misery and calamity which was now going on; to conciliate the public mind, by adopting measures to bring about a peace, and to preclude the necessity of making any addition to those burdens, which had already increased to such an extent, that they could not much longer be borne. Amidst the distress created by these burdens, he adverted to a bill which had been brought in for paying certain debts, which had excited general indignation in the country, a bill which, if it was allowed to pass, must for ever stain the character of the House. He asked, on what particular circumstance Ministers built their hopes of success in the prosecution of the present contest; whether on the situation of the West Indies, or the superiority of our fleet in the Mediterranean, which had derived so much advantage from the Spanish co operation? He concluded with stating, that he had long been a warm friend to the administration of the right honourable gentleman; but he must confess that he now shuddered at the prospect before him.

The right honourable WILLIAM WINDHAM, Secretary at War, said, that the House had now heard the reasons urged by the honourable mover and seconder, in support of a motion so extraordinary, both in itself, and in relation to the sentiments and declarations which had formerly been adopted by those honourable gentlemen, in conjunction with a great majority of that House. He agreed as to the propriety of bringing forward questions at different periods of a war, whether under any change of circumstances that might have taken place, it was adviseable to proceed in the prosecution of the contest. The point then to be discussed was, whether any such change had taken place? He affirmed that no such change had taken place, or at least none which rendered peace in the present moment preferable to the prosecution of the war. He remarked, that in every argument, it was necessary to consider those with whom we were arguing. In the present instance, then, it was necessary for him to consider whether he was arguing with those who, in its commencement, had considered the present war as just and necessary; or, in other words, as just, because it was necessary, who had reprobated the doctrines of the French, and wished the destruction of the system, which they were attempting to establish; or with those who had opposed the war from its outset, who had approved the doctrines of the French; who had held out the example of their revolution as most glorious; who had wished success to their exertions, and had even openly professed that the estab-

lishment of the Republic was an event desirable to mankind. It was evident that the question, as taken in relation to those opposite opinions, must be argued upon grounds entirely different, and it was only to the latter description of persons that he meant to address himself. In every question respecting peace, two things were to be considered, which the honourable gentleman had not kept sufficiently distinct in the course of his argument, first, what sort of peace was to be gained; and secondly, what were the means of gaining it? The honourable mover seemed too much to consider peace as peace. He seemed to think that the moment the treaty was signed, we should be at liberty to disband our armies, that prosperity would of course return, and that we should immediately enter upon a career of tranquillity and affluence. On that subject, said Mr. Windham, I differ from him most widely; he thinks peace, in the present moment, safe and honourable; I think it neither safe nor honourable. But here I cannot help remarking, that the honourable gentleman is a sort of constitution-monger, and that he declared, upon a former occasion, that he would give to France the same constitution as that of America. The honourable gentleman would give them a constitution, as if it was a ready-made house, which could be transported without inconvenience from one place to another, and as if every Government did not grow out of the habits, the prejudices, the sentiments, and the affections of the people.—[A loud cry of "Hear! hear!" from the bench of Opposition.] He would give them a constitution, as children who had surrounded a twig with a quantity of dirt, would think that they had planted a tree. Some questions he wished to ask, as to the means of attaining peace. And first he would ask, was to express a desire of peace on the part of this country, the best means of attaining it? How far, ought the inclination for peace manifested by France, to operate as an inducement to this country to come forward, and manifest its dispositions for the same purpose? How far would this inclination for peace in France be likely to grow and increase in consequence of our keeping aloof, and abstaining from any declaration that might indicate a reciprocity of sentiment? Mr. Windham asked what change had taken place in the state of France, since the subject was last under consideration, which tended to render any negociation for peace more secure? A great change had indeed taken place, but none which rendered any prospect of peace permanent; the Government was not become more durable, nor was the character of the people changed; he did not at present see any reason why they might not return to the spirit of domination, and the spirit of proselytism which had formerly rendered them so dangerous. The present boasted

ſyſtem of moderation acquired all its praiſe only from being contraſted with the former infamous proceedings of the Government. It is moderate, it is true; but how is it moderate? It is moderate only in compariſon with the preceding plans of terror, murder, and proſcription. Compared with other Governments, the Government of France is ſtill diſtinguiſhed for injuſtice, violence, and inſult; or admitting, for the ſake of argument, that it were not ſo, is it poſſible to propheſy how long it may be before ſuch a ſyſtem may return?

But here let us examine, ſaid he, in what manner this change was produced. They have been brought down to talk the language of moderation, and therefore their moderation is the reſult of neceſſity. They are relaxed in their circumſtances, their vigour is weakened, and their courage crippled. If they had the deſire to revive their former atrocities, they have not now the power, and it is our duty to prevent them. Their fortune has reached its flood, and is now ebbing faſt away. The ſymptoms of decay are manifeſt, and the pulſe that raged ſo violently will ſoon no longer beat. He remarked, that though the honourable Mover had demanded a preciſe anſwer, he had not encouraged it by bringing forward any thing preciſe in his own ſtatement. He had given it as his opinion that the diſtreſs in the interior of France was not great. He had thought that ſince the communication had begun to be open, that there was ſuch a body of evidence with reſpect to the exiſtence of that diſtreſs, as could not well have been reſiſted, and that the confeſſions of the extreme hardſhips ſuffered from the depreciation of aſſignats, and the ſcarcity of proviſions, were too frequent and notorious to be in any degree invalidated. The honourable gentleman talked of recent reports as to diſturbances in Paris, of the truth of which he ſeemed to intimate ſome doubt. They might not indeed be true to the extent to which they had been ſtated; they had, however, now been reported upon the authority of public papers, and the right honourable gentleman who called their exiſtence in queſtion, might as well diſpute the accounts of the maſſacres at Paris, or the ravages of the guillotine. Was it to be treated as a matter of ſlight report that the mob had broke into the auguſt body of the Convention, that the Members had been forced to fly, that the head of one of their number had been cut off, and that with the head in their hand, the mob had addreſſed a ſpeech to the Preſident of the Convention? Little hope would be entertained of the permanency and duration of that Government, which has not efficient means of protection and defence againſt ſuch violence and outrage; and as to the ſuppoſition of theſe accounts being bare reports, the honourable gentleman had forgotten, that while he treated them ſo, he had

himself brought forward uncertain reports of a treaty of peace between the French Republic and Spain, as well as other Princes of Germany.

The honourable gentleman had also considered the events that had happened since the propriety of a negociation was last discussed. Whether the conduct of the enemy was different now to what it was then, could not be easily decided, he had stated, however, that there was an increase of power on their part, and a proportionate decrease on ours, or what is nearly tantamount, that as our alliances were weakened, their alliances grew stronger. One prominent object, the defection of our allies, was particularly expatiated on by the honourable gentleman. To such a declaration Mr. Windham opposed one broad leading consideration, the state of distress and state of opinions now prevalent in France. Nothing, he affirmed, but the conduct held out by the honourable gentleman, and such motions as that which he had now brought forward, could prevent a speedy termination of the contest in which we were now engaged. Here, he confessed, there was nothing but assertion against assertion, appeal against appeal. He then adverted to the reasoning employed by the honourable gentleman in order to induce the country to snatch at the first opportunity for peace. He had affirmed, that its extent of territory was too great to be protected, that its burdens were too severe to be borne; he had insinuated that the country was come to that pitch of prosperity which it was well if it could keep, but in which every risk might be attended with fatal consequences. He would maintain that such language was never heard before upon any similar business in that House, nor would the country have ever risen to such a pitch of honour, glory, and universal reputation as it has done, if such had been the language of our predecessors.— The honourable gentleman should have recollected too, that this reasoning is not confined to the present war, but extends to other wars in future. He has openly proclaimed, that our burdens have increased to their utmost, that we have no means of defence, that our people are rebellious, and our armies ready to assist them. We have reached the climax of our grandeur, and may now supinely repose ourselves, nor even attempt to support it, for it must necessarily decline. In former times our arms protected our commerce, but now we are come to the full enjoyment of our industry, and we call upon our enemy not to disturb us, leave us as we are, leave us well, or if you do not, we are not possessed of means to defend ourselves. This was one of the arguments which the honourable gentleman had pretended to touch on lightly. He would not speak out, he said, and there was no necessity to press him, for he was per-

fectly intelligible. But Mr. Windham said he could not help noticing the inconsistency which commonly prevailed in this mode of reasoning, where the arguments were shifted, as occasion prompted, to suit the purpose of the speaker. Sometimes they declaimed on the loyalty of His Majesty's subjects, and sometimes they proclaimed them to be nearly infected with the contagion of the French Republicans. To what could such proceedings tend, but to lay the country prostrate at the feet of the enemy? Read the various declarations of France against this country, and then judge of their inclination to induce us to make peace. In a discourse lately delivered to the Convention, they state, "that they will make no concessions to Great Britain, nor will they offer any terms of accommodation They are not afraid of war, and are therefore determined to continue it until they have reduced the pride and power of this haughty country." Are we to sit down contented with such indignities, such insults, and such aggravation? And here is another odd inconsistency in the arguments on the other side: When they vindicate this conduct, they assert, that the war produces these atrocities; but when they argue for peace, then they say, "Leave them to themselves, and they will destroy one another." What then will be the situation of France when peace is made? There will be an internal dissention in their Government, which must ultimately produce a popular commotion, the armies too will return, and assist to keep up the internal warfare. If we have sagacity enough to discover that such must be the consequences of their making peace, may they not have sufficient sagacity to perceive the same, and will they not instantly seek new wars to keep their armies employed, and prevent such calamities? The fact is too notorious for comment. How could the honourable gentleman delude himself so? Does he not know, that with such a Government, so feeble, so precarious, so insecure, we can have no stability? And does he not know that if the war should be renewed again, after an interval of peace of the shortest duration, that it requires a greater impulse, a greater energy throughout the nation, and is attended also with a greater expence? For it is in moral as in mechanical powers, a strong force is necessary to put the machine in motion, which continues its velocity with little aid. There was one of the honourable gentleman's arguments, said Mr. Windham, which I had almost forgotten. He has taken care, however, to remind me, and I am glad of it. I suspect my observations will contain more than he expected. He has reminded me of La Vendee and the Chouans. Now let the gentlemen opposite to me recollect the language they have used, compared with the events [A cry of hear! hear!] Let them remember that they

tenaciously insisted that France had but one sentiment. The honourable gentleman opposite will call to mind too what he formerly said. "Do you (said he,) do you count on Brittany and Normandy?" Yes, the Executive Government did count on them and proposed to adopt such measures as would better facilitate that event which was so universally desired. When dissentions were said to exist in the internal state of France, it was asked where? At Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, and La Vendee; and well would it have been for this country if she had immediately taken the proper advantage of those dissentions, and converted them to her purposes. They were lost, however; though it might be said they could not have been lost if they were not possest. Mr. Windham supposed the gentlemen were laughing at their own declarations that no such dissentions existed, when discontent, distrust, and animosity were carried to the greatest length.

He then reverted to the honourable gentleman's statement of the condition of Marseilles, and observed that it was not because that under such a tyranny as that of France dissentions do not shew themselves, that we are to conclude that they do not exist. We might have had reasons to know their existence if we had acted with becoming caution, and instead of one La Vendee, we might have known that the whole of France was becoming one entire Vendee. He then referred to the subjugation of the Vendeans and the Chouans. At one time, it had been asked, have you any friends in France? Has the new system any enemies? Are not all the people of that country united in the same sentiment? The boast which was now made of the triumph over the insurgents now proved the reality of the danger which had once existed. But, though these people had submitted to hard necessity, it was not to be supposed that they had all at once changed their sentiments: and it proved also that there still existed a body of good sentiments in France. He addressed this not solely to the gentlemen opposite, but to those gentlemen who had confidence in the Executive Government at that time: and now, when from the interior of France we had reports of popular commotions coming from all quarters, was it longer just or reasonable to doubt their authenticity; and if this representation be right, was this the time for such conclusions as the honourable gentleman had drawn? The first argument of the honourable gentleman was, that peace would establish the power of those, who now preside in France; and what sort of an argument was this? Would it establish the power? Were there hopes it would? Was the honourable gentleman so prepared as to say, that the change of Government had so far changed the evil, as solely to have produced the al-

lteration in his sentiments? If it could, why could it not have done so before in the administration of the bloody Roberspierre? According to their mode of reasoning, war could be reduced at any time to a scale of profit and calculation. Stating generally his opinions on the subject, he saw the motives for continuing the war the same—the prospects better. Another objection, applying to the majority of the House, against the motion, was, that if it passed, the House would thereby take the management out of the hands of the Executive Government. This the House had certainly at times a right to do; but then it was usual when they assumed that right, to apply to His Majesty to displace the persons in whom the trust of the Executive Government was lodged. Fortunately the motion was not yet adopted. But nevertheless the charge of inconsistency and rashness, if not something worse, was attached to it; for the honourable gentleman who brought it forward was the friend of the Minister, and had pronounced in the course of that evening many eulogiums upon him. He relied, he said, on his talents, his integrity and judgement; he praised his general capacity, and he esteemed him as the properest person to be at the head of affairs: but here comes the difficulty—However great his general capacity, his judgement, his integrity and talents, and however fit for Administration, he was not fit to conduct the business of the State; and therefore the honourable gentleman proposed to conduct it for him. He would not offer to displace his friend, but he would undertake to manage measures for him. Did he think the Minister would authorize him to perform his functions? The honourable gentleman would allow for these interrogations by the part he had taken himself in the debate of that evening He must know, that in all public affairs they were bound to follow their duty in preference to their friendships, and for his own part, Mr. Windham said, he had sacrificed friendships that were dear to him, to his public duty, and he did it because he loved to follow right, though it be sometimes difficult to find where it lies. The honourable gentleman had done so too, though Mr. Windham disapproved of the mode in which he had done it. A Christian conscience was understood to be connected with humility, but the honourable gentleman had been opposing those of whose integrity and abilities he entertained no doubt, and with whom he was bound in the close ties of friendship. Now he wished to impress on the honourable gentleman's mind, that he was playing a deep game; for if he was not the preserver, he was the undoer of his country: and if he did not obtain the posthumous fame he so virtuously desired, he would be transmitted to posterity with eternal execration. He wished him to con-

sider too, how far he conformed himself to the sentiments of those whose mode of thinking he had been accustomed to oppose; or how far he adopted new opinions of his own. There are two things to confirm a man's judgement, the concurrence of his friends, and the dissent of his enemies. Now, the honourable gentleman had been playing at great odds, for he had not only the dissent of his friends, but the approbation of his opponents. He had the odds against him also in another way. In every exclusive public concern, but more particularly in a war, and still more in a war like the present, there was a knowledge in the Executive Government which could not be possessed by others. Of this he had just given an instance, though opposition would neither give the Executive Government credit for their good intentions nor their judgement. It was not grateful for him to examine opinions, though he did it to fulfil his public duty. If the honourable gentleman thought his measures fatal, he thought the honourable gentleman's no less so. Such opinions he conceived, if listened to, were highly dangerous, and if not listened to, they were so in a smaller degree. Admitting that the honourable gentleman's were the best opinion, he asked him whether he expected it to be followed? What then, it might be urged upon the other hand, are you never to bring forward any motion because there is a probability it will not be followed? What then becomes of the freedom of debate? Not so; an attempt in itself to do good may be made, though others think it will not do so. But did the honourable gentleman think, that when persons like those in the Executive Government had formed their opinions coolly, and with due deliberation, that his arguments could change them. Perhaps he hoped for something intermediate? With respect to other topics, Mr. Windham said, they were not of a sort to be adopted without abandoning all the former. He had heard the honourable gentleman talk of a general objection to the war, and of a general sentiment entertained by the people that a peace would speedily be formed by the Administration of the country. If such a peace were formed, that is, by the Administration of the country, they ought all to rejoice, but not otherwise, for it would then be obtained as it ought to be. On the other hand, what did the honourable gentleman propose? A peace by himself in opposition to Administration. The best argument in answer to such a proposition was a review of history. The honourable gentleman had taken occasion in the course of his speech to extol the blessings of peace, and to depreciate continental connexions. With respect to the blessings of peace, abstractly considered, there could be but one sentiment, as to the utility of continental connexions, he referred him to the testimony of the history of the

country for many centuries past. Were we to be supposed now, to be arrived at that period in which we were to lose all regard for military character, and seek only to retain our former acquisitions? Were we to renounce all views of general policy, and attend only to the claims of petty gain and mercantile advantage? Were we to forfeit our reputation of national honour, and of a generous concern for the welfare of Europe? It may be honourable, in the opinions of some gentlemen, to steal out of a war as others had done; but it would be degrading to the British character, justly celebrated for its honour and integrity. Great Britain had no wish to imitate the Republic of Holland or the Dutchy of Tuscany, but left them to their virtue. How different, he observed, was the conduct the honourable gentleman had recommended to that pursued by King William, who judged the interests of this country to be so closely connected with all Europe, that he encouraged every alliance whereby she rose in the scale of Empire, and of this Mr. Addison was [illegible]ble when he wrote his fine eulogium:

"[illegible] no ignoble ends design'd,
"[illegible] common welfare of mankind;
"No wild ambition moves, but Europe's fears,
"The cries of orphans, and the widow's tears;
"Oppress'd Religion gives the first alarms,
"And injur'd Justice sets him in her arms;
"His conquests freedom to the world afford,
"And Nations bless the labours of his sword."

Whether the honourable gentleman had not brought forward his motion to interpose, because the French Government was faint and languid, and her motions wild and irregular, he could not determine, but he reminded him she might be dangerous even in her last convulsion.

Mr. Windham then entered into a variety of arguments on what he conceived to be the fatal consequences of the present motion, as tending to influence the opinions of persons at home, and to strengthen and encourage the hands of the enemy. He said, that the cry of peace chiefly proceeded from the Jacobin party in the country; and that though every one who wished for peace was not a Jacobin, yet, every Jacobin wished for peace. The same disposition for peace, he remarked, to be characteristic of the Jacobins, not only in this country, but over the whole of Europe. He concluded with stating, that as the honourable gentleman had declared, that in bringing forward his motion, he had been actuated by a sense of duty, he had no less felt the same move for opposing it, and that he should therefore move the order of the day.

Sir BENJAMIN HAMMET rose to second the motion.

ſomething had been ſaid reſpecting Ruſſia in the courſe of the debate, he took the opportunity to expreſs himſelf more afraid of Ruſſia than of France and Spain united. Such was the danger which he apprehended from its predominating influence, that he ſhould not be ſurpriſed to ſee all the powers of Europe, including even France, joined in a confederacy againſt the Empreſs of Ruſſia. He gave his ſupport to Government becauſe he was convinced that they would make peace, whenever it could be done with ſecurity.

Mr. FOX began by obſerving, that Mr. Windham had introduced ſo much perſonality into his ſpeech that it was not eaſy to anſwer him. He did not think that he had behaved perfectly ingenuous to him; and he was of opinion, that the remark that had been made, that the motion being ſupported by him, and thoſe with whom he acted, was a *prima facie* argument againſt it, did not appear to him to be quite candid. He ſhould have thought that it would have been more fair to have left the ſubject to the common courſe of debate, and he owned that there did appear ſome degree of cunning in reducing himſelf and his colleagues to the neceſſity of ſpeaking, when it had been aſſerted that their ſupport could not be beneficial to the motion. Treated as he had been of late years, he confeſſed that he had never been ſo ſurpriſed as at that part of Mr. Windham's ſpeech which was more immediately perſonal. He had ſaid to Mr. Wilberforce, "What, will you differ with him with whom you have always agreed?" Had the right honourable gentleman, in putting this queſtion, forgotten ſome recent tranſactions? Nay, he had gone farther, and had ſaid, "Will you be ſo bold as to agree with the perſons oppoſite to you when you look round on the perſons near you?" Now there was ſomething ſo ſingular in this, that he could not avoid being extremely aſtoniſhed. He obſerved, however, that in putting theſe queſtions, Mr. Windham had looked ſtraight forward, as if he had been afraid to look towards his colleagues. Of the majority that Mr. Windham expected would ſupport his motion, how many Members were there, he would aſk, with whom that right honourable gentleman had formerly agreed on great political topics?—Why was he ſo deſtitute of fair reciprocity as to be unwilling to allow the ſame liberty to one ſide of the Houſe as to the other?—The right honourable gentleman had then went on to aſk, for what purpoſe the preſent motion had been made? And whether Mr. Wilberforce expected to carry the Houſe with him? With reſpect to the latter queſtion, he believed that Mr. Wilberforce entertained no ſuch expectation; but the purpoſe of the motion was to diſcuſs that, which ought frequently to be diſcuſſed during a period of war; and to ſhew the

people of this country that there were persons in Parliament ready to defend the rights of the people, and to avert the calamities with which the nation was threatened by an obstinate perseverance in a disastrous and hopeless system. Ministers it was now urged, had possessed a better knowledge of La Vendee, than he did, and a most useless piece of knowledge, he must confess, it had been to them: was it expected, it had been asked, to convince those Ministers? To attempt to convince those whom nothing seemed to convince, was a task, in his opinion, which no man would be hardy enough to undertake. No one who knew their temper, would suspect that they would become suicides of their places from any principle of conviction.

> For Plato's fancies, what care I?
> I hope you do not think I die
> For Plato's fancies in the play,
> Or any thing that he can say.

The House was again called upon to repose confidence in Ministers, in the third year of the war, when Ministers had completely failed in their promised protection of Holland, of the West Indies, of the friends of Royalty in France—in every profession or promise upon which they had demanded confidence.—They talked of the glory of our arms under their direction. He wondered they had not read our history, and taken the trouble of comparing any period of it with the losses, disasters and retreats of the last campaign—retreats not imputable to our officers or soldiers, but to a miserable system which rendered their skill unavailing, and their valour of no effect. Ministers still talked of discontents in France, and appealed to what had happened in La Vendee, Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon. As far as appeared, the discontents in the three last-mentioned places were the consequence of one party in the Convention being overpowered by another, but, if they were not, what advantage had Ministers derived from them? They got possession of Toulon, which they were soon after compelled to abandon, Marseilles, Lyons, and, last of all, La Vendee, were compelled, or induced, to submit to the Convention. If they meant to adduce, as an argument in their favour, every opportunity of which they had made no advantage, it was impossible to say where they would stop. It had been said by the right honourable gentleman, that the opposers of the war asserted the discontent in La Vendee to be trifling. He had said no such thing. He had taken the subject on the Minister's own shewing. He had said, that if discontent existed, the Ministers had proved that they could make nothing of it, and that therefore he had a right to take it for granted that no discontent did exist. But were the House to hear Ministers confess, at length, that the insurrection in La Vendee was formidable? Where was the ancient

spirit of the House, if they suffered Ministers to acknowledge that they knew of the extent of the discontent in La Vendee, and that they had not made use of it? He wished the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) when he talked of the motion as tending to remove Ministers from their situations, had recollected the debates in that House about Ockzakow, of which the right honourable gentleman might say, *Quorum magna pars fui*—Had the right honourable gentleman been always so alarmed at such an idea? And yet he had said with some asperity to Mr. Wilberforce "you approve of the abilities, and have a high opinion of the judgement, of the present Ministers, and yet you wish to take the Government from them" On this subject he had nothing to do, but then it had been asked, "Do you think the Minister will consent to stay in office after his measures have been abandoned?" The House, from this, might be tempted to think that measures had always been the object of the Minister's care, and that he had been totally indifferent to place and power. Was this the case? Had the House no example in the Irish propositions, or in the more recent case of Russia and Oczakow? Did not a minority make a Minister abandon a measure to which a mojority acceded? This, therefore, was sufficient to shew that it was possible to drive the Minister out of his measures without driving him from his place. The present question had not yet been disposed of, and the motion of Mr. Windham seemed to say that the House ought never to dispose of it. At the commencement of the war, the argument was, that if we did not engage in it, other powers would withdraw, and we should have to sustain the whole force of France alone. This argument was now destroyed as far as Prussia was concerned, and nearly so with respect to the Emperor of Germany. Ministers thought proper to pass by the Emperor's Rescript to the Diet, but did they mean to contend that his declaration of his being ready to enter into negociations with the French Republic, was such a declaration as his Ministers would have made, such a declaration as a British Minister would make to Parliament, while the direct contrary was meant? If the Emperor was ready to negociate with the French Republic, what could be our objection to negociate? On looking to the Rescript, the House would see that the Emperor was willing to treat, not with such a Government as was capable of preserving the accustomed relations of peace and amity, but with the Republic of France; was this a fair Rescript? Or did it resemble some declarations made by British Ministers to the Parliament to deceive and delude them? Was the Rescript considered only as acting in the true spirit of the alliance? Of the candour and humanity of Kings and Princes he had heard

much—not in his opinion very discreetly said—but he hoped that the Rescript was not issued for the purposes to which he had alluded. Did there remain now, he would ask, one of those objections that had been formerly urged, and urged with such triumph? Not one. But Prussia, it had been said, had stolen out of the Coalition. Of the Court of Berlin he was not certainly inclined to be the panegyrist, but the least objectionable part of the conduct of that Court was, in his opinion, the conclusion of a treaty of peace with the French Republic. But was it fair and manly in a British Minister to talk of Tuscany stealing out of the alliance? Was not Tuscany neutral at the commencement of the war? Had not her neutrality been approved by the Emperor and Great Britain, and did not the Grand Duke hold his Dukedom by his neutrality? Had not this country acted with the most monstrous injustice towards him? Was it therefore decent to talk of his slinking out of the War? A mode of conduct that had made him the darling of his subjects, and had produced the most beneficial consequences to him. But were these the only powers that had or would make peace? Had not the Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony made peace? Whether the King of Naples had, he knew not, but of this he was certain, that he would as soon as he was able. Were not these strong arguments for the recognition of the Republic of France? It had already been proved, that none of those formalities had been required of acknowledging the Republic on the principles of Liberty and Equality. That the French were desirous of peace, was generally believed, that they had no objection to treat with a Monarchy had, it was understood, been declared to Sir Frederick Eden; but what was more important than any declaration was, that they had actually concluded a treaty with a Monarchy, and with a Monarchy to the form of which they could not be supposed to be very partial. It had been asked, what Holland had gained by her disposition to negociate early in the war? What, he would ask, had Holland gained by the protection of the allies? The spectacle of the retreat of the British troops through her provinces, and the necessity of being obliged to treat with a French army in possession of her country. Of the conquests which we had made in the West Indies, nothing now remained but a single post in St. Domingo, another in St. Lucia, and the Island of Martinico. It was for the House to determine, whether these precarious acquisitions were worth the hazard to which we had put all our other possessions in that quarter. With respect to the recent intelligence of insurrections in Paris, it should have no effect on the decision of that House. The fall of Roberspierre, the rise of Tallien, the massacre of the Girondists, and the triumph of their suc-

ceſſors only led to this ſalutary leſſon, that the internal ſchiſms of France bore no relation to their foreign conteſts. The ſyſtem of terror was deſtroyed on the 27th of July; and mark what had been the progreſs of the French arms ſince that period, were not their ſucceſſes in every quarter more than ſufficient to counterbalance any hopes to be conceived from a late inſurrection in Paris? Ought not what we had ſeen to teach us, that unſtable and convulſed as the French Government was within, its power of exertion outwards remained, and that whether terror triumphed over moderation, or moderation over terror, we had nothing to gain by the change? He was accuſed of having approved of the French revolution, as if, by neceſſary conſequence, he had approved of the cruelties of which it had been made the pretext. He approved of overturning the deſpotiſm of the Bourbons, which had long been the oppreſſion of France and the diſquiet of Europe. The curſed confederacy of deſpots, for by no other name could it ever paſs his lips, had given birth in the firſt inſtance to all the ſuſpicion and conſequent maſſacres which had taken place. Six years had now elapſed ſince the memorable æra of the French revolution. He had, in the firſt inſtance, given his commendation to that event, which had overthrown the tyranny of the Bourbons. That tyranny had ſtifled the induſtry, and ſuppreſſed all the energies of a great nation. He was therefore entitled to ſpeak of its ſubverſion as of "a glorious event." But his approbation of French principles thus far, did not include his ſanction of French acts.

He approved of the reſiſtance made by the Parliament of 1645 to Charles I., of the conduct even of Cromwell in the firſt inſtance; but although it was impoſſible to compare that great man with the men who had raiſed themſelves to power in the French revolution, was it to be inferred that he approved of Cromwell's uſurpation any more than of their cruelties? He had never ſaid that the French, if left to themſelves, would deſtroy one another, but this he had ſaid, that if there was any proſpect of reſtoring Royalty in France, whether or not that was now an adviſeable thing he would not then argue, it muſt be when the French were left to decide for themſelves. What was the period in which parties in France were abandoning themſelves to domeſtic conteſts? Was it when the Duke of Brunſwick was in the plains of Champagne? Was it when the allies were in the plains of Cambray? No: it was when every foreign enemy was removed to a great diſtance, and their arms were triumphant on every part of their frontier. When the allies talked of giving them a conſtitution, Royalty had the odium of being ſuppoſed to aid the foreign enemy; when they had no foreign

strictly, that would be done away. We were not to give them a constitution, but to restore their old constitution—in other words, their old despotism, the very thing they detested. To attempt giving to any country a constitution, was detestable—every country had a right to frame its own. We were not making war for any interests of our own, it was pompously asserted, but on motives of beneficence and justice, for the interests of Europe. There might be chivalry in succouring those who called for succour, but the chivalry of succouring those who said they did not want it, was madness. Who called upon us to continue the war? Did Prussia, or any other of our allies? No—but we had got a new ally, the Empress of Russia. She, however, was one of our earliest allies in this business, and instead of her not doing any thing in consequence of a new alliance, the novelty would be, her doing any thing in consequence of the old. Were he her advocate, as he had once been called, he should say that she had contributed more than her share to the purposes of the grand confederacy. She had completely extinguished Jacobinism in Poland, which, but for the arms of Great Britain, she could not have done; and this was all she would do. Instead of appearing in an honourable, we exhibited ourselves in an odious point of view, by continuing the war. France was inclined to peace, the allies were inclined to peace, neutral powers wished for the restoration of peace; and Great Britain alone was shaking the torch of discord. It was said to be a boldness on the part of the honourable gentleman who made this motion, to take the reins of government from the hands of Ministers. It was, in his opinion, a more daring boldness in those Ministers, who, for the purpose of suppressing a few speculative opinions, would deluge all Europe with blood—would involve the whole world in war, and extinguish the social happiness of the human race. The Secretary at War had said, that none but Jacobins cried out for peace. The fact was widely different. The industrious manufacturer, overloaded with taxes, cried aloud for peace. The Jacobins, as those men were termed who wished for a radical reform, looked on Ministers as their best friends, and relied only on a continuance of the war, for a full attainment of their favourite object. Such Jacobins were not numerous, but even in the city which the right honourable gentleman represented (Norwich), as many as there were refused to sign a petition for peace, because they said that the continuance of the war, and of the present Ministers in office, tended most effectually to promote their views. But supposing the contrary, and that every disaffected person wished for peace, was that a reason why this country should continue to make war? Was it to be con-

tinued, he would ask, in another point of view, in full reliance of the judgement of Ministers—on a confidence to be given to men, whose conduct, in his opinion, was the weakest and the most contemptible that had ever disgraced a falling country.

He entered on a parallel between the American war and the present. The hope and the delusion—the Loyalists and the Royalists, Mr. Fox observed, tallied even to the minutest point. But suppose our present objects, if fixed objects we had, to be fully attained. Suppose Louis XVII. seated on the throne, and the emigrants restored, was it to be expected that France would be quiet? No. The smallest knowledge of history forbade such a supposition. Could we, under the restored race of the Bourbons, expect a better faith? No. The present Government of France, however unstable it may seem, offered more security, from the publicity of its councils, than could be expected from the dark secrecy of any despotism. It was in this respect only that it bore any resemblance to our Government; but while thus qualified, he would ask, with what Prince on the Continent could we treat in preference? What evil could result from our recognition of the Republic, now that it had been recognized by the Emperor? Were we to refuse, merely because Holland was now in the hands of the French Republic? Those who had used this argument with respect to the Netherlands, should say, when that peace was to be expected which must be preceded by the re-conquest of those countries.

He concluded with saying, that he felt indebted to the honourable gentleman who had introduced this motion, because the oftener the subject was discussed, the more he was convinced the war would be disapproved. He thought that peace and conciliation could never be suggested too frequently. If these failed, war was still within our reach, but the latter might possibly be continued until the proffer of conciliation was made in vain.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, Sir, I shall certainly endeavour to confine what I have to say to the real point under consideration, and must stand excused if I do not follow the right honourable gentleman who spoke last in many of the points to which he adverted. I impute no blame to my honourable friend who has made this motion, though I lament and deplore that he has done so. He has acted, no doubt, from the fullest conviction that he was discharging his duty to his constituents and to the public at large. A great deal has been said this night about Holland being lost, without taking into consideration all the circumstances that belong to the case. It is not my business at present, but at any other time I should not be unwilling to discuss, whether it was not of immense advantage to

Europe in general that Holland was not added to France without a struggle, and which but for the interference of this country would have taken place two years ago. This union, after a long struggle, unfortunate, I admit, in the issue, has been formed chiefly from that country indulging unfounded hopes of peace, in a treaty of alliance, which has ended in their having been invaded and conquered; in their having submitted, being promised protection, and having been defrauded of four millions of money. Perhaps it may be better for them in the end, but it is certainly better for the state of the world, however unfortunate it may be for the inhabitants of that country, at the present moment, that they were united to France after a severe and unsuccessful struggle, and when Holland is no great acquisition to France, instead of being added to her, as a great accession, when she was in the zenith of her power. It has been argued this night, that this country entered upon the present just and necessary war with a great and powerful confederacy in Europe, and I admit that this confederacy is narrowed and diminished. But I would ask, whether in discussing the question of peace and war, we have not furnished them with grounds to argue upon, which it is impossible they could have had without the existence of that confederacy? To look for negociation at the present moment is premature, though I look to it at no remote period. I have no objection, were it connected with this business, to follow my honourable friend and the right honourable gentlemen to the West Indies, to examine the efforts that have been made by this country, and compare them with those made in any former period, from which we should clearly see, whether greater exertions had ever been made, and whether the distresses in that quarter had not been aggravated by a great mortality, and other accidental causes. But I come to the question immediately before us. I beg leave to consider what that question is, and I must say, that my honourable friend, in making his motion, suffered himself to be deceived in the manner of stating it; and this pervaded the whole of his argument. His statement was neither more nor less than this: Is a peace on fair and honourable terms preferable to the continuance of the war? We should not have been debating here so long, if this were the question; about this there can be no difference of opinion. But the question is, whether a peace on fair and honourable terms, which is the end of all war, is more likely to be attained by negociation at the present moment, than by a continuance of the war? Are you more likely to arrive at a better and more secure peace with a reasonable prospect of permanency on fair and honourable terms, by a continuance of the war with energy and vigour, till a more favour-

able opening preſents itſelf, by taking ſome ſtep or other to encourage and invite negociation? That is the queſtion which puts away at once all the declamations of the advantages of peace, which [illegible] in this country will deny; where the rapid effects of peace have healed wounds, infinitely greater than any we have experienced ſince the commencement of the preſent war, by repairing loſſes far more affecting the proſperity of the country than any we have ſuſtained, ſo as in the interval of a few years to make us almoſt forget the calamities of former wars.

Sir, that being the ſtate of the queſtion, I mean to ſubmit to the Houſe, that at the preſent moment, perſeverance in the conteſt is more wiſe and prudent, and more likely in the end to effect a ſafe, laſting, and honourable peace, than any attempt at negociation. My honourable friend does not chuſe to ſtate that this country ought to take the firſt ſteps to peace, and he claims great merit for his moderation in not going ſo far, but only that Miniſters ought to receive overtures. Now I only beg leave to ſubmit, whether this be not only taking the firſt ſtep, but doing it in the moſt exceptionable manner. To ſay it is not an overture on our part, if we have received no intimation whatever from the Government of France to treat, to ſay we ſhall be glad to treat, is what no man living will contend. Where the overture comes from the Legiſlature of the country, it is attended with a degree of publicity which the right honourable gentleman admits is one of the merits of our Conſtitution. But ſurely this mode of making overtures is not the moſt convenient, inaſmuch as it makes known the whole terms of peace to the enemy, and leaves no power, no will to Miniſters to take advantage of any favourable circumſtances that may occur. For that reaſon it is that the Legiſlature does not uſually interfere in ſuch tranſactions, as the true ſtate of theſe tranſactions is only fully underſtood by a few, and therefore it has been wiſely committed to the Executive Government. Why has this country, which is ſo jealous of its rights and liberties, and which has ſo ſtrongly fortified them, entruſted ſuch prerogatives to the Crown? Why is the making of peace and war, and other prerogatives which form the happineſs of this Conſtitution, entruſted to the King? Becauſe it has been found, that the power of Parliament was ſufficient to prevent the Royal prerogative from being carried beyond proper limits. I ſay the queſtion is then, whether you will ſtep forward, and aſſume this power of the Crown at a criſis of peculiar delicacy? The right honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt was of opinion the French Convention, from the publicity of its proceedings, bore a nearer reſemblance to the Britiſh Conſtitution, than the Conſtitution

of any other country. In this comparison, I trust, it was not meant to be carried any farther, as if the interests of this country were to be discussed in one popular assembly. I hope the right honourable gentleman is not so much in love with France. I think the right honourable gentleman took up that idea rather hastily. I am by no means certain, nor is it worth while here to examine, whether a despotic Government, or an anarchical Republic, like that of France, most nearly resembles the Constitution of Great Britain, which is removed at an equal distance from both extremes. The publicity of the proceedings of the French Convention has been the source of outrage, horror, and disgust to every feeling heart. That publicity has been a faithful recorder, and an accurate witness of the enormity of their proceedings. The true question is, whether we are to take the first step towards negociation, or to go on, trusting to the Executive Government to take the opportunity of the first favourable moment for negociation, and in the mean time strengthening the hands of that Government, to persevere with vigour in the contest in which we are engaged. We have been told, that although this question has been several times brought forward, it has never been directly negatived. I contend that it has in effect been directly negatived. For when the motion was made some time ago, an amendment was made to the motion, stating, that we were resolved to persevere in the contest, trusting that His Majesty would seize the first favourable opportunity that presented for treating with security. I beg to know, whether that which was done with deliberation, was not negativing the motion. Subsequent to that, this question was discussed again and again, and this House on those occasions came to a resolution, that it did not conceive, under the present circumstances of the countries, negociation was a measure expedient to be adopted.

But another question here arises. Have the circumstances and situation of the country materially altered since the last motion on this subject, or since my honourable friend first found himself an advocate for negociation? Has the posture of affairs varied since that time, so as to make negociation more eligible at the present moment than it was at any former period? I heard my learned friend state one fact on this business, which no evidence can contradict. I heard him with pleasure state, that the situation of France was now so weakened and exhausted as to make peace with that Government, though not secure, yet, in consequence of that weakness, attended with a considerable degree of security. That something more of this security exists at the present moment, I not only admit, but contend, that the prospect is improving every day,

and that this becomes more and more ascertained, as I shall state before I sit down. But is this a reason why we should negociate at this moment? I think not. From facts that are notorious, from things known to the world, there is now a general feeling that there is, comparatively speaking, a sense of security in the country, when compared with the alarming uneasiness which some time ago prevailed. The enemy have not been able to avail themselves of their success and acquisitions, nor have they acquired solid and substantial strength. The natural anxiety of the people of this country has led them to remark the progress of the decay, decline, and ruin of the enemy, as more rapid than they could have foreseen. When this business was formerly discussed, it was used as a very considerable argument against negociation, that from our situation then, we could not hope to treat with France on terms of equality. Is not the argument very considerably strengthened at this moment, when you compare the state of this country and France? Exhausted and wearied with the addition of your own weakness, will you give up the contest in despair? We should then, like Holland, have to consider what indemnity France would expect of us. I state this as a practical objection, and wholly independent of any question on the security of negociation. Those who argue for peace consider our situation as rendered more fit for negociation in this way: That we have lost our allies, by which we are reduced to such a state of weakness, that we must listen to peace, and that as they have deserted us, it is unnecessary to obtain their consent to enter into a negociation. We formerly refused to treat with France because we were satisfied she was unable to maintain that peace and amity that ought to prevail among neutral nations. Gentlemen have chosen to forget all the arguments used with regard to acknowledging the Republic of France. We refused to treat with M. Chauvelin after the unfortunate murder of Louis XVI. We refused to acknowledge a Government that had been reeking with the blood of their Sovereign. Was not that an objection not to acknowledge them at that period? The murder of the King preceded but a very few days the declaration of war against this country.

The next argument is, whether you would dishonour yourself by acknowledging a Republic that might endanger your own independence, and which made a public profession of principles which went to destroy the independence of every nation of Europe? I say, I will not acknowledge such a Republic. The question here is but simply whether you will acknowledge so as to treat with it? It is not, nor has it been, since the commencement of the war, the interest of England, not from any one circumstance, but from taking

all circumstances together, to institute a negociation with the ruling powers now existing in France.

As to the declaration of the Emperor to the Diet, if it is authentic, that he should be happy to enter into a negociation for peace, I beg leave to say, this declaration must be supposed to bind the Emperor in no other capacity than as head of the Empire; and I am sure they cannot, and will not state that that precludes him, as Duke of Austria, or King of Bohemia, from performing any agreement he may choose to enter into, on his own separate account, in those capacities. As the head of the Empire, he might, from the present situation of that country, think it wise and expedient to go beyond the line he may chalk out to himself as a Sovereign Prince and King, as King of Bohemia and Archduke of Austria. There may be circumstances to induce him, as the head of the Empire, to wish to open a negociation with France, rather than run the risk of a separate negociation, through the medium of the King of Prussia, contrary to the Constitution of the Germanic body. One of the next points relied upon, and imputed as blame to Ministers, was the circumstance of the war in La Vendee, and with the Chouans being now at an end. I do not see how that circumstance can attach any blame to Government. It has been stated, that the inhabitants of La Vendee have submitted to the French Republic. Whoever has conversed with gentlemen coming from France, has been made acquainted with the situation of the inhabitants of La Vendee and the Chouans, as well as from the Paris newspapers. Now they all do well to consider, whether the French Government can have any degree of confidence, that they can reap the least advantage from that union. The advantages of the peace in that quarter have been entirely in favour of Vendee and Brittanny, and not of the Republic, the inhabitants have gained by the treaty, and lost nothing. The Republic has no right to any accession of strength from this district of the kingdom. Were they subject to requisitions? or did they furnish recruits for the army? or did they increase the treasure of the country? By the articles of their submission to the laws of the Republic, if they are reported truly, they are in fact an independent Government, from which what are called patriots are excluded. The state of La Vendee was directly the reverse of that of Holland, and if that country was not an accession of strength to the Republic, is it not a confession of the weakness of the Government, that they found themselves under the necessity, notwithstanding all their splendid success, to enter into such a treaty as a Sovereign would never have entered into but from necessity?

But there is another circumstance which has been relied upon,

and which I must not pass over in silence. Among other events of the day, we see that Holland and France have entered into an alliance; and that Holland is to furnish France with 12 ships of the line, and 18 frigates. The present state of Holland, makes that circumstance more favourable for this country than we had reason to expect it would have been when Holland was over-run by the French.

The question is whether the state of France is not so weak; whether the distractions and disturbances of the country, and the discontents of the people are not so great, as are likely to lead to some change or new order of things, more favourable than any that has hitherto appeared?

First, as to the weakness of France. We have been told by the right honourable gentleman that there was no appearance in France of the relaxation of its efforts, that the reign of terror ended with the month of July last, and subsequent to that period they have been as successful as ever. But surely it is not very wonderful to any one who considers the operations of that great and extraordinary machine which had been set in motion by all the men who were put in a state of requisition, and by all the meretricious treasure that was amassed, if so many causes, operating so long, the effects were not to cease as immediately as the causes. The effects in their operation survive the causes, but have the French acquired fresh vigour? Whoever has taken any pains to look at the number and efforts of their armies, and state of the provisions and magazines, and attends to the manner in which requisitions have been carried on; whoever reads the accounts the Members of the Convention give of themselves, whoever reads their speeches, whoever trusts to their own account of themselves, these all prove that the vigour and exertion of that country have been evidently diminishing.

In the next place, look at the state of their assignats, which for a long time has been the subject of a great deal of anxious attention to the Convention. They have been employed almost in a perpetual contest about two things to make a Constitution, and to raise their credit, by preventing an unlimited number of assignats coming into circulation. They therefore passed a decree to withdraw a certain number of them to raise their credit. The nominal value of assignats was only 25l. per cent. At present they are somewhat less than 5l. per cent. Their expenditure is incredible, last month it amounted to 27 millions sterling, which is more than is wanted by Great Britain in the course of a year. This expence amounts to 324 millions sterling per ann. which exceeds the whole national

debt of Great Britain. The commerce of that country is totally extinguished, and a portion of bankruptcy mixes itself with every transaction.

The next article is the price of provisions, respecting which I have received a great deal of authentic information. I have received a great variety of information on this subject within these few days; indeed I may say within these few hours, and the price of provisions is so very high, and scarcity prevails to such a degree, as must stop all great and extensive operations.

In the next place, I doubt very much whether the provisions for the French army and navy will in future be so regularly supplied as they hitherto have been. I have some accounts of provisions being relanded from on board some of the ships at Brest; and the city of Paris has been supplied by pittances from the army on the Rhine. Expressions of discontent are not confined to individuals, but are general, and such as come home to the door of every individual in France. What will be the effect of this complicated pressure, how long it may be continued, or what order of things may ultimately rise out of it, I shall not pretend to say. But I think it may produce, and probably at no great distance of time, some new order of things, more friendly to a general pacification, and to a regular intercourse with the other established powers of Europe. Such is the prospect for an order of things more satisfactory than we have seen at any former period. But because you have such a prospect at this moment, you are by no means certain that a safe and honourable peace could be obtained. That is, at this moment, premature; but a continuance of your perseverance some time longer, will, in all probability produce that happy effect. Compare the situation and resources of this country, feeling for the burdens of the country, which must be felt by the poor and industrious to a certain extent, and deploring their necessity as they must obstruct the increasing wealth of the country. Look also at the manufactures and trade and revenue, and compare it with the expences of the war. Compare the annual expenditure of 20 or 25 millions sterling, to the enormous sum of 27 millions sterling per month, or 324 millions per annum, the sum yearly expended by France. After you have made these comparisons, tell me whether you will lay aside your exertions, under the peculiar circumstances in which you are now placed. You have laid on taxes unprecedented in their amount, but at the same time having the satisfaction to know that they are borne by the inhabitants of this country without any material severe pressure.—You are provided therefore with the most ample and liberal supplies for the present campaign. But is that the case with

France? No. Every month, every week, is an additional strain of the new machine, and they are not provided with any adequate funds for that enormous expence which I have mentioned, but must raiſe it all by forced means, by requiſitions, by robbery, and plunder. I have treſpaſſed too long on the patience of the Houſe. I conclude by obſerving again, that I was for a more favourable order of things, and I cannot therefore approve of any attempt at negociation at this moment: but by a vigorous proſecution of the war for a ſhort time, we have every reaſonable proſpect that we ſhall be able to procure for ourſelves a ſolid, permanent and honourable peace.

Mr. WILBERFORCE in reply combated the charge of inconſiſtency which had been objected to him. He had, it was true, ſupported the war, but a change of circumſtances made him now wiſh to terminate it. He did not make his preſent motion from any love of French principles; he deteſted them; and having turned his mind to the conſideration of the ſubject as much as any gentleman, the effect of ſuch conſideration led him to think, that the French factions were influenced by a love of power, and not of liberty. He reſpected the opinion of the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and though it might have great weight in forming his judgement, yet that judgement, when once formed, and the reſult of much thought and inquiry, he could not give up, out of reſpect to him, whatever confidence he may place in his wiſdom or integrity. Mr. Wilberforce concluded by ſaying, "However, Sir, this motion may terminate, I have the ſatiſfaction to think that I have done my duty, '*liberavi animum meum*, and I am not anſwerable for the event."

The Houſe then divided on the motion for the order of the day,

Ayes 201; Noes 86.—Majority 115.

Liſt of the MINORITY who voted for Mr. Wilberforce's Motion.

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| Antonie, Lee | Great Harlow |
| Aubrey, Sir John | Clitheroe |
| Anſon, Thomas | Litchfield |
| Baring, Sir Francis | Wycombe |
| Bankes, Henry | Corff Caſtle |
| Barham, J. F. | Stockbridge |
| Barclay, George | Bridport |
| Baſtard, J. P. | Devon County |
| Browne, F. J. | Dorſet County |
| Bullock, John | Eſſex County |
| Bouverie, Hon. Edward | Northampton |
| Bouverie, Hon. William | Old Sarum |
| Buller, John | Exeter |

| | |
|---|---|
| Burch, J. R. | Thetford |
| Byng, George | Middleſex County |
| Clayton, Sir R. | Blechingly |
| Church, J. B. | Wendover |
| Colhoun, William | Bedford |
| Coke, D. Parker | Nottingham |
| Creſpigny, T. C. | Sudbury |
| Curwen, J. Chriſtian | Carliſle |
| Crewe, John | Cheſhire County |
| Duncombe, Henry | York County |
| Davers, Sir Charles | St. Edmond's Bury |
| Dimſdale, Baron | Hertford |
| Dolben, Sir William | Oxford Univerſity |
| Featherſtone, Sir Henry | Portſmouth |
| Folkes, Sir M. B. | Lynn |
| Fitzpatrick, General | Taviſtock |
| Fletcher, Sir Henry | Cumberland County |
| Fox, Right Hon. C. J. | Weſtminſter |
| Francis, Philip | Blechingly |
| Grey, Charles | Northumberland County |
| Gaſcoigne, Sir Thomas | Arundel |
| Hare, James | Knareſborough |
| Harcourt, John | Ilcheſter |
| Halhed, N. B. | Lymington |
| Hill, Sir Richard | Salop County |
| Howard, Henry | Arundel |
| Huſſey, William | New Sarum |
| Jekyll, Joſeph | Calne |
| Jervoiſe, C. Jervoiſe | Yarmouth, Iſle of Wight |
| Kemp, Thomas | Lewes |
| Knight, R. Payne | Ludlow |
| Lambton, William Henry | Durham |
| Langſton, John | Bridgwater |
| Lemon, Sir William | Cornwall County |
| Long, Samuel | Ilcheſter |
| Ludlow, Earl | Huntingdonſhire |
| Lechmere, Edmund | Worceſter |
| Martin, James | Tewkeſbury |
| Mainwaring, William | Middleſex County |
| Maitland, Hon. Thomas | Jedburgh, &c. |
| M'Leod, General N. | Inverneſsſhire |
| Milner, Sir William | York |
| Milnes, R. S. | ditto |
| Milbanke, Ralph | Durham County |
| Moyſtyn, Sir R. | Flintſhire |
| North, Dudley | Great Grimſby |
| Pierſe, Henry | Northallerton |
| Philips, J. G. | Caermarthen County |
| Plumer, William | Hertfordſhire |
| Powlett, W. Powlett | Totneſs |
| Portman, H. B. | Wells |
| Rawdon, Hon. John | Appleby |
| Ridley, Sir M. W. | Newcaſtle |
| Ruſſell, Lord John | Taviſtock |

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|---|---|
| Ruſſell, Lord William | Surrey County |
| Shuckburgh, Sir George | Warwickſhire |
| Smith, General | Wareham |
| Spencer, Lord Robert | ditto |
| Smith, William | Camelford |
| Sturt, Charles | Bridport |
| St. John, Hon St. Andrew | Bedfordſhire |
| Taylor, M. A. | Poole |
| Tarleton, General | Liverpool |
| Thornton, Robert | Colcheſter |
| Thornton, Henry J. | Southwark |
| Thorold, Sir John | Lincoln County |
| Vyner, Robert | Thirſk |
| Vyner, Rt. jun. | Lincoln County |
| Weſtern, C C. | Maldon |
| Whitbread, Samuel, jun. | Bedford |
| Winnington, Sir Edw. | Droitwich |
| Wilbraham, Roger | Bodmyn |
| Wilberforce, William | York County |
| Wynne, R. W. | Denbeigh County |
| Wyndham, Hon. P. C. | Midhurſt |

TELLERS

Henry Bankes J. J. Lyll.

*Thurſday, 28th April.*

This being the day appointed for the Call, ſtrangers were not admitted. We underſtand, however, that as ſoon as the Houſe met, a motion was made to poſtpone the Call till to-morrow week.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR moved, as an amendment, that the Call ſhould be diſcharged.

After ſome debate the Houſe divided,

For diſcharging the Call 34, Againſt it 90.

The Call was then poſtponed till Friday ſe'ennight.

A Motion was made, that no Member ſhould preſume to quit town without leave of abſence.

This motion gave riſe to a debate, in which the ſubject of the Prince of Wales's debts was alluded to, as a reaſon in ſupport of the motion.

Mr. Chancellor PITT availed himſelf of the opportunity afforded by the introduction of the Prince's debts into the debate, to ſtate, that the mode which he meant to propoſe was, that the quantum of the income to be granted to the Prince of Wales, ſhould be diſcuſſed ſeparately from the debts—that the queſtion of how much, and whether any part of that income ſhould be appropriated to the payment of the debts, would come next under diſcuſſion; but that in the debate on Monday next, relative to the debts, no ſpecific part of the income could be appropriated—but that it could only then be

determined, whether any part should be appropriated:—the amount of the appropriation would not come regularly into the debate till the bill that might be brought in should be in a Committee.

Mr. FOX stated, that what he wished was, that the income would go on, independently of any other consideration, and that it not interfere with the subject of the debts. From the manner in which Mr Pitt had opened the business to the House, he had conceived that the income was to have been kept separate from the debts.

Mr. RYDER said, that the mode by which it was proposed to get rid of one inconvenience, tended to introduce another. Mr. Fox had wished to separate the debts from the income, and to vote the income first. But the right honourable gentleman would recollect that though the House might be tempted to grant a large income, if a part of it were to be appropriated to the payment of the debts, yet that they might not be induced to grant so large an income, if part of it were not to be appropriated to such payment.

Mr. FOX suggested, that a subject not being simple in all its parts, afforded no reason against attempting to make it as simple as possible.

Mr POWYS said, there appeared to him to be two separate instructions necessary, first, for the regulation of the expence in order to prevent any debts being contracted in future, and secondly, for the liquidation of those debts already contracted. In one circumstance, he confessed, that he had experienced some degree of disappointment, he had hoped that the notice now given of the bill intended to be brought in would have produced some communication to the House, from the illustrious personage most immediately interested in the transaction.

Mr GREY professed himself still of his former opinion, that no notice ought to be taken of the debts, and that every application for their payment ought to be resisted. He considered a positive refusal as the only answer which ought to be given to a proposition for the payment of debts which never ought to have been contracted. To those, however, who thought otherwise, he could not help remarking, that the question was unfairly put. It was stated, that they were only called upon to vote for such a sum as abstractedly considered, was adequate to the purposes of a proper establishment for the Prince of Wales, while at the same time it was suggested, that they ought to vote for the particular sum, with a view to the portion to be annually appropriated for the payment of debt. Let the House then be undeceived; let them not by this unfair mode of blending the question be led away with the idea, that they are only

voting a proper establishment, while they are in fact called upon for the payment of debts. If the honour of the Royal family had been consulted, a different proceeding would, in his opinion, have been adopted. The Minister would, in the first instance, have come to the House for a proper establishment, and then an express message might have been brought down from His Majesty, with the consent of the Prince, praying for relief, with respect to the debts which had been unfortunately contracted. This would have been much better than the present mode of proceeding, which had the ignominious appearance of tying down the Prince without his own consent. The whole of the transaction, however, as it stood with respect to the debts, he must again state, met with his direct disapprobation.

Mr. CURWEN said, that he considered as perfectly fair the notice which had been given by the right honourable gentleman. He had voted for the larger sum, meaning to bring forward a proposition that the whole of the augmentation, 65,000l. should be applied to the liquidation of the debts. The remaining 65,000l. he should leave the Prince to dispose of as he pleased, without any limitation as to his not contracting farther. He trusted that his Royal Highness understood too well the sense of the House with respect to the present transaction, to incur the risque of such a step in future. If he should, however, again presume to run in debt, the consequences might be such as it would neither be pleasant for that House to take, nor for him to be taken.

Mr. Chancellor PITT remarked that the present conversation was not strictly in order. By the mode of proceeding which he had adopted, he wished the House to discuss, first, what income ought to be given to the Prince, and next, what provision should be set apart out of that income, for the liquidation of debt. He wished them first to dispose of the general question, in order that they might come to the particular discussion in the Committee. By the notice which he had given, he did not intend, that on Monday next they should discuss what appropriation should be made for the payment of debt, but only whether there should be any appropriation at all?

A motion was made that Mr. Charles Yorke have leave to go out of town on public affairs, which was explained to be to attend his duty as a field-officer. After some conversation, in which it was stated that every regiment had three field-officers, any one of whom was equivalent to the discharge of the necessary duty, the House divided,

For the motion, 52.—Against it, 59.

A motion was then made that Capt. Berkeley have leave to go out of town, being ordered to join his ship. The case of a naval

officer being understood to be an exception to the principle adopted in the former decision, the motion, after some conversation, was agreed to.

A motion was made, that no motion be made for Members to go out of town, except between the hours of four and five.—Ordered.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS brought down a copy of General Myer' saffidavit.—Ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. Dundas again deferred his India Budget to Monday, the 8th of June, stating at the same time, that if any gentleman had occasion for that day, he was perfectly ready to give it up.

Captain BERKELEY moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the selling of ale without licences.—Granted.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, on the Convention between His Majesty and the Emperor.

The Speaker having left the Chair,

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that important as he felt this measure to be, as many of the considerations connected with it had been involved in other discussions, and even in that which had last taken place, he should not have occasion to trouble the House at length. It did not occur to him to be necessary to say any thing at present as to the propriety and reasonableness of availing ourselves of every means of assistance for the vigorous prosecution of the contest in which we were engaged, or as to the expediency of securing to ourselves in the way proposed by this convention, the co-operation of so great a military power as the Emperor. The House had already decided on those points. They had, however, reserved to themselves, when the conditions should be laid before them, to judge both as to the security afforded for the assistance, to the extent to which it had been stipulated, and for the repayment of the sums advanced. When the message was originally brought down, it was doubtful whether with a view to a larger sum, still more extensive co-operation might not have been required than that which was now fixed. The advances that had been already made went to the exceedings above the four millions; they amounted to about 559,000l. From the general vote of the House on the former occasion, he collected that this sum would sufficiently meet with their approbation. He then entered into a recapitulation of the Convention as to the terms of the loan, the security afforded for the performance of the stipulations, and the payment of the sum. Every precaution had been taken that could tend to render the transaction safe or advantageous to us. A considerable delay had taken place, which had been full of anxiety to those concerned in the speculation, as they

were obliged to have their money in readiness. Gentlemen on the other side had formerly stated, that the transaction did not present a very advantageous prospect to the subscribers. Fortunately, however, the reverse was the case, and he had no doubt that gentlemen would rejoice in the circumstance, both as a symptom of the flourishing state of public credit, and as it was fair that those who [illegible] the risque, should likewise reap the advantage of any change that had taken place. With respect to the subscribers, therefore, he should consider that the discussion stood precisely on the same footing as formerly. He did not consider it necessary for him to say more, except he should have occasion to add any thing in the way of explanation. He concluded with moving the following resolution.

"Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that provision should be made for guaranteeing the payment of the dividend of 4,600,000l. provided by the convention between his Imperial Majesty and the King of Great Britain, of the 4th of May 1795."

After making his motion, he stated, that it was his intention to propose to the subscribers an additional shilling, long annuities; but of this it was not necessary to say any thing now, as the addition could only be voted in a Committee of Supply.

Mr. FOX said, he should not, on the present occasion, go at large into the general arguments on the supposed policy of the subject now before the Committee, because there was not that attendance which he thought the matter demanded. It was therefore exceedingly probable that he should call the attention of the House to it at a future period, if he should find it taken up in the manner which a thing so very serious and extraordinary in his opinion deserved. But he could not help making some observations upon it now. When this business was before the House on a former day, they were told that four millions were to be granted to the Emperor, on condition of his providing two hundred thousand men for the common cause, as it was termed, but that if he should provide a larger army, it was said that there should be no objection on our part to granting him the sum of six millions; and it was said, that the Emperor had received some of this money in part of the whole loan; and at that time it was not known how the proposals would be accepted in Vienna. The fact now was, that he was to receive four millions six hundred thousand pounds over and above the sums which had been already advanced to him. What was the consequence of this? Did the Emperor undertake to furnish more than the two hundred thousand men? No such thing; and it now appeared that the Emperor had never agreed to what had been stated to the House by the Minister. Perhaps it was not criminal on the part of our Govern-

ment to advance the money which the Emperor had actually received; but he was sure that the House of Commons ought to have more and better information than the Ministers had been pleased to give them, before they agreed to a proposition which was both dangerous and alarming. There was a rumour that this faithful ally of ours had acted in a manner not very consistent with the character which had been given him, if that rumour be true, we were about to proceed upon very important business indeed, without the least security that we should not be deceived. It had been said, that when the British and allied armies were in a situation of the greatest peril, and when a delay of only twenty-four hours of the Austrians would have been essential, that delay had been refused by his Imperial Majesty, and the silence of the Minister upon that subject made Mr. Fox think that this rumour was well founded. We had continued to pay the Emperor one hundred thousand pounds a month after he had deserted us. When an inquiry was proposed to be made into this business, we were told there were some difficulties in the way of an explanation. He would ask, was that an answer to a House of Commons called upon to vote away by millions the public money? It was objected to by many, and by him particularly on the discussion of the Prussian treaty, that we should pay our money in such large sums without having an opportunity of knowing correctly how former engagements had been fulfilled. The House was told they could not have any precise information, because the regular returns of the operations of the armies had not been made. This was, in his opinion, a scandalous omission. He disapproved of the Prussian treaty, but that treaty contained an article, by which we were entitled to call for an account, but which we never knew how far it had been enforced because no inquiry had been instituted. But in this treaty there was no such power in point of fact, and yet we had been careful to preserve the appearance of it. If, in one month, the Emperor should fail in the performance of his engagement, we might have correct information, but we had no means to prevent that failure. It had been stated that we were not answerable for the whole amount of the loan, if the Emperor should fail; we were answerable only for the dividends from time to time as the failure should occur. He really thought this curious. He could not help smiling at, although he had heard that ignorance is apt to smile. He was really too stupid to see the distinction between being answerable for the whole sum, and paying for ever the dividends that shall become due upon it. The distinction between that and paying a sum of money he did not comprehend. He wished to know upon what our security rested with regard to this loan. He

should be answered, no doubt, on the punctuality of the payments of the Emperor: now upon this he wished for some explanation before the House proceed farther in this business. There were some persons, and he confessed he was one of that number, who had some doubts concerning this punctuality, as well as respecting the fulfilment of the military engagements of his Imperial Majesty; and these were points which required a good deal of explanation. Here Mr. Fox read an extract of a letter from a person at Vienna to his correspondent here, stating that the Court of Vienna had come to a resolution not to pay dividends of old loans to any persons resident in France; and to another resolution, not to pay any persons who had not emigrated from France—that was to say, the Emperor would not pay except where emigration was proved. Sums of money were due to a religious order in France, and the Emperor said he would not pay them unless they proved they had emigrated from France: and by the second resolution, he said he would not pay them, because they happened to be in the Austrian Netherlands, at the time the French over-ran that quarter. In answer to the Minister's assertion, that we had made good use of our credit, by the terms of the loan, he observed there were two arguments against such a mode of proceeding—First, it was not honourable for the British House of Commons, to sell the interest of the public credit, and, secondly, if it was to be sold, it should be sold for what it was really worth. But as to the idea that the Emperor intended to keep his engagements, he hoped he did, but then the House of Commons of Great Britain ought to inquire whether he was able as well as willing. It was not the time now to go at large into the general question of the policy of this loan. But there was another point extremely important indeed, and which ought to be attended to by that House. He saw in this convention no stipulation that the Emperor should not make a separate peace. On the contrary it was carefully avoided, and it was to be observed, that this convention was signed at Vienna at the very time that the Emperor published the rescript to the Diet of Ratisbon, the substance of which was pretty well known. The Minister insisted that this matter was discussed yesterday, and the decision of the House made it unnecessary to discuss that business again. Now he saw it in the direct contrary view. What was the question last night? It was this: Whether it was wise and judicious for one of the confederates against France, viz. Great Britain, to negociate with France at this time? What was the determination of the House upon that subject? It was this—That it would be unwise in us to do any thing that could tend to weaken that confederacy. A decision which he

by no means applauded, but such was the decision. And yet it was this moment proposed, by the resolution before the Committee, that we should embark our credit with one of the members of that very confederacy, who had done the very thing which the decision of the House last night pronounced to be so dangerous. He thought the rescript authentic. Ministers might think it was not authentic. He wished to know, whether it was authentic or not. If it was, we were going to embark with an ally who, according to the language of the Minister, and the determination of the House last night, was going to annul the whole plan of our future operations, and for which we were now to vote away millions of the public money, by weakening the confederacy and strengthening the enemy. If there was a doubt on the authenticity of this rescript (and he confessed, from what he heard the Minister say last night, he feared there was a doubt,) it was a very alarming thing, and ought to be explained immediately, for the Emperor had given us no intelligence upon the subject. He certainly had time enough, for the subject of this loan had been under his consideration for some months. If the Emperor pursued the principle of this rescript, and endeavoured to make peace, it might still be said that peace might not be had immediately. He thought so too, but then, if France was, as Ministers stated it to be, at its last gasp, that wish for peace could not be long delayed. Under these impressions, he hoped that the House, accustomed even as they had been to the insincerity and falsehood of Ministers throughout the whole progress of this war, would see the necessity of an inquiry into the conduct of those our faithful allies. If peace should be soon concluded between the French and the Emperor, he wished the House to reflect that we shall have given the whole of four millions six hundred thousand pounds absolutely for nothing. There had been something said upon the distinction between the character of the Emperor as such, and that of King of Hungary and Bohemia; that, as Emperor, he might agree to a peace with France, but as King and Archduke, he might pursue the war with vigour. This was perfectly ridiculous, for whenever peace was agreed upon, one of the leading articles of the treaty must be, that he should not suffer troops destined against France to pass through any of his dominions, and therefore he would forbid such troops from going through Bohemia against France. But he was afraid that all the hopes of the majority, who supported this war, were now in the insincerity of the Emperor, as to this rescript. Exclusive of the infamy of such a principle, he advised the House to be cautious in trusting to such a security, for he knew of no real security in the conduct of any man, if that conduct was not founded on the prin-

ciples of fair dealing. What security had we that what the Emperor was doing in London was sincere, and that what he was doing in Vienna was not all duplicity: we should rather think that he would act according to what he should think the interest of his own dominions. He should like to know with what face of sincerity the Emperor could come to the Diet with his rescript in favour of peace, and at the same moment open a loan with this country for carrying on the war. The truth was, the Diet were unacquainted with his determination to accept our loan when he published this rescript, and by the step which we were about to take, we were to become parties to the delusion, and whatever were the real intentions of the Emperor, this was a duplicity of a nature so detestable, that we ought to be ashamed of being parties to it. He concluded with saying, he wished to discuss this subject on a future occasion, but he thought it his duty to take the sense of the Committee upon it, even in the present stage.

Mr. M. ROBINSON thought we ought to be very much obliged to the Emperor for not taking the whole of our six millions.

Mr. HUSSEY followed the idea of Mr. Fox, with regard to the loan with the Emperor. we ought either not to have made the use we did of our credit in the terms we had made, or have brought it fairly to sale. He then entered upon various calculations upon the subject, to shew the fallacy of the Minister's statements.

Mr. W. SMITH said, that if the money was lent to the Emperor to enable him to make the greatest possible exertion in a common cause with us, we ought certainly to have procured it for him upon the easiest terms, without making any advantage of it for ourselves This we ought to have done if the war were likely to last but one campaign, much more when it might probably be continued for two or three. For the same reasons we ought not to have suffered him to pay 250,000l. commission upon it, when we might have procured it for him without that expence. It had been hinted, that, although the Emperor might make peace as head of the Germanic body, he might continue the war as King of Hungary and Bohemia. How he was to divide his two capacities in such a case, it was not very easy to comprehend. If, as Emperor of Germany, he was convinced of the necessity of restoring peace to Europe, it was natural to suppose that he must feel the same necessity as King of Hungary and Bohemia.

Mr. JENKINSON saw no difficulty in the Emperor's negociating as head of the Germanic body, and continuing the war as Archduke of Austria, and King of Hungary and Bohemia.

Mr. W. SMITH said, that if gentlemen could persuade them-

selves that the Emperor, who had made war unsuccessfully when supported by Prussia, our army on the continent, Holland, and the States of the Empire, could hope for better success when reduced to the force of his hereditary states, they saw things in a point of view so very different from what he did, as to leave no common principle on which he could argue with them.

Mr. JODRELL said, the copy of the Emperor's rescript to the Diet of Ratisbon, which he had seen, stated his readiness to enter into negociations with the French Republic, both as Emperor and King.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, this was merely the Emperor's usual style, and did not at all bind him as King of Bohemia.

Mr. W. SMITH said, it was very extraordinary that if the French, as had been asserted, were so much exhausted, as not to be able to continue the war, perhaps for a month longer, the Emperor should be so ignorant of all this, as to deliver such a rescript to the Diet.

The Committee divided on the resolution,

Ayes, 77, Noes, 43.

The report was ordered to be received on Monday, and the House adjourned till that day.

*Monday, 1st June.*

The honourable D. RYDER gave notice, that to-morrow he should move for leave to bring in a bill to grant certain privileges to woolcombers, great numbers of whom had been materially injured in their trades by the introduction of machines. He said, that it had been usual where the introduction of machinery in any branch of manufacture which operated for the general good, yet bore particularly hard on individuals, to grant them such relief as the wisdom of Parliament might think proper. The nature and purport of this bill would be to grant a similar privilege to woolcombers, who had been thrown out of bread by the introduction of machines, as was given to soldiers and sailors when discharged from their respective services, viz. that of being entitled to set up and follow any trade or calling, in any city or town, where they have not served an apprenticeship, or are not free, without being obliged to remove therefrom until they actually become chargeable.

Mr. LONG moved the order of the day for the third reading of the bill for the regulation of hawkers and pedlars. Bill read a third time.

Colonel STANLEY moved a clause to be added to the bill, to repeal three clauses in the bill, which restricted hawkers and pedlars

from trading in, or nearer to any market-town than the diſtance of two miles, except on market and fair days. This reſtriction, the Colonel ſaid, was laid upon the hawkers and pedlars at the time the ſhop tax originally took place, in order to equalize the ſituation of the two deſcriptions of dealers, and to prevent hawkers and pedlars having too great an advantage over the ſettled and regular ſhopkeepers, from the operation that tax would have upon them. The ſhop tax having now ceaſed, he thought it was but juſtice that the reſtriction which took place on the hawkers and pedlars, in conſequence of that tax, ought to ceaſe alſo. The hawkers and pedlars were, he ſaid, an induſtrious and valuable body of men, and deſerved the encouragement of Parliament, as they contributed to a very wide and extenſive circulation of the manufactures of the country, and enabled people who lived at a diſtance from large towns and cities to accommodate themſelves with goods they wanted, at a cheaper and more convenient rate than they could poſſibly do without their regular viſits. He therefore ſubmitted to the conſideration of the Houſe the neceſſity of adopting this clauſe, for the purpoſe of doing away the reſtriction complained of.

Mr. LONG ſeconded the motion; when a ſhort converſation took place, in which Mr. Francis, Mr. Hawkins Brown, Mr. Thornton, and others, took part.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR, in particular, declared, that the inhabitants of towns throughout the country parts of England laboured under conſiderable inconveniences, from the exorbitant prices which ſhopkeepers uſed to charge, by having the excluſive privilege of ſelling goods, and that a kind of monopoly was thus increaſed, which would be done away if hawkers were permitted to come and ſell their goods in the ſame place. Beſides, it was unjuſt to prevent theſe men, who paid a tax, from enjoying a benefit which ſhopkeepers enjoyed, who paid no tax at all for any licence to ſell goods.

The Houſe then divided on the queſtion;

For the Clauſe, 90, Againſt it, 7.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER, Solicitor General to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall, acquainted the Houſe, that the Prince of Wales, while the queſtion relative to his eſtabliſhment was under the conſideration of the Houſe of Commons, had thought the proper conduct for him to obſerve was to avoid expreſſing any opinion or wiſh upon the ſubject, fully ſenſible that the liberality and wiſdom of Parliament would make ſuch arrangements as ſhould be beſt ſuited to the ſituation of his affairs, the dignity of the Royal family, and the intereſt of the Public: But having underſtood, that it was the deſire of many reſpectable perſons, that

his wishes and opinions upon the subject should be known, his Royal Highness had authorised him to assure the House, that he is extremely desirous that such regulations may be adopted, as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem most expedient and adviseable, for the purpose of establishing order and regularity in the expenditure of his income, and to prevent the incurring of debt in future.—And, at the same time, his Royal Highness had authorised him farther to express his earnest desire, that the House will appropriate such part of the income, which they may intend to allot to him, to the liquidation of the debts with which he is embarrassed, as, under all the present circumstances, shall seem to the wisdom and prudence of the House most expedient and adviseable, fully sensible that, however large that appropriation may be, the House will be guided solely by the consideration of what shall appear to them the most conducive to his honour, and the interest of the Public.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that, in consequence of the communication which had just been made to the House, he rose with sentiments of much less anxiety and much greater satisfaction than he had experienced in any former part of this transaction. In bringing forward this business, which he had reason to hope would have been in itself highly satisfactory, but which peculiar circumstances had rendered extremely painful, he had not however been without some degree of consolation. He had satisfaction in contemplating the principles which had given rise to the difficulties attendant on the transaction. He observed with pleasure, that a Parliament which had never failed in any expression of loyalty to their Sovereign, or attachment to his family, which had never been wanting in discovering a proper spirit of liberality, when the occasion called for it, had no less in the present instance shewn a degree of jealousy, care, and circumspection, when a demand was made upon the pockets of their constituents, attended with some circumstances which they could not altogether approve. He had no less satisfaction in observing that the illustrious personage himself was impressed with a just sense of that line of conduct, which regard to his character and situation required him to pursue, and he trusted that the House had that day received an earnest of the future dispositions of his Royal Highness, and of that regard to the welfare of the people, which would distinguish him in the exalted situation to which he one day might be called. Under that impression, he hoped that there would be little difference of opinion as to the proposition which he should now submit to the House. The instruction which he meant to move went precisely to the two objects to which his honourable friend had referred in the communication from his Royal Highness

—the regulation of the expenditure of his household, and the appropriation of part of the income for the discharge of debt. It was certainly satisfactory to the House to know that his Royal Highness was perfectly disposed to concur in whatever arrangements the wisdom of Parliament might adopt with respect to these two objects. He hoped, that by this communication every difficulty would be considerably lessened, though it might not perhaps be entirely removed, as some Members, however disposed to support the credit and dignity of the Prince by the grant of a proper establishment, had expressed their opinion that no notice ought to be taken of the debts at all. The question, he would remark, at present, was not what part of the income should be appropriated to the payment of debt? nor did the instruction he had now to propose go so much as to narrow the amount even of the largest sum that had been suggested for that purpose. The only question was, whether the aid of Parliament ought to be given to his Royal Highness by adopting legislative regulations for the discharge of debts, which it was admitted on all hands ought never to have been contracted? Without any retrospect to the past, over which he wished to draw a veil, he appealed to the fair and candid feelings of the House, whether they could refuse to adopt a measure so necessary for the character and credit of his Royal Highness, so ultimately connected with his personal comfort and the splendor of his rank? Could they refuse to concur with his Royal Highness in appropriating a large part out of the income allotted him, in order to relieve him from the embarrassment of debts? The business appeared to him to rest upon so plain a proposition, and be in itself so self-evident, that, reserving all particular details for future discussion, he trusted that what he had now to propose would meet the almost unanimous concurrence of the House. He concluded with moving,

"That it be an instruction to the gentlemen who are appointed to prepare and bring in a bill for enabling His Majesty to grant a yearly sum or sums of money, out of the consolidated fund, towards providing for the establishment of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, that they do make provision in the said bill for establishing a regular and punctual order of payment in the Prince's future expenditure, and for guarding against his incurring debts in future, and also for appropriating a proportion of the Prince's annual income towards the gradual discharge of the incumbrances to which his Royal Highness is now subject."

Mr. DUNCOMBE stated, that he was one of those who had voted for the inferior sum. With whatever concern he might rise to obstruct any proceeding that professed, as its object, the ease and

comfort of his Royal Highness, he considered the call of duty as paramount to all other considerations. It was the duty of the representatives of the British nation to speak, when the occasion warranted, with a proper boldness, to persons even in the most exalted station. Under this impression he must say, that Parliament could not, consistently with their duty to their constituents, or with that inviolable regard which they owed to truth and fidelity, after the solemn assurances they had received on a former occasion, consent a second time to pay the debts of the Prince of Wales. Those assurances he could not now tamely consent to give up, he considered them as engagements to the people of England, which he ought not to forfeit. He remarked, that, at a period such as the present, there attached particular duties to a Prince, which regard to the welfare of the people indispensably called upon him to fulfil. "At a time," said Mr. Duncombe, "when the comforts and conveniences of life are wanting to the middle classes of society, when the poor are scarcely supplied even with common necessaries, and when the prospect of a dearth becomes every day more alarming, I cannot listen to the idle claims of splendor and magnificence: I trust that at such a time the benevolent feelings of his Royal Highness will dispose him rather to sympathize with the distress of the lower orders, and to sacrifice something for their relief, than to form selfish and extravagant pretensions. There is another consideration which deserves to be attended to: In these distempered times let us beware how, by an unnecessary or wanton profusion of the public money, we furnish the favourers of wild and dangerous innovations, with a colour and plausibility for their arguments. As a friend to the hereditary monarchy, as an adherent to the family on the Throne, I feel myself called upon to resist the motion. Let us recollect that there are other branches of the Royal family. If, after the assurance we received, we again consent to pay the debts of his Royal Highness, we shall establish a precedent, of which we cannot tell to what purpose it may be applied, or to what extent it might be carried. I do not mean to say that the debts ought not to be paid, but I look to other resources for that purpose: I look first to the justice of his Royal Highness to make provision for the payment of those debts that shall be proved to be just; many of the present claims I apprehend do not come under that description; I look to his future œconomy in the regulation of his household; and, lastly, I look to the assistance which he may derive from the well-known munificence of his Royal father. As the idea of a temporary retirement has been suggested, I have only to remark, that from such a retirement his Royal Highness might reap great advantage in fer-

tilizing his affairs, and be again enabled to emerge with fresh splendor. Retirement, it has been remarked, is the nurse of reflection; by its influence his Royal Highness might be enabled to confirm those resolutions which he has expressed in his communication to the House, and to return again into public life fortified against future error, and qualified for the important duties of that high station which he may one day be called upon to fill."

Mr. CURWEN expressed his satisfaction at the message which had been received from his Royal Highness, and which he conceived would produce the most favourable impression in the country. He hoped that it would prove on the part of the Prince an earnest of his future attention to the happiness of the country, which was so essentially connected with his own interest. He remarked the cruelty that would be attached to the situation of his illustrious consort, if, by a refusal of that House to make any provision for the debts, she was left exposed to the taunts and insults of creditors. He wished that his Royal Highness might be put in a situation to obtain respect, and to deserve it, he had therefore voted for the larger income with a view to the application of a considerable part of it to the discharge of the debts. He agreed that the times, as they now were, were unfavourable to the laying any additional burden upon their constituents, and regretted that the House had as yet received no communication on the subject from His Majesty, whom both from his paternal relation to the illustrious personage, whose situation was the object of discussion, and from the still higher character in which he stood as father of the country, he had expected, would have come forward on the occasion. He had hoped that he would have done something, and something considerable, in the way of extricating the Prince from his difficulties. As the business now stood, even if the larger sum should be applied, it would require a period of ten years before the whole debt could be liquidated, during all this time his Royal Highness must remain under a degree of constraint and embarrassment.

Mr. GREY said, that though he had undoubtedly a claim to the most candid interpretation of his motives, he was happy that in the part which his duty should compel him to take in the present discussion, he had been preceded by a respectable gentleman (Mr. Duncombe) on the other side of the House. Every person must concur in the satisfaction which had been expressed at the message delivered by the authority of his Royal Highness. He was happy to receive it, not as a measure taken upon the spur of the occasion, but as the sincere expression of his feelings, with respect to the House: he wished indeed that the whole grace of the transaction had belonged

to his Royal Highneſs; that it had not previouſly been ſuggeſted from any other quarter; that Miniſters had firſt come to the Houſe for a proper eſtabliſhment, and when it had been granted, that the meſſage had followed from the Prince, requiring the appropriation of part of his income for the diſcharge of the debt. At any rate he muſt conſider Miniſters as reſponſible for the former meſſage, which contained the aſſurance that no ſecond application ſhould be made. They ought undoubtedly to have taken ſome means to enforce that aſſurance, and they were now bound to explain to the Houſe why ſuch means had not been taken. He wiſhed it to be underſtood whether they were now debating upon the motion as an application for the payment of the debt. However Miniſters might attempt to confound the queſtion, it was evident that the additional ſum, beyond what had been granted to former Princes, was to be underſtood as given with a view to the diſcharge of that debt. He adverted to what Mr. Duncombe had ſaid of the particular period, and aſked, whether at this time of calamity and diſtreſs, when the peaſant was ſuffering from the want of bread, they ought to vote away the money of their conſtituents for the purpoſe of diſcharging debts which ought never to have been contracted? After what had paſſed, no reliance could be had that thoſe proviſions, which might be made with reſpect to future conduct, would be of any avail.—The only way which the Houſe had of diſcharging their duty, was to meet the preſent application with a direct refuſal. His honourable friend had ſtated that by this refuſal her Royal Highneſs would be expoſed to taunts and inſults. He hoped that even with the ſmaller income and proper œconomy, there would be found ſufficient means to make proviſion for the diſcharge of the debts, more eſpecially as in ſuch a ſituation the Prince would be able to come to a compoſition with his creditors upon much better terms than if the idea was to be held out that the buſineſs was to be taken up by that Houſe. We know, ſaid Mr. Grey, that there are great means in the poſſeſſion of an illuſtrious perſonage, and it is to be hoped that he will be induced to come forward with his aſſiſtance, both from regard to the credit of his family, and in order to maintain the reſpect due to Royalty, which, as an honourable gentleman well obſerved, "can only beſt be preſerved by rendering it as little as poſſible oppreſſive to the people." Theſe were the conſiderations which had irreſiſtibly compelled him to the diſcharge of a duty, the moſt painful he had ever experienced ſince he had the honour of a ſeat in that Houſe.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS obſerved, that his right honourable friend had brought forward the diſcuſſion in the way which was leaſt

calculated to create confusion. He had first stated the question of the income, and then called the attention of the House to the regulation of the expenditure, and the provision for the debt. The House had already decided for an income of 125,000l. The motion then was not an application for a sum of money for the discharge of the debts; the only question was, whether the whole income should be left to the unlimited disposal of the Prince, or whether the expenditure should be put under regulations, and an appropriation made with a view to the gradual extinction of the debt. No new sum was demanded; it was only wished to ascertain in what manner that which had been already given should be regulated and applied, a point in which all, however they might originally have differed as to the proper quantum of the income, might be expected to coincide. It was surely impossible for the House to refuse to comply with the request of the Prince of Wales to apply his income in such a manner, by Legislative regulations, as would be most conducive to the dignity of his station, his personal comfort, and the security of his creditors. If they declined their interference, it would be impossible for him to take any steps for the effectual liquidation of his debts, he would then be left exposed to the demands of his creditors, without any other security to offer them than his life-interest in an annual income. To those who had voted the larger sum for the discharge of the debts, he could only say, that the present plan fully completed their wishes, and those who had voted the smaller sum, under the expectation that they would be again called upon for the discharge of his debts, would certainly start no objection, because their intentions were also fully answered. Mr. Dundas recurring to several harsh restrictions which had been proposed, and to several harsh words which had been used on the occasion, said, that it was below the dignity of the House to act with too great parsimony, neither was it very generous in the House to wound the feelings of the Royal stranger, whom we had invited hither, by any bitter invectives. Insinuations had been made, that we had no assurances similar demands would not, in the course of a few years, be again brought forward. But how could such assurances be made, but by fortifying them with a sum adequate to the present exigency? He was surprised at one resource, which had been pointed out by some honourable gentlemen—in the affection and benevolence of his Royal father. [A cry of Hear! Hear!] That cry, he was confident, could proceed only from a few voices, and by no means discovered the general feelings of the House on the subject. They had repeatedly had occasion to examine the situation of His Majesty with respect to the civil list, par-

ticularly on occasion of granting establishments to the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of York on his marriage. They might recollect, that on the arrangement formerly made with respect to the debts of his Royal Highness, part of that provision arose out of the liberality of His Majesty. The civil list was indeed large, but was wholly appropriated to particular services, except the sum allotted for His Majesty's privy purse. The idea of such a resource arose out of miserable feeling, which he was surprised that any gentleman could entertain. He knew not (and his means of information were as good as those of any other Member) of the existence of any such sum, as that which had been referred to. If some formerly entertained thoughts that the civil list was too immense for the expenditure, Parliament had made regulations to obviate every difficulty; and the whole receipts and disbursements of His Majesty were then regarded with as strict an eye to economy as they intended to regulate the establishment of the Prince of Wales. But allowing, for the sake of argument, that His Majesty enjoyed a surplus, was it not a miserable argument to advance, that from such a pittance His Majesty could afford a sum which would greatly contribute to the ease of the Prince? The illustrious person, whose affairs were now under discussion, had not, as Prince of Wales, the first claims on His Majesty. Are there no other branches of the Royal family who are better entitled to the pecuniary assistance of His Majesty?—There are many whose claims on His Majesty deserve a prior consideration. His Majesty is blessed with a numerous offspring, which no man can contemplate without satisfaction and delight, that are entitled to every indulgence which his private fortune can afford. But as to the illustrious person so often mentioned, he, as the child of the nation, was entitled to the assistance and protection of that nation. When gentlemen talked of His Majesty's income, they recurred with some degree of triumph to the revenues which he derived from Hanover. But has His Majesty no public duties to discharge as Elector of Hanover? Has he no necessary splendor and establishment to support in Hanover? Was he to rob his Hanoverian subjects in order to pay debts contracted in this country by the Heir Apparent to the British Crown? The appeal which had been made on this subject, he could consider as neither fair nor candid; and, as such, he should dismiss it without farther observation.

Mr. MONTAGU thought it highly fit that Parliament should regard itself as a tutor to his Royal Highness the Prince, because, speaking politically, he conceived his Royal Highness to be the son of the People, and therefore he thought it proper that his affairs should be under the superintendance of Parliament. He had no

doubt that it was his Royal Highness's disposition to do justice: but it was possible, if the whole income were to be under his own control, for him to have bad advisers, and he might postpone the liquidation of his debts, and contract new ones, and on that account also it was proper that Parliament should interfere in the management of his affairs. Under all the consideration he was able to give to this important subject, he thought himself bound to support this motion.

Mr. POWYS thought there could be but one feeling in the House, on the substance of the communication from his Royal Highness, it had certainly put the matter in a more agreeable light than any in which he had before been able to view it, and he now considered the intended limitations as no longer exacted by the rigour of Parliament, but as an act of the House, going hand in hand with the Prince of Wales. That this communication would conciliate the affection of the House, and of the Public, he had no doubt, but that circumstance neither would nor ought to alter the principle upon which gentlemen agreed to give aid to his Royal Highness. His objects in this business were two, and distinct points—one the establishment, the other the provision for the debt. In his vote upon the first, he thought it his duty to concur in making a provision liberal and ample, but that, in the application of it, there should be no relaxation whatever from the rules of strict economy. With regard to the second point, namely, making provision for the debt, he would ask, did the House, or did they not, by adopting this motion, now impose additional burdens on the Public? It had been stated, that this was to impose upon the Public the payment of the debts of the Prince of Wales. He considered it as no such thing. This instruction was only to enable the House hereafter to proceed upon a certain plan. He then desired the House to view that plan, and to compare it with the principle on which they had proceeded already, and if they found it different from that principle, then to reject it, but not otherwise, for His Majesty's message asked for a legislative provision to enable the Prince of Wales to get rid of his embarrassments, and the House had proceeded on that subject already. He did not doubt but that the disposition of his Royal Highness would lead him to discharge his debts, but that was out of his power, and therefore a legislative provision became necessary. It was our interest to support the splendor of His Royal Highness. That he should be supported with dignity was not the right only of the Prince, it was also the right of the nation; we were therefore interested in supporting the dignity of his Royal Highness, but we had still a more essential interest in

the character and conduct of the Prince of Wales, and that consideration made him think it necessary that such a measure as this [illegible] be adopted, and he had no doubt that under the regulations which Parliament should make, the People would chearfully support the establishment of his Royal Highness; for the loyalty of the people of this country was not that of mere servility and submission, but was founded on affection and regard, and he hoped that we were now to look forward on the happy hour, when all the branches of the Royal Family would be completely united and happy.—Having said this, he must next observe, that he hoped there would be a severe scrutiny and investigation into the amount and the nature of the claims, so that neither his Royal Highness nor the Nation should be imposed upon by extravagant or ill-founded demands. He approved entirely of the motion now before the House.

Mr. FOX declared it to be his wish to separate the different parts of this subject, and to keep them as distinct from each other as possible. The House was now in rather an advanced stage of this proceeding, and here he could not help congratulating the House and the Public, that his Royal Highness, by his communication to the House, had acted in a manner that did him honour; and he trusted he would finish a plan which he had so worthily begun. With regard to the motion now before the House, he confessed he did not know upon what principle opposition was made to it. He did not understand the motion to be that of calling on the public to pay the debt in any degree. It was only simply the setting apart some of the income of his Royal Highness for the purpose of discharging his debt. He wished, however, the House, and the Public, not to be deceived upon this business, for although there was not a shilling to be voted in this stage of the business out of the pockets of the Public, yet it was clear that a request would come to call on the Public for security against the contingent event of the demise of his Royal Highness. That was a thing not to be dissembled. But with regard to what was now before the House, he should vote for it, even if he had thought that the smaller sum proposed as the income of the Prince, had been better, under all the circumstances, than the larger, because it was nothing more than to enable his Royal Highness to set apart some of his income to the discharge of his incumbrances. It might be said, that the Prince could do this himself—he certainly could not effectually, nor could he without the aid of Parliament at all adopt a plan that would satisfy his creditors. In this stage of the business, therefore, Mr. Fox said, he must have voted for this motion, even without any idea of inquiring whether any contingent burdens would be [illegible] on the Public, because that

question was not to be governed by the present decision; when that question came it would be time enough to discuss it. And here, he said, he might finish his observations on the part of the subject [illegible] before them; but it had been often thought, if not strictly regular, rather convenient, sometimes to make some general observations on the topics which might be expected to be brought forward hereafter upon the matter. He had not seen any reason for altering the opinion which he gave upon this subject on a former occasion. The circumstance of his Royal Highness's happy marriage, which we all knew took place by the approbation of Parliament long after it was well known that his Royal Highness was deeply involved in debt, certainly made part of the deliberation of the House. He owned there was a point on which he could not help touching, as being extremely applicable to this case. He thought he might look for some resources upon this occasion from His Majesty. It might be said, he ought not to give any thing very considerable, this was a point into which he could not enter until His Majesty had notified his royal disposition to give something. He most egregiously mistook the sentiments of the public, if something of this nature would not be very well received by them. He did not say that the whole six hundred thousand pounds should be paid by His Majesty, but he would say, because he felt, that it appeared a little unseemingly, that at a time of such general calamity, His Majesty should be the only person in the kingdom who did not contribute a single farthing towards the discharge of the incumbrances of the Prince of Wales. This, he could not help repeating, was unseemly. He hoped His Majesty would be better advised upon this subject. A glorious opportunity offered itself for the display of royal munificence, and liberal conduct upon such an occasion as this would do more even for the Constitution than the most vigorous exertion of the arm of power. It was with this view that he had contended, and sorry he was that he had contended unsuccessfully, against the additional one hundred thousand pounds a year to the income of His Majesty himself during the continuance of the American war, because, when all the subjects of Majesty felt so much during that war, he thought that His Majesty would do well to shew them a lesson of frugality and economy. If this principle was correct, and the application of it just at that time, how much more so was it now, when the question is—"What burdens are to be laid upon the Public to relieve the Prince of Wales from debt?" He would say again, it was unfortunate that some person had not advised His Majesty to lead the way upon this occasion, and to shew the Public an example of liberality upon this occasion, and to convince them

that he felt himself the necessity there was of indulging a generous temper. When this subject should come to be discussed, happy would he be if the House, by a gracious communication, should be given to understand that the illustrious personage to whom he alluded, intended to take some share of the contingent burden which might be felt from this situation of his Royal Highness. He trusted also that the whole of the additional income of his Royal Highness, together with the Dutchy of Cornwall, would be appropriated solely to the liquidation of the debts. It would take ten years even then to discharge them. But he still adhered to his original idea of making a very different disposition of the Dutchy of Cornwall from what had been proposed by the Minister. According to his idea of the thing, the Public would have a considerable advantage by the sale of the Dutchy of Cornwall, in a pecuniary sense, as also from the diminution of the patronage of the Crown, already much too extensive, and it would also place many gentlemen, now interested there, in a situation much less dependant than they are at present. It would also relieve his Royal Highness himself from dependance on the Crown, and on the Minister of the day, a thing in itself extremely desirable as well for the heir apparent of the Throne as for the interests of the Public, for a Prince ought to be an opulent and independent nobleman, before he become a wise, virtuous and illustrious monarch; and in proportion to the elevation of his rank, must a state of dependance be painful to his feelings, and dangerous to the Public. He concluded with giving his assent to the present motion.

Mr ANSTRUTHER took notice of the two parts of the present proposition before the House, one being a provision against the contracting of debts in future, the other for the payment of those already contracted. The sum had been already voted, and therefore no gentleman, by agreeing to the motion now before the House, would add to the burden of his constituents a single shilling. There must be some degree of contingent risk to the public, but as it was only in the event of the demise, both of His Majesty and of his Royal Highness, before the period of the final adjustment of the debt, the contingent risk was reduced to a degree of minuteness that was hardly worth consideration. With respect to the Dutchy of Cornwall, he did not pretend to say, that Parliament had not the power to order it to be sold; they certainly had that power; for they had the power of making what regulations they thought fit with regard to the maintenance of the Royal family; but he must beg leave to observe, that the Dutchy of Cornwall was not the absolute property of the Prince of Wales, for if the

Prince of Wales were to die to-day, the Dutchy of Cornwall would vest in his Royal Highness the Duke of York to-morrow, and the House would have as good a right to order the estate of any individual to be sold as this estate. There had also been a good deal of misapprehension as to the value of this estate; two-thirds of it were not rent out of land, but a duty on tin in the county of Cornwall, and the other part consisted of a dry unimprovable rent, and therefore, those who talked about what the Dutchy of Cornwall would produce, talked without much knowledge of the matter. Every account he had heard or seen upon this subject was very much exaggerated, and therefore he thought it necessary to explain this. With respect to His Majesty contributing towards the liquidation of the debts, he wished to say nothing, gentlemen spoke upon that subject as if they had a great deal of knowledge of it, all he could say was, that he did not know that His Majesty had the means—in short he knew nothing of the matter. He, as a Member of Parliament, wished to consider what was fit for Parliament to do, and not to call upon His Majesty to exercise his bounty. He was sure that his Royal Highness by his condescension would endear himself to the affection of the Public.

Mr. BASTARD thought that the mode of proceeding in this business was very objectionable. The first application ought to be for an establishment, intended merely to support the splendour of the Prince; he then might ask the assistance of the House in liquidating his debts. The question ought to be, will you, or will you not, pay the debts? In the confused manner of the business, gentlemen might vote with very different views: some might vote for the larger sum, under the idea of a part going to the debts; some for the smaller, thinking that the debts would be a separate consideration

Mr. WHITBREAD thought the people (whatever was said to the contrary) were to pay the debts; and he was aware that the House were voting away the money of the nation. After giving instructions to the Committee for the application, he said, the House were pledged for the contingent security. He condemned the indistinctness and confusion of the mode of proceeding; and wished that nothing of the debts had been introduced with the discussion on the establishment. He thought that there was a very just claim on His Majesty to come forward, since he had not accounted for the revenues of the Dutchy during the minority of the Prince. It was also urged, that His Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, ought not to pay the debts of the Prince of Wales: But, he asked, was not Hanover interested in the affairs of His Royal High-

ness, since he succeeded to that electorate? His Majesty should see that his interests and feelings ought to be in common with the p[illegible], and hence he ought to co-operate in the present instance, and alleviate the distresses of the nation as much as possible.

Mr. HAWKINS BROWNE spoke to some length, and concluded in favour of the motion.

Mr. LAMBTON observed, that the business was more of a national than personal nature. He asked upon what grounds were such large supplies and subsidies voted in the course of the war, but from a motive of national advantage. Upon the same grounds, gentlemen should not hesitate to vote for the extinction of His Royal Highness's debts. He asked, how was it consistent to vote Her Royal Highness a dower of 50,000l. a year, and with the same breath make her suffer from the imprudence of the Prince previous to his marriage. It was stated, that the Prince would one day or other be extricated, but this reminded him of the old adage "The horse starves while the grass grows." The motion simply was, to give instructions to the Committee towards a plan for liquidating the debts, and hence he saw no reason to oppose it.

Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL spoke in favour of the motion; but added, that, if the House resisted it, and came to decide upon the question—Whether the larger or the smaller sum was to be granted, he would certainly vote for the smaller.

Mr. BOUVERIE said, that, as the House had once already paid the debts of his Royal Highness, and that under the pledge that no such embarrassment should again happen, they could not, consistently, vote away the public money for such a purpose. Now, another thing that he wished the House to advert to was, that a right honourable gentleman on the bench below him had, on former night, said, that, if the debts were to be paid, some preventive measure should be adopted against the possibility of any such debts being incurred in time to come: this he thought absolutely necessary, and that it ought to extend to all the Royal family.

Mr. FOX said, that he certainly wished some scheme to be adopted, to prevent similar embarrassments in future; and that it should apply to all Princes of Wales: but that was not immediately connected with the motion then before the House.

Mr. BOUVERIE said, he must move an amendment to the instruction, by inserting, after the word his, in that part of the message which provides "against his incurring any debts," the words "or any other branch of the Royal familily."

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he must oppose the amendment; because it was the wish of every person in the House that the mo-

tion should be as much simplified as possible, which would not be the case if that amendment took place. He confessed, that he had no objection to what had been suggested by the right honourable gentleman over against him—that all Princes of Wales in future ought to be prevented from getting into similar situations: the other branches of the Royal family were by no means in similar situations; and he thought the honourable gentleman would, upon reconsideration, agree to withdraw his motion.

Mr. BOUVERIE, with leave of the House, withdrew his amendment.

Mr. W. SMITH spoke against the motion, because the House, and the Public, had a right to know the amount and the nature of the debts before they were called upon to pay them. He was the more convinced that there was a necessity for some inquiry of this sort, because, without going into the business of probable extortion, by blood-suckers, leeches, and other such terms which had been used, it was clear, that the more those debts could be reduced with justice, the more easily they would be paid off.

Mr. FRANCIS said, that as this question was likely to go to a division, and as the attention of the Public was attracted, not only to the general resolutions of the House in this business, but to the particular conduct of individuals, he was very desirous that the principles on which he had already voted, and those on which he meant to vote to-night, should be exactly understood. That an explanation was the more necessary, because, by the form of proceeding which had been observed, the vote given did not express or convey the real meaning and full intention of the person who gave it. On the face of the vote itself it did not appear whether, for example, a person who voted for the higher establishment, meant that every part of it should or should not be applied to the discharge of debt, or whether he who voted for the lower sum, did or did not mean to exclude himself from all the consideration of the debts and incumbrances. That, as it did not depend on him to alter the mode of proceeding, he was forced to vote simply, yes or no, to the motions as they came before him. Mr. Francis here reminded the House, that when the question was put to him on a former occasion, what establishment he would vote for, upon a general view of the provision, fit for the heir apparent, combined with the situation of the country, and abstractedly from any consideration whatsoever of his Royal Highness's debts and incumbrances; for that was precisely the state in which the question came before him; the answer he gave it by his vote was, that one hundred thousand pounds was sufficient. But he did not mean by that vote to preclude all consi-

deration whatever of the debts. He knew that it was a case of necessity, which sooner or later would force itself on the attention of Parliament, and with greater disadvantage the longer it was put off. The House had determined in favour of the higher establishment, and he must take it for granted that the House would adhere to that resolution. The question, therefore, now before him, was whether he would or would not concur with a proposition made by his Royal Highness himself, to apply a considerable portion of the sum they had already voted, and which, whether so applied or not, would be equally a burden on the people, to the discharge of his debts, or whether that whole income should be left without any obligation upon it, and finally, perhaps, to be spent without having contributed materially to that very service, on account of which, in the minds of many gentlemen, the higher establishment had been consented to. This being strictly the state of the question now to be determined, he did not see how he could conscientiously, or with justice to the Public, refuse his assent to the proposition as it stood.

Sir JOHN CALL argued for an immediate discharge of the debt. The best and least burdensome way of providing for it, he took to be the sale of the Dutchy of Cornwall, which from calculations he had made, he conceived would in every respect be advantageous to the Public, and relieve the Prince from his embarrassments.

Mr WILBERFORCE thought that some inquiry ought to be made, as to the manner in which the debts had been contracted, because it may be productive of some advantage. He had voted for the smaller sum on a former night, and though he had every wish to allow a proper and splendid establishment to the Prince, he must consider the necessity there was for economy at present.

Mr. BURDON thought it his duty to oppose any additional burden being laid upon the country, and would throughout oppose the scheme of paying those debts.

Mr. STURT said he recollected to have been in the House during the last Parliament, when in 1787 His Majesty's Minister had brought down a message from the King, recommending the payment of the Prince of Wales's debts, but upon the express condition that no future application of the same nature would be made, and the Minister had gone the length of assuring the House, that he, individually, would refuse to bring down any message of the kind again; he was therefore surprised at the present proceeding, and must insist that no Member who was in the House at that time, could consistently, or with any propriety, agree to pay the Prince's debts a second time; and if they did, he saw no security but that they might be called upon again.

Sir W. DOLBEN agreed to vote for the instruction moved, because formerly the House had only the assurance of the Minister upon the subject, but the message of that day expressed, that his Royal Highness himself was desirous to avoid future embarrassment, and upon this assurance he had great reliance. With regard to Hanover, he doubted whether His Majesty received from that Electorate any thing after defraying its expenditure, and as to the Dutchy of Cornwall, if the Prince of Wales from the time he was born became entitled to the revenues of it, and they had not been accounted for, it might be matter of inquiry; but he saw no reason that the country had to look to His Majesty for the payment of any part of those debts.

Mr. BANKES said, he conceived the voting of any sum for the establishment of the Prince, as totally distinct from voting money to pay his debts, which he thought the House ought not to be called upon to do, after the message that had been recorded on their journals in 1787. With regard to what had been said respecting the marriage, he did not conceive that the House was at all implicated, or in any degree a party to it, the debts were notorious before that event took place, and it might have been concluded without their knowing any thing of the matter. The payment of debts must always be unpleasant to that House. He did not approve of measures that went only to check such things, and thought that the only way to prevent them in future was, by not paying the debts now incurred.

Mr. SUMNER opposed particularly that part of the motion which appropriated any part of the income to the Prince for the payment of his debts, the two questions were not fairly before the House, and ought not to be blended, he therefore moved an amendment, to leave out the latter part of the instruction.

Mr. GREY seconded the amendment, because he thought it tended to simplify the motion, he thought those, who like himself, were willing to give the Prince a proper and suitable allowance, but at the same time were of opinion that the house had nothing to do with his debts, had not been fairly dealt with. Upon a former occasion many had voted for the larger sum, because they thought it necessary to the splendor of his establishment, who would not have voted for it if they had thought any part of it was to be appropriated to the payment of his debts. However, the House was not pledged by any thing that had been done, and might alter it if they should think proper; it was not one of those cases where money had been advanced in consequence of a resolution of the House, which ought always to be confirmed. He declared himself to be

entirely against the payment of the debts in any way, as a question that ought not to be entertained in the House. He considered it as a question of raising money from the subjects, and entirely different from making a provision for the Prince of Wales. He was against pledging the House or the Public in any way whatever, that might eventually or contingently lead to fixing a burden upon them to pay those debts, with which he thought they had nothing to do, and the amendment moved was the best way for the House to avoid giving any such pledge.

Mr. Chancellor PITT defended himself from any intention of wishing to treat the honourable gentleman or the House unfairly; on the contrary, he thought that the manner in which he had worded the instruction, by giving room for the proposed amendment, was the fairest public way of discussing the subject. He agreed, that undoubtedly during the progress of any measure in that House, they might alter any form r resolution come to upon it, but until that was done, the last resolution was always considered to be the sense of the House. He had stated before, that on the event of his Royal Highness's death, some other fund was to be made chargeable for the remainder of the debts. He would vote against the amendment proposed.

Mr. FOX contended, that by the instruction proposed, they were not voting money for the Prince's debts, nor pledging the House to pay them. That was to be a future consideration, and one upon which he thought an arrangement might easily be made when he knew the resources which the Prince possessed, and the assistance which he might derive from the munificence of his father. The House, by agreeing to the instruction moved, were not pledged for one farthing of the debts, and as to the mode of bringing the subject forward, every one must allow, that where so many questions were involved, there was a difficulty in determining which should be first discussed. He lamented the necessity for setting apart any precise quantum of the Prince's income for the payment of his debts; because that ought to be determined by him, but the difficulty which he felt on that point was obviated by the message which the House had just received, and the substance of which, he trusted, would be still more distinctly avowed in some future communication. Upon this point some new instruction might be necessary, and he trusted that due notice would be given when it was to be brought forward.

Mr. Chancellor PITT agreed in what had been said by the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. MARTIN expressed his concern that a second application should be made for the payment of the Prince's debts; and though

he opposed it, still he requested to have it understood, that no man in the kingdom was more attached to the Prince and His Majesty, as far as they were connected with the Constitution; but he did not think that applications like the present, were likely to favour them either in the opinion of that House or the country.

Mr. SHERIDAN said it certainly was not his intention in that stage of the business to enter into any long discussion, when the proper time came he would speak out plainly, without courting popularity on one side, or fearing displeasure on the other. On the point that the House by agreeing to the motion before them, were in no degree pledging themselves for the payment of the Prince's debts, he differed from his right honourable friend. But he differed still more from the right honourable gentleman opposite. The only question that ought to be before them, was simply whether the debts were to be paid or no? But by the mode in which it had been brought forward, this direct question might be evaded. The reasoning of his right honourable friend with regard to an annual income to be allowed to the Prince might be true, but it could not be so with the King's Minister, for if he required 125,000l. as an adequate income for the Prince, certainly he could not mean to pay his debts out of it, and if, on the other hand, a part was to be paid out of that sum, the House was pledged to pay those debts under the evasion of making a suitable provision for his Royal Highness. He would rather have preferred addressing the King upon the subject than the mode that had been followed. As to the language that had been used, reprobating this application to Parliament as a breach of promise, and other observations of that sort, he would not now give any opinion. The Public certainly never would believe that the King's Minister proposed an annual income of 125,000l. for the Prince, without any reference to the debts; and they ought not to be trifled and quibbled with, by being told at the same time that they were not pledged to pay them, they ought not to be deluded, humbugged, and deceived in that way, but fairly and at once to know whether they were to pay the debts or not. To-night it was not his intention to vote either way—this seemed to surprise some gentlemen opposite, but to those who generally made up their minds upon all questions before they came into the House, it was to be expected they must be astonished that he had not made up his after he was in it. He was against giving any instructions to the Committee, relative to the payment of the debts; yet he would give it as his positive opinion, that they ought to be paid immediately, for the dignity of the country, and the situation of the Prince. He ought not to be seen rolling about the streets in his state-coach as an in-

folvent prodigal: but, while he ought to be relieved from his embarraffments, the Public fhould not be, burdened with the preffure of a hair, in affording him that relief. By coming at all to that Houfe to pay his debts, the Prince had been ill advifed, and he fincerely believed the King had not an honeft Minifter about him, or elfe they never would have heard of fuch an application to Parliament. The debts may and ought to be paid. If it is meant to keep M[illegible] refpectable in the eyes of this country, and of the world, a different conduct fhould have been purfued. The fum of two [illegible] hundred thoufand pounds he reckoned trifling, when compared to the unbecoming fituation of an heir apparent to the Crown, without independence, and, what was worfe, without character. In the courfe of thofe difcuffions, gentlemen had applied bold and ftrong language to that illuftrious Prince, but there were other high and illuftrious characters, who, in future difcuffions, muft be told as plainly what the Public have a right to expect from them, and what their conduct ought to have been upon the prefent occafion, however ungracious the tafk may be.

Mr. Chancellor PITT faid he could not in point of order reply to the honourable gentleman's fpeech, nor did he mean it. This certainly was a queftion in which the honourable gentleman felt himfelf very much interefted, though he had told the Houfe he did not intend to vote upon it either way, becaufe he had not made up his mind. He muft take the liberty to fay that if the honourable gentleman had given his attendance to the former difcuffions on the fubject, as he ought to have done, in his place, or even had he been earlier in his attendance that night, he would have heard enough to make up his mind upon.

Mr. SHERIDAN faid, it was unneceffary for him to ftate to [illegible] Houfe the reafons which prevented his attendance, and were he [illegible] ftate them, they moft probably would be unintelligible to that right honourable gentleman. His reafon for giving no vote was, becaufe he did not approve of the motion before the Houfe; it was a meafure confufed and indirect. When the pofitive queftion, "Whether the debts ought to be paid or not?" was before the Houfe, he would have no hefitation in deciding.

The Houfe divided on the amendment,

Ayes, 52; Noes, 226.

The Houfe then divided on the original motion,

Ayes, 242; Noes, 46.

## List of the MINORITY on Mr. Sumner's Amendment.

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|---|---|
| Langston, John | Bridgewater |
| East, Edward Hyde | Great Bedwin |
| Gregor, Francis | Cornwall County |
| Shuckburgh, Sir George | Warwickshire |
| Baker, W. | Hertfordshire |
| Sturt, Charles | Bridport |
| Dent, J. | Lancaster |
| Clayton, Sir R. | Blechingly |
| Whitbread, Samuel, jun. | Bedford |
| Burdon, R. | Durham County |
| Martin, James | Tewkesbury |
| Bastard, J. P. | Devon County |
| Byng, George | Middlesex County |
| Hussey, William | New Sarum |
| Smith, William | Camelford |
| Blackburne, J. | Lancashire |
| Milnes, R. S. | York |
| Dundas, C. | Berkshire |
| Wharton, John | Beverley |
| Maitland, Hon. Thomas | Jedburgh, &c. |
| Buxton, R. J. | Thetford |
| Plumer, William | Herefordshire |
| Portman, H. B. | Wells |
| Duncombe, Henry | York County |
| Barclay, George | Bridport |
| Coke, D. Parker | Nottingham |
| Halhed, N. B. | Lymington |
| Pierrepoint, C. | Nottinghamshire |
| Mainwaring, William | Middlesex County |
| Popham, A. | Taunton |
| Stanley, J. T. | Wootton Basset |
| Robinson, M. | Boroughbridge |
| Buller, John | Exeter |
| Glanville, F. | Malmsbury |
| Lemon, Sir William | Cornwall |
| Littleton, Sir E. | Staffordshire |
| Wigley, E. | Worcester |
| Rashleigh, P. | Fowey |
| Peirse, Henry | Northallerton |
| Trevelyan, Sir J. | Somerset County |
| Folkes, Sir M. B. | King's Lynn |
| Philips, J. G. | Caermarthen |
| Church, J. B. | Wendover |
| Sheridan, R. B. | Stafford |
| Duncombe, C. | Shaftesbury |
| Stanley, T. | Lancashire |
| Fletcher, Sir Henry | Cumberland County |
| M'Leod, General N. | Invernessshire |
| Kemp, Thomas | Lewes |
| Wynne, R. W. | Denbigh County |
| Western, C. C. | Malden |
| Bouverie, Hon. Edward | Downton. |

TELLERS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sumner, G. | Guildford |
| Grey, Charles | Northumberland. |

*Tuesday, 2d June.*

Mr. THELLUSSON moved, "That the affidavit of Mr. Makespine should be laid upon the table."

Mr. GREY said he rose rather to express his opinion why the affidavit ought not to be received, than vote against its production. He thought it would be improper to receive any affidavits of circumstances, before the House had resolved whether they would go into an inquiry or not. He was aware it would be answered, that an affidavit had already been received, [Mr Grey alluded to one made by General Myers] but it should be remembered that that case stood upon the necessity of it. The gallant General who made it was obliged to leave the country, in the prosecution of a great and important service. Mr Makespine, on the contrary, might be called before the bar of that House, and there give his testimony, if the House should judge it expedient to call for it. This observation he would make to the House, he would declare it roundly and firmly, that he would prove it by the most unobjectionable testimony, that [illegible] Mr. M[illegible] was the most gross and scandalous perjury, [illegible] would not only be detected in that House, but might afford matter for future proceedings in a Court of Justice. He [illegible], he did not mean to oppose its production; he only stated [illegible] reasons which he thought went against the principle of [illegible].

Sir WILLIAM DUNDAS said he also would confirm the assertion of Mr Grey respecting the affidavit of Mr. Makespine, and evidence was then attending who would contradict every part of it. He had made inquiry into the character of another officer who had been attacked, and whose reputation was dear to him—he meant his brother, now no more. The result of his inquiry had been such as to prove that that brave man had never acted so as to call for censure on his conduct. He was now no more, and he requested those gentlemen who were about to move for an inquiry, that they would not let any false delicacy, or any respect for the ashes of the dead, prevent them from bringing his conduct also to an examination. He asked this, because he felt the full confidence that the result must do honour to the character of that gallant officer, by a triumphant victory over the assailants of his fame. He asked this, because he saw his character shamefully attacked in the state papers of another nation. *Victor Hugues*, the Commissioner, in his public dispatches, had carried enmity beyond the grave, and had basely insulted the memory of a man, whom he had feared to meet when living. He implored those who called for examination, to

let it extend to the length he askd, and thereby do justice to the reputation of a gallant officer, whose conduct never was before impeached.

Sir WILLIAM SCOTT remarked, that the affidavit now produced was one that was now in the Court of Admiralty upon a cause there pending. It was an affidavit to facts which the deponent believed to be true, and upon which, without others, the Court would not proceed, he thought it would be improper in that House to act upon an affidavit, which the Court below would not, unless supported by others.

Mr. BARHAM said, he had asked for no other papers but what were necessary to ground his motion upon. He should act solely upon the evidence before the House, and confine himself to the papers upon the table. In respect to what had fallen from an honourable gentleman, concerning a gallant officer now dead, he challenged the recollection of the House, whether he ever had said a word imputing blame against him. When he did not blame him, it was not through a delicacy for the memory of the dead; it was because he believed none of his actions ever merited censure.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that although the affidavits were not then upon the table, yet they were in every gentleman's hand, because a copy had been sent to each Member. He wished much they were before the House. They bore internal marks of falsehood, even although they could not otherwise be detected. In the preface to them it was stated, that those were the affidavits upon which the memorial, presented to the Duke of Portland, was founded. Examining the dates, it would be found that the affidavits were made after the memorial of which they were said to be the foundation. It was also stated, that after the publication of the proclamation many of the inhabitants in the islands took the oaths of allegiance; this also Mr. Sheridan observed, was contradicted elsewhere.

Mr. THELLUSSON thought it necessary to state the grounds upon which his brother, who presented the memorial, acted. He had been charged on a former occasion with having made a wilful misrepresentation in his memorial on this business; in doing this, he acted merely as an agent, and was not responsible for the character of Mr. Malespine, unless it had been notoriously bad; but the contrary was the fact, his reputation was good.

Mr. FOX said, his objection was simply this, that he did not like to take the affidavit of a man, who, if he gave evidence at all, ought in this case to give it at the bar of the House. But as this affidavit had been circulated so much, he thought it ought to be

commented upon in the course of the debate upon this business, otherwise two very great officers, of high character, would be treated in a very unbecoming manner, for they certainly were calumniated grossly in this extraordinary affidavit. He could have wished that the affidavit might have been laid upon the table, especially if there was to be no inquiry into the conduct of these officers, because, if the affidavit were on the table, it would be regular to discuss it.

Mr LUSHINGTON thought, in the business before the House, the question of policy and not of guilt was to be considered, and he could not coincide with the opinion of some gentlemen as to the entire incompetency and inconsistency of the affidavit. His friend, Mr. Thellusson, had been called upon to do as he had done. When the facts stated in those affidavits were made known to him, as he had no reason to know the character of Mr. Malespine to be bad, he could do no otherwise than present the remonstrance which he did.

Mr. WHITBREAD spoke against the affidavit in the most expressive terms, he was certain, he said, of an honourable gentleman's assertion, that he could prove the falsehood of the memorial, and the affidavit, which was manifestly founded on it. Should the affidavit be received, it would be establishing a dangerous precedent. The character of the officers whom it tended to criminate was highly deserving, and the more it was investigated the greater lustre would be added to it.

Mr Chancellor PITT submitted whether this discussion ought to be continued farther? An irregular discussion had taken place, which would much better be deferred until the proposed motion should be made. As far as he could collect the sense of the House, he believed it went, that the affidavit of Mr. Malespine should not be received. It was therefore better to defer the discussion to its proper time.

The motion was negatived without a division.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS observed, that he had troubled the House on various occasions to attend to certain regulations respecting the payment of the wages of seamen, those regulations had been adopted, and he trusted that the beneficial effects of them had been already felt. He had an object now in view of a similar nature; it related to half-pay officers of the navy. There were a set of men who were subject at present to intolerable hardships. When called upon to go into actual service, they found themselves in a very aukward situation: the pittance that was paid to them was so small, that it did not answer the purposes of fitting them out for the service;

the conſequence of which was, that they found themſelves involved in great difficulties. They had occaſion for money to fit them out; for which purpoſe they uſually went to an agent, to whom they paid five per cent intereſt, to which was to be added money for commiſſion, and for aſſurance of their lives when they were going upon an hazardous enterprize, ſo that altogether out of this miſerable pittance, the deduction was not leſs than eighteen per cent. His object was to remove theſe difficulties, and put an end to this enormous expence; for which purpoſe he ſhould propoſe, that they ſhould have three months wages in advance when called into the ſervice, that they ſhould be allowed to draw bills at three months, ſix months, nine months, or twelve months, as they might think fit to ſuit their convenience, which bills would be regularly paid without any of the expence which he had already ſpecified. Another point which he had in view was, that of a regulation of the payment of widows' penſions. He propoſed that they ſhould be paid by bills drawn for that purpoſe, without any expence or inconvenience. He concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill for the more ready and convenient payment of the wages of the half pay officers of His Majeſty's navy, &c.

Colonel MAITLAND did not oppoſe this, on the contrary, he was extremely happy that the ſubject was brought forward.—The half-pay officers of the navy were unqueſtionably objects highly worthy of the attention of that Houſe, but he was of opinion alſo, that ſomething ſhould be done in favour of the ſubalterns of the army, whoſe caſe was at preſent very hard, and he was ſorry, that after proviſion had been made this ſeſſion to ſeveral objects, and ſome very large and extenſive, that ſtill the ſubalterns of the army ſhould have been neglected.

The SECRETARY AT WAR denied that there was any diſpoſition in His Majeſty's Miniſters to neglect the ſubalterns of the army, as ſeemed to have been juſt now inſinuated. It was eaſier to talk of relief in general terms, than to procure it: and the honourable gentleman had not ſtated any ſpecific remedy, nor any ſpecific grievance in this caſe.

Colonel MAITLAND ſaid, he thought it was ſufficiently ſpecified, to ſtate that the ſubalterns of the Britiſh army ought to have ſome proviſion made for them. The fact was ſo; for he would venture to ſay, that every gentleman in that Houſe gave more reward to his footman annually than ſome of the half-pay officers in the army received from the Public.

General SMITH approved of the motion of Mr. Dundas.—The regulations he propoſed, he thought perfectly ſalutary, and

such as must meet the approbation of every man who had the interest of the British navy at heart. He wished, however, that the care of the right honourable Secretary would also extend to the India officers, who were equally deserving of their country.

Colonel ROLLE approved of the motion. The case of midshipmen at the conclusion of a war was peculiarly hard, and he wished that some provision should be made for them.

Mr. JEKYLL recommended the same thing with regard to the marines.

General MACLEOD said, he was not much in the habit of bestowing praise upon the Secretary of State; therefore, as he did so now, there would be the less reason to doubt his sincerity. He certainly applauded the right honourable gentleman very highly for this motion. He also hoped that the cases of the other persons alluded to would have the Minister's attention.

The motion was then put and carried, as was also a motion for a bill to regulate the payment of the widows' pensions.

Mr. BASTARD now rose to make the motion, of which he had given notice, respecting the conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis in the West Indies. He trusted it was unnecessary for him to say much in his own vindication for rising on this occasion; he had never been very forward to trouble the House, but had he been ever so ready to rise on other occasions, no man (whatever his sentiments on the subject might otherwise be) would believe that light motives could induce him to take up a business like this. Besides the pain he felt from the thing itself, he was well aware how accusation was generally received in that House, and knew, that let it be ever so well established, it could not produce much good will to those who brought it forward. Proceed in the business how he might, he could hardly fail to excite some enmities that he was sorry for, and must expect to meet all the unpopularity which those have to encounter, who bring charges against persons whom every one has been accustomed to admire, and feels a natural desire to protect. All this he felt the more, as he perceived that many persons were not very willing to share that unpopularity with him, and that he was not to receive assistance from some quarters, where, from the nature of the subject, he had hoped to find it. With nearly the united abilities of the House against him, what could he expect for himself, but to afford an easy victory to eloquence, ingenuity, and habits of debate, which he did not possess. The motives, however, which urged him to persevere, admitted of no party whatever; *for he was firmly convinced, that to the conduct of which he complained, were chiefly owing the losses which we were now daily sustain-*

*ing in the West Indies; and he verily believed, that there had existed few cases, which more demanded the interposition of Parliament, whether it were for the protection of our interests, or the recovery of our honour.*

Much had been said about the supposed delay, and the lateness of the period at which this business was brought forward. It was, however, to be recollected, that application had been made to Government concerning these transactions, as soon as they were transmitted to this country. It was equally certain that no answer could be obtained from Ministers [illegible] till very lately. Of this he did not pretend to know the reasons, he mentioned it not as a matter of charge, but as a matter of fact, which had rendered it impossible for him to proceed in this business sooner. *If therefore any gentleman should think there would be room for future complaints of delay (if any were to be made) they might be directed rather to another quarter than to him.*

He next observed, as to the order of proceeding which he had adopted, in moving for the papers before he made the motion which was to be founded on them. He had been told that this was irregular, preposterous, and even unfair to the parties concerned. As to its irregularity, he should only say, that he had not failed to consult the highest authorities. Why it was preposterous, he could not divine, for undoubtedly it seemed the most desirable, both for those who had allegations to make, and those who meant to dispute them, to have in their hands the documents from which such allegations must be maintained or controverted. But above all, it seemed to him the most advantageous mode of proceeding to the parties implicated, an object which he had kept in view, as far as was compatible with the greater object of public advantage, and which he should not lose sight of, though perhaps on this head, he might think he had met less credit than he deserved, and had received some provocation to depart from it. He thought that the present posture of the business was a pretty strong confirmation, that in this respect he had formed no wrong judgment, for what would have been the present situation of the parties, had he moved for an inquiry first? It was at least possible that the inquiry might not have been obtained, to him it seemed even probable, as he was inclined to believe that many persons who might think there were ample grounds for an inquiry, would yet vote against it, from the opinion that an inquiry, at the present crisis, would materially impede the public service.—But in moving for an inquiry, he must have made statements, which though it would have been difficult for him to establish, without the papers, it would certainly have been impossible for gentlemen on the

other side, without the papers, to have refuted. Would they say that this would have been an advantageous position for them?—He believed they would not. But one honourable gentleman (Mr. Francis) had objected to the production of the papers, unless he were assured that a motion for inquiry would follow, because he thought granting them was the first step towards censure, which, without an inquiry, could not afterwards be removed. From this honourable gentleman he differed diametrically, for he thought that if papers were moved for, which were supposed to contain matter for accusation, and that no charge was afterwards made, it necessarily followed, that both in the opinion of the mover, and of the House, there was no ground whatever for accusation, and the parties were completely vindicated. He had, however, not taken up the matter so lightly, as that he could have suffered it to rest there, had the proclamations been found to differ so materially from what had been alledged of them, as to cause them to be disapproved of, he certainly in this case should have been the first to have moved the House to come to a declaration, which must have been satisfactory to the gentlemen concerned. But had he been so careless, he would not say of *their* characters, but of *his own*, as to have neglected it, it would have been open to that honourable gentleman, or any other Member, to have made a similar motion. He therefore must conclude, *that the mode of proceeding he had adopted, not only could not in any case have been deemed an attack on the parties, but as the matter actually stood, was the only one which probably would not have been so.*

Now, however, the proclamations were before the House, by whatever means obtained, and in whatever way presented. They came accompanied by a letter from Sir Charles Grey, of whom, however he must disapprove his proceedings in this instance, he was willing to believe, that what had been done, had arisen more from inadvertence, misrepresentation, and mistake, than from the deliberate propensity of his own mind. If any gentleman chose to reject or disdain this declaration, he would tell them, it was not with any view to pacify them, still less in any regard of the high tone which had been, and might again be, assumed, that he made it, but from his genuine opinion and belief. Sir Charles Grey's letter stated, that he had reason to think that the copies furnished by him were not accurate; but that he did not possess any authentic copies, nor had any copies of several of the proclamations ever been transmitted to the Ministers. What his reasons for thinking them inaccurate might be, Mr. Barham said, he could not guess, but if their accuracy were disputed in any material point, he undertook

to prove that they were accurate, having compared them with the authenticated copies in the Court of Admiralty. But though they were accurate, they were not complete, many might be wanting, of which he did not know. But two material papers were wanting, which he did know of: one of theſe he had been able to ſupply the Houſe with, viz. the ſupplement to the firſt proclamation, another (being a petition from the inhabitants of St. Lucia) he ſhould read as a part of his ſpeech, the only mode now left of communicating it to the Houſe.

But he could not ſuffer to paſs without obſervation, the very extraordinary declaration, that theſe proclamations had neither been tranſmitted to Government, nor even copies of them preſerved. What! proclamations iſſued in the King's name and authority, and never returned to the King's Miniſters! Was the meaſure they directed, ſo very trifling in itſelf, or had the general reſiſtance it met, given it no importance? Was it not at leaſt the duty of the Commanders to ſend copies of them to Government, when they were known to be the ſubject of general remonſtrance and complaint? And was it not the duty of Miniſters, under theſe circumſtances, to have demanded them? But it ſeems, thoſe by whom they were iſſued, did not even retain an authentic copy of them. When were theſe all loſt or deſtroyed? Was it while they continued to be acted on in the iſlands, or when, by orders from home, all farther proceedings were ſuſpended? Had Miniſters no copy of them when they gave theſe orders reſpecting them? and had the Commanders none when they wrote their long memorial, defending them, quoting them, and entering into the minuteſt criticiſms on their phraſeology? Or, in fine, did they diſappear, when they had attracted the notice of the Houſe of Commons, and were likely to be the ſubject of a parliamentary proceeding? If really ſuch things could be done, and ſuch anſwers given to the Houſe, when papers were applied for, he knew not what concluſions other gentlemen might draw, but he drew one, namely, *that all reſponſibility was at an end, the inquiſitorial power of the Houſe might be defied and laughed at, and the King's name be proſtituted for the worſt purpoſes, without his even knowing it.*

Mr. Barham proceeded to ſtate, that the motion, which he was deſirous to have made, as being the moſt natural, and the moſt comprehenſive, was for a Committee of Inquiry. This was, however, not the motion which he ſhould make, for two reaſons; one, the very ſimple one alluded to before, that he did not expect to obtain it; the other, that the greateſt part of his object might be obtained without it. He would, however, give the parties all the

benefit which they could possibly derive from an inquiry, and ground his motion only on the documents on the table, which as no further evidence was wanting to confirm, none could be possibly brought to rebut. These were the proclamations themselves, carrying their own internal proof of what they were, and the statements of the Commanders themselves, which they, at least, it is to be presumed, would not disallow. Confining himself, then, to this evidence, he must expect to be answered out of it also. If gentlemen were to reply by producing letters, such as had been read from Mr. Sorin, he must tell them, that private letters of gratitude to a patron, ought not to weigh much on such an occasion. If any stress was laid on the testimonials annexed to the memorial of the Commanders, he must inform the House, that the majority, if not all, of those, who had signed the vouchers, had transmitted powers of Attorney to complain in the Courts of Law against the proceedings of the Officers, whom in their addresses they compliment. If the service of plate presented by the Council to the Commanders, was to be mentioned as a proof of the satisfaction their conduct had given (though, indeed, he should not have wondered at any thing that was presented to them after the contributions were stopped) yet he must observe that this was not the act of any representative body in the island, but of persons who owed their offices and very lucrative situations to the Commanders themselves. As to General Myers' affidavit, he must say, that it had been introduced by surprise; that fairness had not been shewn him in this respect, which he had observed in every step of this business. Had he received any notice that this affidavit would be brought forward, he should have opposed it, for the same reason that induced him to oppose the production of Mr. Malespine's affidavit, namely, that till the House had determined on an inquiry, the admission of such evidence was premature. Had he chosen it, he might have loaded the table with affidavits, but as the matter stood, and the House having refused to admit Mr. Malespine's testimony, they could not govern their decision by that of General Myers, unless they chose to determine by *ex parte* evidence. He therefore, meaning no disrespect to General Myers, whose testimony, if an inquiry was to be adopted, would be highly important, yet, under the present circumstances, must set it wholly out of the question.

But though he did not move for an inquiry, let not any one suppose, that he wished to avoid it; it was undoubtedly what he should most desire, and was fully prepared to [illegible]. If gentlemen conceived that confining himself to arg[illegible] *the* [illegible] *of the Commanders themselves*, he did no[illegible] give [illegible] which [illegible]

*could possibly derive from an inquiry*, or that the motion which he should make, conveyed any unfounded charge, which an inquiry would do away, *it was in their power to move for an inquiry, either separately, or by an amendment to his motion*. If this should be done, he undoubtedly would support it, and should then feel himself at liberty to state many reasons why it should be gone into, which now he forbore, because he wished to say nothing that he was not sure of having an opportunity to prove.

Before he entered more particularly into the proclamations, he must advert a little to the general defence, (if indeed defence it could be called) that seemed to be much relied on, namely, that they had not been carried into execution. Undoubtedly, it was no part of his object to advert to the particular acts which had been done, for these the Courts of law were open, and redress therefore should not be sought in Parliament. for however hard it might seem to tell those, whose all had been confiscated, that they had no remedy, but an expensive lawsuit, yet even this inconvenience was less, than that which might arise from the interference of Legislature with established law. It was against the principle that he appealed, and for the principle Parliament alone was competent to give redress. Yet he must observe here, that it was somewhat curious, that when the Commanders said, and justly said, that with the acts we had nothing to do. for that redress might be had in the Courts of law, for them to be told immediately after, that as officers in high stations cannot attend to the phraseology of their proclamations, it is to their acts, and not to their words, we are to look. So, if we had complained of their acts, we should be referred to the principles they lay down, and now that we complained of the principles, we are referred to their acts. But though he had nothing to do with the separate proceedings complained of, he could by no means in general admit, that they had not been acted upon. The Duke of Portland's letter said distinctly, "that farther proceedings upon them were stopped by orders from Government," which could not have arrived, under three or four months. This letter did undoubtedly not very much agree with that of another Secretary, who says, that it was notorious, that they were not proceeded on. What was notorious, one would think must have been known to the Duke of Portland. But as he could not reconcile these two letters, for the decision, he referred to the memorial of the Commanders, who admitted, that "the contributions were [illegible] they would not be approved of." But [illegible] even admitting the fact in the utmost [illegible] [illegible]tion of an illegal principle infinitely more

dangerous, than the commission of an illegal act? Since one could but at most be a precedent, while the other became law. Was an unjustifiable proclamation to be deemed of no importance, because it had not been carried into execution? Would those say so, who had so severely condemned the unexecuted manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick? Would any man say so, if an illegal proclamation were issued in this country? or would any man be contented till it was disavowed and recalled?

Mr. Barham now came to the proclamations themselves, in pledging of which it would be necessary first to consider what it is that they do, and secondly, how far that was fit to be done. As to the first point, there could be little difficulty; their meaning was plain and obvious, not depending on the niceties of verbal criticism, but on the broad and inevitable sense of the whole. The first proclamation, with the supplement, promised to the inhabitants of the islands "personal safety, and full and immediate possession of all their lawful property, according to their ancient laws and customs, and on the most advantageous terms," *on certain conditions*. What were these conditions? "That they should in a peaceable and quiet manner submit to the authority of the King, and put themselves under His Majesty's protection." How was the acceptance of this promise, and the performance of these conditions, to be manifested? Very wisely, that there might remain no doubt on so important a point, the supplement directs "that such of the inhabitants as were absent, should not return till the conquest was complete, and requires that the rest should remain peaceably at their habitations." The alternative to "those, who should, on the contrary, be taken with arms in their hands, is, that they should be treated as prisoners of war, and sent to St. Maloes;" *but no mention is made of confiscation in any case.*

The 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th proclamations related only to the town of St. Pierre, demanding at first a declaration of all colonial productions and provisions whatever (which included nearly every thing of value in those countries) within the circumference of the town, "under pain of confiscation;" and afterwards ordering a general confiscation of all this property, whether declared or not.

Next came the proclamations, to which he chiefly requested the attention of the House, viz. the 5th and the 7th, which was signed by General Prescott, by order of the Commanders, directing the election of representatives throughout the whole island of Martinico, in order to fix a contribution, to be [illegible] by all who possess property in the colony; the Comman[illegible]ded that such

an arrangement would be much more convenient than a general confiscation. If any doubt should remain as to the meaning of this, it is explained in that of May 21st, which states in the preamble. "That no attention having been paid to the other, which directed a sum of money to be raised adequate to the value of the conquest, to compensate the sufferings, and reward the merit of the troops, in order to carry this into effect, it is now ordained that lists and estimates of every species of property, moveable and immoveable, land, buildings, goods, rents, and profits, also all debts and securities, should be made, in order that the contribution, might be equally levied." It concludes by saying, "That it is the Commanders' firm resolution to have the measure fully executed, or that they will avail themselves of the power with which they were invested to order a general confiscation." Much pains had been taken to remove the phrase *the value of the conquest*; but he could not guess why; the value of the conquest could, after all, not be more than the value of all that the island contained. Was there any species of property which had not been enumerated even with an accuracy hardly to be expected from persons in the situation of military Commanders? Let the phrase, however, be removed for a moment; the contribution is not the less ordered on the whole, nor the right of confiscating the whole the less claimed. In offering to give up this phrase, he could not, however, agree to have another substituted, not only of a different sense, but not at all agreeing with the general tenor of the proclamation. The words substituted for the *value of the conquest*, were the *value of the property liable to confiscation*. Had the contribution been ordered only on the property, *which was liable to contribution*, undoubtedly no complaint could have been made. The complaint was, that instead of being confined, as it ought to have been, it was extended where it ought not, *and the difference was here only of the whole*.

The point now to be first considered was, whether there were any persons, who had a right to claim under the original promise; for if there were, these could not be subjected to the other proclamations, without the most flagrant breach of faith; and he thought, that as the confiscations were only justified by a forfeiture of conditions on the part of the inhabitants, they should have been stated to be inflicted for that reason. It would then have been open to every individual, to have proved (if he could do it) that he had not forfeited his right; and if there was but one of them under these circumstances, his title to exemption was complete. As it stood, no matter how fully [illegible] complied with the terms enjoined, he has neither exemption nor remedy. What proportion of inhabi-

tants there might be in this situation, certainly confined as he was to argue only from the statements of the Commanders, he could not say, but finding no mention in their dispatches that any of the *settled* inhabitants were in arms, and knowing that the expedition had been undertaken at their invitation, he undoubtedly had supposed that the opposition arose alone from the Conventional troops, and a banditti of negroes, mulattoes, and what are called *petits blancs* (being persons who have no settlement) at least he thought it fair to conclude, that not all the inhabitants had concurred in a general and unanimous resistance.

But there was at any rate one class of men who had not given any opposition to His Majesty's arms. They could not, for they were absent. Why were they absent? For a reason, which might well have secured them from a chance of complaint, the imprudent alacrity, with which they had before trusted to our faith, and joined our standard. Their numbers were great, and their property, according to the statement of the Commanders, composed the greatest part of the island. These were they of whom it was said in the 6th paragraph of the 5th proclamation, that the greatest number of the inhabitants had been rescued from a wretched exile, and restored to the quiet possession of their property. Good God! said Mr. Barham, what mockery of the unfortunate is this! restored to the quiet possession of their property, on which, in the same breath, a heavy contribution is ordered, and the alternative of a general confiscation threatened! Sir, if men could be entitled, I will not say to your justice, but to your generosity, it was these men. With regard to them, the most undoubted right would have been more honoured in the breach than the observance. But it seems their property had been confiscated before on behalf of the Convention, and was now become national, and could plead no exemption. What, Sir! We invite these men with a promise of protection, they trust us, and embark in a common cause—We fail—they are exiled, and their property confiscated. In a few months we return with a greater force, we forbid them to co-operate with us, but we conquer. Now at least they may be sure to recover the ruins of their fortunes. No, Sir; this property has in the mean time changed hands, and it is now national, for it belongs to those, whom, in the same breath, we call usurpers and traitors, but whom, for this purpose, we will regard as a legitimate government. And this is the language, and this is the conduct, of those, for joining whom these unfortunate men were proscribed, and who came both times professing every thing in their favour. Sir, there is a degree of cold cruelty in this proceeding, that one hardly

knows how to state it as coming from a nation, which, at the same instant, was distinguishing itself at home, by its generosity to persons in a similar situation, in no greater distress, but with infinitely less claims on us—a conduct which, if I mistake not, bids fairer than any other passage in our history to perpetuate the praise of the British name. In one quarter of the world, we covered our enemies with our bounty; while in another, by the aid of a pettifogging evasion, we were seizing the property of those, who, trusting to our faith, had met their ruin, and by yielding us assistance, had given us an opportunity to take their all. With these little exceptions, all the inhabitants of the islands had forfeited their right to claim under the original promise of protection.

Now, said Mr. Barham, let the promise be set wholly out of the question; let us suppose all the inhabitants united against us, and let us see of what nature and degree their resistance was, whether it was such as to justify the extremest exercise of those rights, which the conqueror acquires according to the practice of modern times and civilized nations. Here again, he was to argue only from the statements of the Commanders themselves. These confiscations are defended by the usage of war, when places are taken by storm; and by storm all the islands are said to have been taken. It is impossible, however, not to advert to the time which this capture had required, and the loss with which it had been attended. Martinico was known to be one of the strongest islands in the world; was defended by a considerable body of conventional troops, besides a numerous army of negroes and people of colour, and defended moreover, as is now said, by the 15,000 white inhabitants which it contains, all united against us, to a man. The storm of this island was, however, completed in 23 days, (excepting Fort Bourbon, which surrended on capitulation) and was attended with the loss of 88 men—Guadaloupe, an island not quite so large or populous, but also abounding in defence, was stormed in 11 days, and with the loss of 34 men. St. Lucia was stormed in 4 days, and no person on our part either killed or wounded. Now, if we recollected the loss with which our former attempts (oftenest unsuccessful) on these islands had been attended—making every allowance for the present valour of our troops, and the skill of our Commanders, we must draw conclusions not very favourable to former times, or we must suppose that the French have entirely lost their character for fighting; or we must conclude, that this unanimous resistance of the inhabitants had not been of a very desperate nature. But after all, had any one ever heard of an assault lasting 23 days? Was it not in its nature limited to a very short duration? Had

any one heard before of storming an open country? Was the thing possible in itself? And was there no difference between taking by storm and taking by force of arms?

Even this, however, was not the ground on which he would chiefly rest. Let it now be supposed, that no promise had ever been held out, let it be admitted that the utmost resistance had been made, how much better would the case stand then? It was still to be inquired whether the proclamations were justified by the established laws of war, by the customs of our own and other countries in similar cases, and by the peculiar policy and forbearance which should have governed this. He undoubtedly should not presume to lay down generally the laws of war, but he could not help adverting to what had dropt from a right honourable Secretary (Mr Dundas) who objected to come to any general declaration on the subject. In the first place, he must observe, that it was not a general proposition he called for, but a judgement on this specific case; and this was called for, not as a point of speculation, but to do away the effect of the proclamation, which had laid down a principle, that he defied any man to justify. But general propositions, said the right honourable gentleman, were often as dangerous as they were difficult. True; but, after all, if you might never pronounce what was, or was not, permitted by the laws of nations, what was this, but to admit that they were altogether visionary, and unfit for practice? No greater injury could be done to mankind, than to bring into [illegible] those laws, which were the most valuable of all, because they spoke when all other laws were silent. No greater benefit could be rendered to mankind, than by strengthening and extending them. In any doubtful case, there could be little question on which side the leaning should be; but here surely there was no doubt at all. The memorial of the Commanders proceeded throughout on a confusion of the laws of war and the rights of conquest. The laws of war certainly (with a few restrictions adopted by general consent) allowed every thing that could tend to weaken or destroy the enemy; but as soon as the conquest is complete, all those rights vanish which rested on the necessity of conquering. Nothing then remains to the victor, but the right to sovereignty, and to national property. Contributions, indeed, are levied, but when are they levied? It is when a temporary possession is supposed, and they are admitted for the subsistence of your own army, and to take away the support of your enemy. Their acknowledged definition, *Collatio pecuniarum, aliarumque rerum, ad pretendum exercitum, hostilibus subditis facta*, proves that they can only be levied on an enemy. He that can no longer resist, is no longer an enemy. [illegible] that the people then

owe is allegiance, and the Sovereign protection. To know, that in the case of these islands, the conquest was complete, when the contributions were levied, we need only consult the proclamations themselves, which inflicted them, nor will it be denied, that at that time the inhabitants had been admitted to the oath of allegiance.

If these doctrines were true at all times, how much more forcibly did they apply in a war, the object of which was security, not gain, and in a conquest expressly undertaken for protection, and not for plunder. If we were to determine this question by referring to precedents, nothing could be more decisive. Various precedents had been adduced, but none of which, unless it were that of St. Eustatius, were in the smallest degree applicable. But why not resort to the numerous precedents which must be exactly in point? The West India islands had been frequently captured by us and by our enemies within the period referred to. They had been taken under various circumstances, and in some cases after the most vigorous resistance on the part of the inhabitants. Mr. Barham went into a detail of these captures, and challenged any man to shew that in any instance the rights now assumed had been ever thought of, and offered to rest the whole of his case on the decision of this one point. As to St. Eustatius, he did not think that precedent could be much relied on by those gentlemen who had at the time so strongly condemned it, and he defied them to shew any thing that had been done at St. Eustatius, which had not been done here. But admitting the authority of this precedent, it would not bear them out.—Though the case of St. Eustatius was somewhat anomalous, though it was a conquest, undertaken for the purpose of destruction, yet in no instance the property of the settled inhabitants of the country was touched. And there was this great difference of all, that what was done there, was simply an act, whereas here the very principle itself was maintained. "Oh!" said Mr. Barham, "that the illustrious person [Mr. Burke] who moved for that inquiry, were still a Member of this House! he surely never could have suffered a cause so much greater to fall into hands so much less able to conduct it."

In one view more he had still to consider this proceeding of the Commanders. It was contrary to their instructions. The only title which the captors ever had to booty, was derived from the Prize act. Whoever consulted this, would find, that what booty was, is described in the 2d and 3d section, where the word *fortress* is never omitted, excluding necessarily all the property which was not found within the inclosure of a fortress. Whoever looked at the instructions, to which the Commanders on this expedition were re-

ferred, would find no mention of what was booty, except in those given to Lord Rodney; and in these the settled inhabitants of the country were exprefsly exempted. Under what pretence, then, could thefe confifcations and contributions be impofed on all the proprietors in the iflands, without violating both the general and the feparate inftructions?

Thefe contributions were then every way to be condemned; they were inconfiftent with the promifes that had been held out; they were not warranted by the refiftance that had been made; they were contrary to the law of nations in general, and to every principle of policy, which peculiarly applied to the prefent cafe. They were not juftified by any former practice, and they were in oppofition to every inftruction that had now been given. In defence of them, it was faid, that no complaints had been made in the iflands at the time. But what would this lead to if it were true? No complaints were made againft the Commanders during their government, but were referved till their authority was no more. He wifhed not to draw the conclufion. The fact, however, was not true. The proclamations themfelves fufficiently fhew, that they were both oppofed and complained of. He had in his hand a petition from the inhabitants of St. Lucia, which he read, and on the authenticity of which, if it fhould be queftioned, he was ready to reft the whole of the cafe. This petition, after reprefenting their utter inability to pay the contribution of 300,000l. which had been demanded, appealed to the promifes which had been made to them; to the teftimony of the army and navy, that in no cafe they had refifted, to the confcioufnefs which the Commanders muft have of their innocence, and to the pity, the generofity, and juftice of the Britifh character.

It had been faid, that the proceedings being ftopped by orders from home, the proclamations were virtually annulled, and therefore that any farther meafure was fuperfluous. How could this be maintained? Could a lefs authority repeal, than that which had enacted? *Quo ligatur eo folvitur*, was an axiom, he thought, that no man could difpute. Could private letters from Minifters, which no where appeared, do away proclamations iffued in the King's name? What, after all, did thefe letters do?—Had they condemned the principle, or only fufpended the proceedings? If fo, might it not be faid that the proceedings were only fufpended from temporary confiderations? They might at any time be renewed; for he contended, that till recalled by equal authority, the proclamations remained in force. For thefe reafons, he trufted that the Houfe would come to a declaration on the fubject, and that no [illegible]

be made to get rid of it by the previous question. It was now before them in a way that they could not avoid it; they must either condemn the principle, or confirm it for ever. He concluded by moving,

"That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, representing that it appears to this House that certain proclamations were issued by Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis in the island of Martinique, and dated May the 10th and 21st, 1794, which this House conceives to contain principles not warranted by the law of nations, and of dangerous precedent in all future cases of hostility, and which occasioned great alarm and dissatisfaction in His Majesty's colonies, and therefore humbly praying His Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to take such measures for recalling the same, and removing the apprehension of his faithful subjects, as to His Majesty shall seem good."

Mr. MANNING, in rising to second the motion, began with vindicating the memory of General Dundas, upon whose character no imputation was intended to be thrown. He referred to the declaration published in 1793, as explanatory of the principles upon which the war was to have been conducted, and from which he conceived the proclamations which it was the object of the present motion to disavow, to be a wide deviation. He referred also to the instructions to the Commanders in the West Indies, which, in speaking of booty, expressly excepted the property of the settled inhabitants; that very species of property against which the proclamations were directed. He found himself called upon to support the motion not merely as a West-India merchant who had a considerable interest in that quarter, but as a British subject who demanded that the character of the nation should be vindicated from the reproach of injustice. The affidavit of General Myers stated that a general resistance had been made to the British arms in the island of Martinique. It was to be recollected that this island was thirty leagues in length, and seven in breadth, from which it would appear how far it was probable that such a resistance had been made. He could refer to many former instances, where there had been a considerable degree of resistance; and yet, no such principles as those contained in the Proclamations, had been attempted to be enforced. As a proof of the loyal dispositions of the inhabitants of Martinique, he quoted the authority of General Bruce, who mentioned, that 800 French planters had taken up arms in the British cause, all of whom must have either been removed or massacred; yet there appeared no evidence that in the late expedition any steps had been [illegible] secure their property for the use of their heirs. As an ad-

ditional proof of the loyalty of the inhabitants in that quarter, he stated, that at the time appointed for taking the oath of allegiance, the concourse was so great, that the person employed to administer the oath, was obliged to send many of them away He referred to the distinction between the laws of war and the rights of conquest. When the conquest took place in the islands, no reservation had been made of the rights of war; the inhabitants took the oaths of allegiance, and were recognized as British subjects; yet soon after an assembly was convened for the purpose of levying a contribution, who, by declining to meet, gave evident proof of their dissatisfaction.— The first instance of contribution had taken place in St. Lucia. A sum of 300,000l. was imposed, which was afterward reduced to 150,000l. Of this, the largest sum said to have been raised amounted to 35,000l. a plain symptom that the original imposition was felt to be exorbitant and oppressive. But it had been urged that during the command of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, no complaints had been transmitted to this country. The reason was easily accounted for: no notary could be found to draw up a remonstrance, with the certainty of incurring the displeasure of the Superior Council, and the consequent risk of being expelled from the islands. He instanced some particular cases of oppression which had taken place He affirmed the proclamations of the 10th of April and the 21st of May, to be neither justified by the principles of the law of nations nor the practice of former times. He contrasted the conduct of the Marquis of Bouillé with respect to St. Kitt's, with that which had been observed by the British Commanders. After the French had taken the island, he himself continued regularly to receive his remittances through Ostend, Bruges, or Hamburgh. The complaint on this occasion had been ascribed entirely to disappointed speculators. He himself had received hundreds of letters from respectable planters in different places, unconnected with commerce, and not personally interested in the French West-India islands, that reprobated in the strongest terms the conduct of the British Commanders. From these letters he should read some extracts to the House. These extracts talked of the inhuman and avaricious conduct of the British Commanders as having fixed a stain upon the name of the country, and of the example which they had exhibited of rapacity and oppression as being calculated in a reverse of fortune to produce a most dangerous retaliation on the part of the French. He remarked, that in vindication of the proclamations great stress might be laid on what had formerly taken place in the island of St. Eustatius, a precedent which, he believed, however, would not be very popular in this

country. But in that case he remarked there was a distinction from the present, the Commanders had been particularly instructed to take possession of that island as a hostile arsenal. In the course of his speech, Mr. Manning entered into a definition of what was to be considered as booty, which he confined to the description given under the prize act, and gave as his opinion that the rights of conquest consisted merely in the exercise of legal sovereignty, the laws of war only applied to the instances in which a place was taken by storm, and could not be supposed to exist with respect to the subjugation of an extended territory. He concluded, that the object of the motion was to call for a disavowal of the proclamations, it was only calling upon Ministers to do in public what they had already done in private, by instructions sent to the West Indies, annulling those proclamations. Considering that disavowal to be necessary upon principles of reason, justice, and sound policy, he felt himself strenuously bound to concur in supporting the motion.

Mr. GREY said, that though on a former occasion when this subject was started, he was anxious to offer himself as late as possible to the attention of the House, after the two extraordinary speeches which they had now heard, extraordinary he would call them, as applied to the motion which they were intended to support, he felt himself equally anxious to rise as soon as possible in order to obviate the effects which they were calculated to produce. If the honourable gentlemen had really felt the reluctance which they pretended to bringing forward the motion, the disavowal of the proclamations which had taken place in consequence of the letters of the Secretary of State, might have sufficiently satisfied their apprehensions as to any consequences that might have been produced in the West Indies. If they had been sincere in the wish which they had expressed, of not giving pain to the feelings of gallant Commanders, would they have had recourse to the line of argument which they had adopted, in bringing forward a motion which, though not itself a charge against those Commanders, was supported by charges, which, if true, there was no punishment for their delinquency which could be too severe? If these proclamations had been attacked merely upon the general principle; if ground of accusation had not been sought from matter not at all connected with the proclamations, (that they might be carelessly worded he would not deny) he would have left to others better acquainted with the law of nations to have undertaken their defence, and not have come forward on a question, with respect to which he felt more anxiety than he had ever experienced in any former discussion. As to the commander in whom he was particulary interested, and to whose

character the honourable gentleman had been pleafed to afcribe to miftake, inadvertence, or mifinformation, expreffing at the fame time a hope that the teftimonial would not be difdained by him. That teftimonial, he muft fay, loft its value from what had followed; when he heard of the inhuman and avaricious conduct of Britifh Commanders, when he heard of their rapacity and oppreffion, as calculated to fix a ftain upon the Britifh name, and to fet to their enemies an example of the moft dangerous retaliation, if he muft not fay that he did not difdain a tribute of applaufe, followed up with fuch epithets, he at leaft would fay that to him it had no value whatever. The two honourable gentlemen had fupported the motion upon different principles, which, though not very diftinct in their ftatement, he would endeavour to feparate in the difcuffion. It had been afferted firft, that the proclamations were contrary to the principles of the law of nations. But though the objection had been made on the ground of principles, it had been chiefly fupported upon an enumeration of facts. It had been broadly ftated that every thing done at St. Euftatius had been done in the late expedition. There was fome confufion as to other topics. At one time the Houfe were told of the danger of retaliation, in confequence of the cruelty experienced by the fubjects of the French Government; at another the complaint was, that our own fupporters and allies, had not been treated with proper regard. As to the cruelty experienced by fubjects of the French Government, he had always heard that the prefent war on the part of the French was a war of plunder, rapine, and devaftation; that it was carried on by them in oppofition to all order, humanity, and religion—the Weft-India merchants had joined in this reprefentation, but it now appeared that the fact was quite the reverfe—that the French were a moderate, humane, and equitable people, and that no apprehenfions were to be entertained from them except fo far as they might be influenced to retaliation by the example of cruelty and oppreffion afforded by Great Britain, in the profecution of the conteft. It has been infinuated, that the misfortunes in Grenada and the other Weft-India iflands have been owing to the oppreffion and rapacity of the Britifh Commanders: as well might they trace the difafters in Flanders to the fame fource. What could be more abfurd than to fuppofe that proclamations which had been annulled, and not acted upon, fhould have occafioned the fubfequent devaftations in Guadaloupe and Grenada. Objections had been taken to the manner in which the wording of the proclamations had been attempted to be explained. What, however, could be more evident than this, by the expreffion, the value of the conqueft, nothing more was meant

than the value of the property liable to be confiscated; and not surely the value of the fee simple of the island? Great complaints had been made on account of the proclamations not having been transmitted to this country. Sir Charles Grey in his letter assigned the reasons why that had not been done. As to their being inaccurate, it appeared upon the face of the proclamations themselves that the translations must be inaccurate. On the subject of the rights of conquest, it had been stated, that the moment resistance ceases, a legal sovereignty succeeds, and the people who are subjugated came under the protection of the conquerors. He always had understood, that when terms had been refused, when the utmost resistance had been made, the persons and property of the vanquished became subject to the Sovereign whose troops occupied their territory. Such was the doctrine which prevailed in the law of nations, and which was not carried in the proclamations beyond what was allowed by the mitigated practice of modern times. It had been stated also that the soldiers had no right to booty, except of the description defined in the prize act. The prize act applied only to that species of booty which belonged to the captors, it did not lessen the right of majesty to that booty, which was uniformly the reward of conquest in every instance where resistance had been pushed to its utmost limits. Under this description of booty the proclamations included nothing but the stores and produce of the planters, which had been manufactured and packed up for exportation before the 23d of March; and this booty had been assigned to the soldiers only under grant of His Majesty, and subject to his future disposal. By their proceeding on this occasion the Commanders had shewn themselves anxious to maintain at once the rights of the Sovereign, and the discipline of the soldiery. Even for the sake of the conquered country, such a procedure was, perhaps, the most desirable. If the soldiers were not to be allowed what they felt to be a due reward of their labours, they would conceive that they had a right to take it. What they now thankfully accepted as a boon, they would then extort by violence; and instead of a moderate contribution, a system of universal plunder would follow. The Commanders then did not want for their conduct the apology which had been assigned them of mistake, inadvertence, or misinformation: they had acted from a sense of duty, from zeal for the rights of their Sovereign, and from regard to the discipline of the troops under their command. Their conduct was even such as from enlightened views of policy would be found ultimately most conducive to the peace and security of the conquered country. On this occasion reference had been made to their instructions. On inspecting those instructions, he

was blind enough to think that they furnished a complete vindication, not only for what they had done, but for what they intended to do. It had been supposed that there existed no right to booty, except the capture of a fortified place. So far was this from being specified, that in one copy of instructions relative to booty, mention was made of what might be taken in a settlement, and in another the general case was put of a conquered country. Even in instances of capitulation a certain right of booty had been reserved to the Sovereign and the troops, and in cases of storm a larger proportion had been allotted to the soldiers, because they on such occasions were necessarily exposed to a greater degree of fatigue and danger. Mr. Grey here quoted from history examples of the practice to which he alluded. An honourable gentleman had mentioned what had taken place at St Eustatius as a precedent of no very good authority, and not very likely to be popular with the country. He had said, that if another honourable gentleman, (Mr. Burke) now no longer a Member of that House, who had brought forward the conduct of the Commanders at St. Eustatius, had been now present, he should not have been under the necessity to come forward. He was reminded, indeed, that the honourable gentleman who complained of the conduct of Lord Rodney and General Vaughan, had, after the 12th of April, dropped all proceedings, and even said, that if there was a bald spot on the head of Lord Rodney he would cover it with a laurel. Would he then, after the brilliant services performed in the West Indies, have been the person to have come forward with a charge of crimination against the Commanders at the head of the expedition? So much for the wording of the proclamation. He would now examine how far it had been acted upon. The moment that it had been known to the Commanders that it occasioned discontent and dissatisfaction, or had in the smallest degree been considered as oppressive, it had immediately been annulled. As it was impossible to lay down a precise rule where there was so much room for the exercise of discretion, it was impossible to say whether the proclamations were right or wrong, except some method could be contrived to take into consideration all the circumstances of the country at the moment in which they were issued. It had been said, that the contents of the proclamations were in direct opposition to the declaration of the 1st of January. But it must first be necessary to shew that the declaration had been accepted. It was said, that the terms held out in that declaration were either protection or removal; protection to those who submitted themselves, and removal of such as should be found refractory. If gentlemen, however, read the conclusion of that paper, they

might, perhaps, find another alternative. The conclusion was, that "All such persons as in contempt of His Majesty's gracious and benevolent intention, should dare to oppose this declaration, shall be treated as enemies, and remain exposed to all the evils which the operations of war cannot fail to bring over their persons and property. Did not this in the plainest manner point out confiscation, and all the other consequences authorized by the rights of conquest? The paper was intended to contain an inducement to submission. Though the motion was confined to Martinique, an honourable gentleman had thought proper to travel into St. Lucia for facts in order to support it. It was material to be ascertained whether the inhabitants of Martinique did not resist, in direct opposition to what had been asserted. He would prove that the inhabitants of Martinique did generally resist, that they had not aided the progress of the British troops, even by intelligence; he would prove it by the evidence of the whole army, he would prove it by facts themselves. An honourable gentleman had gone so far back as the expedition of General Bruce, but what had he proved by his statement, but that the great majority in Martinique were decidedly attached to the Convention, and that the others, who had sided with the British, had been since expelled, or massacred? He would now proceed to examine the curious memorial and affidavit which had not been permitted by the House to lie upon the table. Taking the memorial from its contents, not knowing Mr. Thellusson, by whom it was signed, whether he was a Member of that House or another of the same name, he had formerly asserted what he should again repeat, that it was a series of falsehood from beginning to end, and that the affidavit upon which it was grounded, was an instance of the grossest perjury. If, as he understood, the gentleman by whom the memorial was signed, was a merchant of eminence, it would well become him to consider what he was doing, and to examine the public dispatches, before, upon the evidence of one, who is declared to be a notoriously good man, but, who is so notoriously good, that the gentleman who thus characterized him, would not undertake to support his allegation upon oath; before, upon such evidence, he ventured to attack the character, and to wound the feelings of respectable Commanders, he would first shew such circumstances upon the face of the memorial, as evidently proved its falsity; and secondly, he would lay before the House, a statement of facts, supported by gentlemen of undoubted veracity, whose evidence he was ready to produce at the bar.

Mr. BARHAM here called Mr. Grey to order. He said, that as the memorial in question, had been rejected by the House, and as

nothing had been [illegible] upon it by him or his honourable friend, he conceived it improper to make it the subject of comment.

The SPEAKER called the attention of the House to the point before them. As the memorial had not been permitted to be laid upon the table, it might not be strictly regular to make it the subject of comment; but it was to be recollected, that the memorial had been published and distributed to Members of that House, and as it went to impute blame to the conduct of the honourable Commanders, he submitted to the House whether it was not proper for any Member to remark on it as a publication, with a view to the vindication of their character.

Mr. GREY contended that he had a right to remark on the memorial as a publication, and the affidavit with which it was accompanied. Both went to throw aspersions on the character of the Commanders in the West-Indies. The charges against them had been now in circulation for six months. The honourable gentleman had at last come forward as their accusers, and were not they to be admitted to be heard in their defence? There was nothing in the memorial which had not been transferred to the speeches, two parts of which were not at all to the purpose, and which he would not have an opportunity to notice in his answer. This Mr. Malespine states, that when the town of St. Pierre received the first summons from His Majesty's Commanders, the white inhabitants were so absolutely at the disposal of the negroes and people of colour, that they could not manifest their desire of surrendering. The town of St. Pierre had at no time been disposed to the British cause. Why then should Mr. Malespine have taken refuge in the town of St. Pierre, which had been the source of all the troubles in Martinique, when remaining in the open country, he might at least have shewn his pacific dispositions, and, if so inclined, have afforded assistance to the British arms? Mr. Malespine states that after the proclamation was issued, the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance; just as if the oath had immediately followed the date of the proclamation. The impression intended to be produced by this mode of statement, was sufficiently obvious. Mr Grey said, that he would now proceed to the statement of facts, in support of which he could produce the evidence of a number of respectable officers, who were attending near that House, if their testimony should be required. These were the officers who had commanded in the different divisions, who had made their attack on several parts of the island, and who had not experienced the smallest assistance or support from one white inhabitant. With a view to injure the fame of the Commanders, the service had been attempted to be de-

preciated. It had been said that the conquest had cost only twenty eight days; when in reality it had taken up from the 6th of February to the 25th of March, and that only 84 men had been lost, when it would be found from the returns that the number of killed and wounded amounted to between two and three hundred. While the gentlemen who have brought forward the motion have been careful to pass over every thing unfavourable to their purpose, they have been equally assiduous to pervert known facts, and to bring forward others entirely void of foundation. Malespine says that the whites were restrained by fear of the blacks, and the people of colour.— Whereas from the statement it would appear that the town of St. Pierre is entirely occupied by the whites, that they manned the works, and worked the guns, and that almost all those who were killed were whites. Mr. Grey said, that as it might now be deemed too late in the session to enter into the inquiry, he would read the report of the officers in their own words. He here read the report of the officers who commanded the different divisions in the attack on Martinique, of which the following is a copy.

To General Sir CHARLES GREY, K. B. &c. &c.

We whose names are hereto subscribed, Officers in His Majesty's army, serving under your command at the conquest of the French island of Martinique, in the months of February and March, 1794, having been informed that the means by which that conquest was accomplished, and the circumstances attending it, have been very much misrepresented, with a view not only to answer the interested purposes of individuals resident in, or connected with the inhabitants of, that island, but likewise to call in question the propriety of your conduct as Commander in Chief; we think it our duty to report to you such transactions, facts, and circumstances, as took place or occurred within our personal knowledge or observation, either collectively or individually. The facts and transactions we are about to narrate, we consider as stated *upon our honour as British Officers*, and we shall be ready to sanction the same by our oaths, whenever called upon.

We think it right to preface our report, by stating, that we have perused the Memorial to the Duke of Portland, signed by Mr. Thellusson, and the affidavit of Mr. Malespine, and the other documents contained in a pamphlet published by Mr. Thellusson, and distributed to the Members of the House of Commons; whatever the object of that publication might be, is not for us to determine; but we feel ourselves called upon, in justice to your conduct and character, to state unequivocally that many of the material allegations contained in the memorial, and Mr. Malespine's affidavit, *are false*.

We shall not content ourselves with making this assertion in general terms, but will proceed to a detail of the transactions upon which we found it, confident that they warrant the most decisive contradiction of the allegations contained in the papers we refer to, that language can supply.

The attack upon the town of St. Pierre was preceded by the summons sent by you and Sir John Jervis, early in the month of February, 1794, by Major Mason, one of your Aid-de-Camps, addressed "to the Mayor, Presidents of the Municipalities, and Citizens, of the town of St. Pierre, and the Commandant of the troops," requiring them to surrender upon the terms offered in the proclamation of the 1st of January, 1794. It was matter of notoriety to the whole army, that so far from the summons being well received by the inhabitants of St. Pierre, Major Mason was treated with great indignity, and refused admittance into the town. The result was, that a detachment of the army proceeded to reduce the town of St. Pierre, under the command of Major General Dundas. We were all (except Colonel Chalmers, and Major Burnett) employed in this detachment of the army, the object of which was, by different routs, to secure the country leading to, and ultimately to attack the town. As the army penetrated into the island, it was divided into different columns or detachments, to attack and secure the batteries, redoubts, and other posts of defence formed by the enemy, to resist and impede its passage to, and to protect the town. Although we were employed in different routs and detached services, yet, upon communicating together, we find that we can, without a single exception, unite in stating, that very great resistance was made to the British forces in their march towards the town of St. Pierre, as well as towards the town of Trinité and Fort Bourbon, and that this resistance was not confined to the French military force, *but the planters and other white inhabitants of the island, joined and supported the public force, and none of them came in or gave assistance to the British forces, or signified any intention or desire to accept the terms or claim the protection of the proclamation of the 1st of January, 1794. In the different villages and plantations we passed through on our march, where planters and white inhabitants had actually resided, we found that they had uniformly joined the French forces, and assisted in manning and working the forts and batteries erected for the defence of the island, and to resist and annoy His Majesty's forces.* Having stated in these general terms the conduct of the planters and other white inhabitants of the island, we beg leave each individually to detail the transactions that occurred under our respective observation.

Lieutenant Colonel Chalmers was employed in the detachment of the army commanded by Major General Dundas, with whom he (Colonel Chalmers) marched to the camp before Fort Bourbon, where he was employed during the siege. At the gallions near the town of Trinité, the enemy were found strongly posted on a mountain, from whence they were driven after a considerable resistance, and they were soon afterwards attacked and forced from another strong post nearer the town. *Many of the white inhabitants* of the island acted in defending these posts, and after the British troops took possession of them, the town of Trinité was set on fire by the French forces, with a view to reduce as much as possible the value and importance of the conquest. Some days after, an attack was made upon the British posts of Brunot, Maltide, and Fouvachaud, by the French forces, *and many of the persons employed in this attack, and who afterwards retired into, and assisted in the defence of, Fort Bourbon, were known to be white inhabitants* of the island. During Colonel Chalmers' march through the island, and his employ in the siege of Fort Bourbon, the army frequently received assistance and information from people of colour and negroes, *but in no one instance was any assistance or support given them by the white inhabitants.*

Major of Brigade O'Callaghan was attached to General Dundas, and was the officer appointed by that General to receive the flag of truce sent

from the town of St. Pierre, to propose terms on the 17th of February, 1794. He landed with, and attended General Dundas, during his whole march, until he entered the town of St. Pierre, on the 17th of February. He thinks it unnecessary to detail the march and progress of the army, as that is done with much more accuracy and precision in your public dispatches, than he can pretend to state it. He thinks it, however, proper to state, that in the progress of the army, down to the 16th of February, the British forces met with no resistance that either the public force of the island, *(who were entirely supported in general by their negroes and the people of colour,* could make; every battery, redoubt, or other post of strength, or camp of defence, was made use of by the enemy in resistance and annoyance to the British forces, *and were generally either in the whole or in part manned by the planters and other white inhabitants.* Major O'Callaghan marched from the town of Trinité to St. Pierre, which is a distance of about twenty miles, and comprizes the most fertile and populous district of the island. During the whole of this long march, *not one white inhabitant joined the British army.* A considerable number of negroes voluntarily joined it, and assisted cheerfully and with alacrity in the removal of the cannon, ammunition, and provisions, from post to post. On the 16th of February, Major General Dundas's detachment approached the town of St. Pierre. About one o'clock in the morning of that day, one of his advanced posts at Morne au Piu, commanded by Colonel Campbell, was attacked by a large number of the enemy. In that attack Colonel Campbell fell, and several of the troops he commanded, besides thirteen being wounded. At five o'clock in the evening of the same day, a detachment of the enemy attacked General Dundas's advanced post at Morne Rouge, and were again repulsed. Upon this latter occasion, Major O'Callaghan had an opportunity, from a commanding ground, of observing with great accuracy both the numbers and description of the enemy, *a great part of them were composed of white people, and were undoubtedly of the inhabitants of St. Pierre.* From the situation they were in, they could not have come at that time from any other town or district in the island.— *The white inhabitants of St. Pierre might, from their superiority in numbers, have overpowered and subdued the negroes and people of colour, had they been so inclined.* After the repulse of the enemy at Morne au Piu and Morne Rouge, only one post remained unattacked between these places and the town of St. Pierre, and General Dundas ordered a strong detachment of grenadiers to storm it, at three o'clock in the morning of the 17th of February, but, upon the troops approaching it, they found it evacuated, and the cannon spiked and thrown over the parapet into a deep ravine. Many hours after this post was possessed by the British troops, *a person, dressed and armed as a French Officer, escorted by an armed detachment, came from the town of St. Pierre, with a letter from Monf. Molerac, the Commandant, proposing terms. Major O'Callaghan was appointed by General Dundas to receive this Officer, who delivered him a letter addressed to the General.* The conversation between them consisted of the French Officer expressing his satisfaction at seeing the British troops so near the town of St. Pierre, and in Major O'Callaghan's answering he did not give much credit to the sincerity of that declaration; and that he (the French Officer) came too late to expect favourable terms. This Officer (who Major O'Callaghan verily believes was Mr. Dancy) was dismissed without ever seeing General Dundas. Major O'Callaghan delivered the letter brought by this Officer to General Dundas, who sent an answer to it by an Aide-de-Camp; but Monf. Molerac was not to be found, and the an-

fwer was brought back to the General, who felt so much indignation at this conduct, that he declared to Major O'Callaghan that he considered Molerac as having forfeited his life. It is material here to remark, that, some hours before the delivery of the letter from Molerac to General Dundas, a detachment, under the command of Colonel Symes, had taken possession of the town of St. Pierre. *Until the last post of the enemy was taken possession of by the British troops, not the least appearance of submission was shewn by the inhabitants of St. Pierre.* Although they appeared in arms on the 16th of February, and attacked the advanced posts of the British army, yet, when every surrounding and protecting post had been taken by the British troops, it will not appear extraordinary that the inhabitants abandoned their martial dress, and secreted their arms, to avoid *the fatal* [illegible] have ensued. It was notorious to every [illegible] of the British army employed in the conquest of St. Pierre, [illegible] *general had* [illegible] *armed in* [illegible] *all the* [illegible] *and batteries,* [illegible] *troops, and fired upon the shipping co-operating* [illegible].

Major [illegible] Captain Douglas were employed in the detachment of the army [illegible] General Dundas. They concur in the statement [illegible] O'Callaghan respecting the general [illegible] *from the planters and other* [illegible] *Pierre. None* [illegible] *or afforded* [illegible] *of the march, no* [illegible] *children,* [illegible] *seen in any other* [illegible]. The town of St. Pierre, and the principal [illegible] *posal, nor* [illegible] *people of* [illegible] *the majority* [illegible] *had it in their* [illegible] *the negroes and people of colour,* [illegible] *to retain, the* [illegible] *forts, in opposition to the white inhabitants.* Of the great number of armed men that came from St. Pierre, to attack the post of Morne au Pin on the morning of the 16th of February, *a great proportion of them were white inhabitants.* The prisoners taken at this post stated, (as no doubt the fact was) that most of the troops employed in defending the different posts near St. Pierre, *were inhabitants of that town.* Wherever negroes were found, they were less violent towards the British troops *than the white inhabitants,* and ready to give assistance. After the taking of St. Pierre, a considerable number of negroes were collected to assist the army employed in the siege of Fort Bourbon and Fort Royal. Major Stewart was sent from St. Pierre with 300 negroes to Camp la Coste, a night march, through a woody country of fourteen or fifteen miles in extent, and, so far from their being disaffected to the British service, he did not lose one negro in the march. *They declared to him, that whenever they acted against the British troops, in the defence of the town of St. Pierre, and the surrounding posts, they were compelled or directed so to do by their masters, the white inhabitants of that town and district.* Major Stewart has no doubt of the truth of this declaration. When he took possession of the town of L'Amentin, on the 19th February, he found only a few negroes and a priest in it, all the white inhabitants, with their negroes, having retired into Fort Bourbon, for the purpose of assisting in the defence of that fortress.

Major Burnet was employed in a detachment of the army that landed

on the south-west part of the island of Martinique. He was on board the fleet when it first arrived off Marine Bay, and the ships that came within gun-shot of the island were fired at from the batteries on shore, and those batteries continued their fire upon different ships till the people employed in them were driven from their guns by an attack from a ship of the fleet, and by landing troops. When the troops came near the land, it was before day-light in the morning, and the moment day appeared, and the boats were discovered by the enemy from the batteries off Negro Point and Cas Navire and other places, a heavy fire was kept upon them so long as the boats remained within gun-shot, and towards noon, when the ships and boats approached Cas Pilote to land, they were opposed by every battery whose guns could be brought to bear upon or reach them. *After the troops were landed, [illegible] of the white inhabitants of the island formed in different [illegible] at different posts, to oppose the march of the British troops towards Fort Royal, and repeatedly fired upon them both with cannon and musketry.* On all that part of the coast, *the houses of the planters and white inhabitants were deserted*, and, upon the British Officers inquiring of the negroes after their masters, they answered, *that they were gone to Fort Royal, and they called them Brigandes, the general denomination of the Colonial troops formed to resist the British forces.*

Having stated the transactions that came most particularly under our individual observation, we beg leave to unite in adding a few general remarks, known to every man acquainted with the history of Martinique for the last three or four years. The attack made on the island, in 1793, by General Bruce, was the occasion of almost every Royalist of any rank or consideration being expelled the island. Those who remained were, almost to a man, Republicans, and attached to the Conventional Government. *The inhabitants of Saint Pierre, in particular, were notoriously Republicans, and their conduct, in the resistance they made to the British troops, shews that they supported that character to the last moment of possible resistance. The white inhabitants of that town and its vicinity are much more numerous than the free people of colour, and every man capable of bearing arms, was armed and equipped. That town was the great support of Mons. Rochambeau, and furnished the principal resources that enabled him to make the stand he did against the British forces. In all our intercourse with the inhabitants of the island, after the conquest of it, the inhabitants of Saint Pierre were stated, and admitted to be the most violent of any in the island, in opposing the British troops, and the least affected to the British Government.* We can state it as a fact, no less general than true, that in the marches of the various detachments of British troops, in the attack upon the island, *they never met with a white inhabitant, except in the character of an enemy with arms in his hands.* We think it necessary to observe, that we do not mean to comprehend the emigrants in this remark, as, in justice to those unfortunate gentlemen, we declare, the operations of the British forces derived great assistance from the services and loyalty of many of them. It is true, that the inhabitants of Saint Pierre, after having defended the heights commanding the town, to the utmost of their power, threw down, or secreted, their arms; when they found the British forces ready to approach and enter the town, feeling themselves incapable of any farther resistance, and knowing that if they were found with arms in their hands, the consequences would be fatal.

The facts we have collectively and individually stated, furnish so complete a contradiction to the allegations contained in Mr. Thellusson's memorial, and in the affidavit annexed to it, that it appears to us unnecessary

to give ſpecific anſwers to the diſtinct allegations. There are, however, two or three of them ſo notoriouſly unfounded in fact, that we feel ourſelves called upon to notice them. The memorial ſtates, that the "town and forts were ſo abſolutely at the diſpoſal of the negroes and people of colour, that the white inhabitants could not [illegible] their deſire of ſurrendering, but that immediately on the retreat of the people of colour and negroes from the town, they did, in a quiet and peaceable manner, ſubmit to the authority of the King, and put themſelves under His Majeſty's protection." Mr. Mileſpine, with a view, as we preſume, to give ſupport to this unfounded allegation, in his affidavit, ſtates, "that when the Mayor of the ſaid town (St. Pierre) received the ſummons from the Commander, the white inhabitants of the ſaid town, and the deponent [illegible] ſaid parties [illegible], were, and had long been, deſirous of putting themſelves under His Britannic Majeſty's protection and Government; but that the ſaid town and forts were abſolutely at the diſpoſal of the [illegible] negroes and people of colour, [illegible] the ſaid white inhabitants [illegible] the deſire which they had of [illegible]." So far from this being the fact, *the white inhabitants [illegible] compoſed the great majority of the force [illegible], forts, batteries, and town of St. Pierre, and [illegible] the negroes and people of colour* (only a [illegible] portion [illegible] carried arms) if that deſcription of people had then [illegible] their wiſhes. The negroes, ſo far from being [illegible], were generally diſpoſed to ſubmit to the British [illegible] as if what [illegible] Mileſpine ſtates had been the fact, the Public would not have been deprived of the ſervices of that gallant officer, Colonel Campbell, and of the brave men who fell with him, in reſiſting the attack of thoſe [illegible], whom Mileſpine repreſents as having "been long deſirous of putting themſelves under his Britannic Majeſty's protection and Government." Inſtead of the negroes and people of colour [illegible] themſelves unſupported by the whites (as Mileſpine aſſerts,) they were [illegible] led and commanded by them. After the town of St. Pierre was taken, we never heard of a ſingle inhabitant conceiving himſelf intitled to any terms whatever, except ſuch as the Commanders in Chief ſhould in their diſcretion think fit to grant, much leſs that the inhabitants in general "relied, with the moſt implicit confidence, on the ſecurity of their perſons and property." Even the propoſal of negociation came to General Dundas after Colonel Symes had taken poſſeſſion of St. Pierre; and this accounts for Mileſpine not being found to receive General Dundas's anſwer. He had, no doubt, retired to change his character with his regimentals, and to aſſume that which was to ſupport Mr. Thelluſſon's allegation, of a "quiet and peaceable ſubmiſſion to the authority of His Majeſty."

We ſhall be ready, whenever called upon, to ſubſtantiate, upon oath, the facts and circumſtances above ſtated.

We have the honour to be,
With the moſt perfect eſteem and regard, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervants,

JAMES CHALMERS, Lieut. Col.
JAMES O'CALLAGHAN, Major Brig.
GEO. STUART, Capt. 33d, L. I. M. A.
J. BURNETT, Major 43d.
R. DOUGLASS, Capt. 39th Regt.

London, 1ſt June, 1795.

After having read this report, Mr. Grey stated, that he had received voluntary offers of testimonials to the same purpose, from almost every officer who had served under the Commanders. Of these he should now only read that of Colonel Cradock, of which the following is a copy.

*Testimony of Colonel Cradock, that the Island of Martinico and the Town of St. Pierre made the [illegible] resistance to the King's troops, and therefore were not entitled to the beneficial terms of the Proclamation of the 1st of January, 1795.*

(COPY.)

*County of the City of Dublin.*] "Whereas Colonel John Francis Cradock, of His Majesty's 127th regiment of foot, voluntarily came before me this day, and maketh oath, in the vindication of Sir Charles Grey from shameful calumnies and misrepresentation in a publication of a Mr. Thellusson, during the General's command in the West Indies, and particularly in the conquest of Martinico, to the following purport:

"That, in the conquest of the French West India islands, Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe, by General Sir Charles Grey, he commanded the 2d battalion of grenadiers. That, in the course of the operations in Martinico, his battalion made part of the force under the command of Major General Dundas, destined for the reduction of St. Pierre. That, in the middle of February, 1794, this part of the army proceeded, under the command of Major General Dundas, to attack that town. That, during the march, every circumstance bore the appearance of hostility. That, on the morning prior to the possession of St. Pierre, Colonel Campbell, who commanded an advanced detachment of our force, was attacked by a large body of the enemy, and killed. That General Dundas, upon receiving information of the attack upon Colonel Campbell, apprehensive of their superior force, moved forward the main body to the Colonel's support, with such rapidity, that perhaps a more severe and painful exertion was never before experienced in such a climate, many sinking under it.

"The army under the General advanced that day as far as Morne de Jeun, within three miles of St. Pierre, and halted there, large bodies of the enemy appearing in different directions.

"That in the evening these several parties united, augmented by a farther force from St. Pierre, and made a regular attack upon our army, aided by some cannon, which they brought from an adjoining battery. That the action lasted a considerable time, and many fell on our side. At length the enemy retreated, and we lay upon our arms. General Dundas gave him directions, in the night, to attack the above-mentioned battery with a party from his battalion, which service was performed by Captain Taggart, of the [illegible] grenadiers.

"That, upon the death of Colonel Campbell, he became second in command in the army immediately with General Dundas, who then informed him of his intentions, and the several plans of attack concerted among the different Commanding Officers who were to assail the town in the morning.

"That an incessant cannonading from the shipping in the harbour was kept up during the night; and we marched before break of day to possess ourselves of the town, in concert with the other attacks.

"The inhabitants of St. Pierre having suffered considerably by the fire from the shipping, and the heights which commanded the town being carried by the light infantry, deemed a farther resistance ineffectual, and yielded; and many of them retired to Fort Bourbon; and the several parts of His Majesty's forces took possession of the town, without capitulation or condition, as he understood, of any sort; and he thinks it was impossible that a transaction of that nature could have taken place without his knowledge. That he now hears, for the first time, with the greatest surprise, the doubt entertained by any person, of the town of St. Pierre being taken by conquest from a vanquished enemy not able to resist farther. If it were necessary to say any thing more to the point, he might add, it was a very common subject of almost dispute between the navy and army, which service contributed most to the reduction of that town.

"That his indignation and astonishment at the other part of the publication is excessive—"that the town was allowed to be plundered," this is a downright falsehood, and of which he can speak upon the clearest conviction.

"General Dundas's orders to the troops upon this point are to be seen in every orderly book, which enjoin the most sacred regard to property and good order, in confirmation of the General's sentiments upon this subject. Upon a violation of this order by some soldiers of the 55th regiment, an inquiry of Field Officers was held upon the offenders, and one, in the face of the whole army, was hung up, and another taken down from the gallows. Except the above, which was of no consequence, he does not believe there was a single instance of plunder committed by the soldiery.

"From this occasion he takes the liberty to give his testimony, that Sir Charles Grey's conduct, throughout his conquests in the West Indies, was marked to the army under his command by his invariable orders to abstain from plunder, and his attention to humanity.

"J. F. CRADOCK.

"Sworn before me, the 25th day of May, 1795,
"WM. LUSHINGTON, Alderman."

Mr. Grey then remarked on the sanctity of General Dundas's word, which was alone a sufficient pledge in comparison with the affidavit of such a contemptible wretch as Malespine. It had been said that the Courts of Law were full of complaints against the conduct of the Commanders. He had communicated with the Solicitor in order to ascertain the fact, and had found, whatever might be in preparation, that no claim had hitherto been exhibited, but that of Mr. Malespine. As to what had been said of no notary public having dared to draw up a remonstrance while the Commanders remained in the West Indies, he defied gentlemen on the other side to produce a single instance in which any complaint presented to those Commanders had been rejected. Under all the circumstances of the case, he was prepared to give his negative to the motion. The disavowal of the proclamations could not be considered to be

useful, since they had already been virtually reversed: and when by the motion claiming that disavowal, it was intended to wound the feelings and to injure the fame of Commanders who had rendered to their country the most eminent services, and had in consequence received the thanks of that House, whatever else might be thought proper to be done, he at least could have no hesitation in giving it his decided negative.

Mr. MANNING explained; he declared that the letters he had read had never been made any improper use of; they had come to him in a regular way, and he had taken such good care of them since, that he was much surprised how they could have been argued upon as they had been; he never sent them to any newspaper.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that in every view of the question before the House, in which he could argue upon it, he must resist the motion, taking it in all its bearings, it appeared to him, a very improper motion to be entertained by the House. He felt himself called upon to make some reply on two grounds, namely, to defend his own conduct, in resisting the importunities and applications of the West-India merchants to him, in his official capacity, and to keep the debate as much as possible to the question immediately before the House—the consideration of the papers on the table, upon which the motion was grounded. On the first point he had expressed his sentiments so fully in the letter which he wrote to the respectable body of merchants and planters who applied to him, that from the most minute investigation, and upon the most mature deliberation since, he was perfectly convinced that it was not possible for him to have done his duty, had he given any other answer*.

* *To Lord Penrhyn, dated Horse-Guards, May 8th, 1795.*

"MY LORD,

"I have received your Lordship's note, accompanying the Memorial of the West-India planters and merchants, praying for a strong military force, both by sea and land, for the general protection of the British West-India islands, [illegible] to be stationed in each island; also for a public [illegible] proclamations issued by Sir Charles Grey and Sir John [illegible]

"I feel [illegible] recollecting, that at no period, since the [illegible] there been a deficiency of exertions in [illegible] with such a supply of both naval and [illegible] national force of the country would admit of; and [illegible] have not, in all respects, had their complete [illegible] circumstances in which it is impossible to impute [illegible]'s Ministers. These exertions will be [illegible] are aware that in sending reinforcements to the [illegible] of the year must of necessity be attended to; and

Having read a part of his letter, the right honourable gentleman said it was his intention, upon a variety of grounds, to oppose the proposition brought forward, by moving another in its stead. The honourable gentleman who brought it forward had very fairly first moved for an inquiry. On a motion of that sort, it was fair for every man to argue upon assertion and supposed facts. But now they had abandoned that mode, and come forward with a proposition for the House to come to a decision grounded upon the paper now before them. He meant no disrespect to either the mover or the seconder of the motion; but they certainly had not kept to the question, and those letters which had been read, apparently written from motives of animosity and malice, he considered as perfectly extraneous. Much of what had been said by the honourable gentleman in his reply, (Mr. Grey) he likewise considered to be not directly to the question. But that gentleman was placed in a situation totally different from the other two. If he had gone far-

permit me to take the liberty of suggesting to the consideration of the West-India planters and merchants, how far such frequent public discussions on their own supposed weakness is not calculated to increase, rather than diminish their danger.

"I am well aware that the present warfare is, in almost every respect, different from any that ever existed, and that there is too much reason to apprehend, that the object of the enemy with whom we are engaged is rather a plan of savage devastation, than of conquest beneficial to themselves: but I cannot admit that such a plan originated in any of the transactions of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis; it being an absolute certainty that the system is the natural consequence of the principles on which the present Government in France is founded, and existed long before either Sir Charles Grey or Sir John Jervis were employed in the West Indies.

"With regard to the proclamation to which you refer, I think it unnecessary for me to add any thing to what is stated in the letter from the Duke of Portland. It is notorious that these proclamations were abandoned or annulled almost as soon as they were issued; and it must be mere pretext if such use is made of them as you seem to apprehend. I object therefore to the proposition of the West-India planters and merchants, because they call upon His Majesty's Ministers to establish a general rule on a subject which, in the various stages of war, does not admit of a special definition; and, if the [illegible] you in the light it does to me, I am sure you cannot be [illegible] a discussion which can have no other tendency than to [illegible] of meritorious officers, to whose great exertions their [illegible] indebted, and in particular that part of the British Empire in [illegible] India planters and merchants are so deeply interested.

"I ha[illegible] honour [illegible]

[illegible]

To the Right Hon. Lord
PENRHYN, &c. &c.

ther than the precise order of debate admitted, which he did not mean to say the honourable gentleman had done, he would have been amply and completely justified in bringing forward every topic, and commenting on every circumstance that could tend to bring before the House and the country the fair statement of all the transactions that had taken place. And it was becoming of him so to do from every consideration of public and private duty, as well as from those feelings that must arise from the honour and character of one that was most dear to him. On the discussion of a subject, so interesting to the honourable gentleman as the House must feel it to be, he was fully warranted in taking it up as he had done, and entering into every part of the question with a sensibility that the House would be disposed to approve. While he said this of the honourable gentleman's situation, he could not allow that liberty to others: they had grounded all their complaints and fears upon the papers before the House, while they could not, nor had they even attempted to prove any thing arising from, the proclamation issued by the Commanders in the West Indies, gave just foundation for the fears and alarms they had so industriously circulated. Did what had taken place at St. Vincent's proceed from those proclamations; or, was it not from the insurrection of the Caribs, aided by Jacobins and their principles, that devastation and bloodshed had followed in that island? The same might be said of Grenada; and no possible case could be made out, which would prove that the proclamations in any manner occasioned the misfortunes which those islands had lately suffered. Another thing might be said with regard to those proclamations, which was, that, having been notoriously annulled and abandoned before any proceedings had been made upon them, it was impossible that any actual grievance could be complained of, with justice, on that account, no property of any description whatever having been taken from the inhabitants in consequence of the proclamation. He was quite at a loss to know what was the object of the Address moved for, or what the honourable gentleman meant that His Majesty's Ministers should advise the King to do. Did they really wish a proclamation to be disavowed which had been notoriously annulled and abandoned more than twelve months ago, and which was never acted upon? or did they wish even before instructions from this country could have reached them, that the King should disavow the proceedings of his Commanders, merely [illegible] had been, from the circumstances of the time, necessary, and had not since produced even inconvenience, far less [illegible] or distress? He had said thus much, because if there existed [illegible] respecting the effects of those proclama-

tions, it must now be obvious to the House and to the country, that they were the most idle and ungrounded that could be stated, and ought not to be countenanced. The next point upon which he would detain the House, was the general principle, as far as it was connected with the law of nations, upon which His Majesty's Ministers and the Commanders in the West Indies had acted. On this he would only say, that he had acted in concert with his colleagues, and never without having what they considered to be the best and soundest legal advice, that they could obtain, or the country could afford them. Were it not that the person was present, to whom they owed so much on that subject, he would have said more, but it was better that the House should have it at first hand, and he trusted that if he had said nothing inconsistent with the opinion of that authority, he might expect the right honourable gentleman to second the motion. The honourable gentleman on the other side had wished to avoid going into any detail of particulars, and would have the House to agree to a general proposition, without having any facts before them upon which it could be established.

With regard to the sums stated as prize-money or booty, gentlemen ought to recollect that the King had not yet decided how it was to be disposed of; of course nobody concerned in that expedition could be said to have received it, with regard to the easiness of the conquest, he differed widely from those who seemed to underrate the services performed, and he contended, that the degree of resistance which the British forces met with, fully justified and warranted every proceeding that had taken place. Those who said otherwise, or spoke lightly of the gallantry and hardships of that expedition, must prove that the Gazettes which he had officially received and published were forgeries. As to the time employed in the conquest of those islands, however wrongly honourable gentlemen had stated their opinions on that point, it mattered very little in effect, whether they were taken by a long siege, or by sudden storm. Perhaps it might not be quite orderly in him to state a plain but honest opinion, which he had received in private correspondence with a friend who [illegible] glorious transactions of the able Commanders [illegible] friend had written to him in these words—"[illegible] of your old women as Generals upon this [illegible] would have thought it necessary to make their attack by regular approaches. If you had, you would have got into a [illegible] you that." He would only add, with [illegible] the [illegible] verb might, in some degree, apply to the [illegible] followed the British arms in the West Indies [illegible]

is well done." He did not say that this applied to all circumstances, but he thought it did to the case he had stated. The right honourable Secretary concluded by saying, that he felt it his duty not merely to give his negative to the proposition moved, nor to get rid of it by the order of the day. The duty incumbent on him was, to repeat the expressions of the gratitude that the country owed to those gallant and meritorious men, who had done such brilliant services as had merited and received the unanimous thanks which that House had already come to. His intention, therefore, was, to move the following resolutions:

"That the inhabitants of the French islands, not having availed themselves of the proclamation of the 1st of January, 1794, the said proclamation cannot be considered as having formed a general rule for the conduct of the Commanders of His Majesty's forces, by sea and land, respecting the properties of the inhabitants of those islands."

"That the proclamations of the 10th and 21st of May, 1794, not having been carried into effect, it is unnecessary for this House to give any opinion thereupon."

"That this House retains the cordial sense which they have already expressed, in their vote of the 20th of May, 1794, of the distinguished merit and services of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis in the conquest of the French islands."

Having now stated the propositions he meant to bring forward, and his reasons for so doing, he must, in order to get rid of the motion, first move the previous question.

Sir WILLIAM SCOTT said, he objected to the original motion for many reasons; first, because the House was called on by it to decide on the general principles of the laws of nations, and he could not help thinking, that for the House to decide on abstract laws of nations, was unwise. 2dly, Because it was coming to censure the proclamation, on an irrelevant detail of assertions, without the aid of any real evidence. And 3dly, Because the questions both of law and fact were now depending in a competent Court of Law. The Law of Nations, he said, had provisions to regulate the mode of war or [illegible]. The rights of war were of a delicate nature, depending on particular circumstances, and must bend to those circumstances, and be directed by the wisdom of the Executive Government. General principles were laid down in a strong manner by writers; but it was on Government we were to rely for a prudent application of them. The rights of war were harsh, [illegible]; happy would it be if the state of [illegible], was altered, and war existed no longer;

but this was a point more desirable than attainable; for war must be carried on, and being so, must proceed according to its nature. It was not possible to make an innoxious or a peaceable war. The very intent of war being to compel people, by a sense of suffering, to do what otherwise they would not do. To say that war could exist without suffering, was to refer to something of a different nature. The general principle of the Law of Nations, was to make the private property of the individuals, subjects of the hostile countries, subject to the rights of war, and its effect was to make every man that was the subject of one State in hostility, the enemy of every subject of the other. The property of every individual in the State composed the property of the State itself, and was subject to the rights of war. This, he said, was the Law of Nations as it existed; sorry should he be if it was to be enforced vigorously; but if the House were to come to a decision on the point, they must necessarily come to one as harsh as that. For the enforcing and dispensing of those laws, this country had proper Courts; first, the Court of Admiralty, and next, the Court of Appeals. The decision of those Courts was as binding as those of any Court of Law; indeed more so, for the Legislature had an unlimited power over the municipal laws of the country, while its authority over the Law of Nations was not of such extent. In the case of St. Eustatius, the same principles as those broached this night were laid down in that House by gentlemen of the first talents; but the Court of Admiralty, and the Lords Commissioners of Appeals, attended by Lord Camden and other respectable Judges, determined that the universal principle was, that the private property of individuals was subject to confiscation. To punish error or inadvertency in the application of the general principles of the Law of Nations, on the part of Commanders, would be to subject them to a responsibility too rigorous for any officer to incur. In the proclamations there might be expressions which, on mature consideration, and better advice than could be expected in actual service, it would be desirable to correct; but this was not the criterion by which the House ought to judge. They would judge by [illegible] intention and the manner in which the proclamations had been acted upon. The affidavits would not be held sufficient evidence in the Court of Admiralty for a decision in any single case; much less could he consider them as evidence for the House to found a vote upon. All the questions both of law and fact were now at issue in the proper Court, whose decision, where there appeared no public ground for the interposition of the House, was to be preferred. For these reasons he would vote for the previous question, concurring, as he did, [illegible] in the pro-

poſition for referring to the teſtimony already given by the Houſe to the merits and ſervices of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis.

Mr. C. DUNDAS, as the ſtrongeſt proof of the integrity of Sir Charles Grey, read extracts of ſeveral letters from Sir Charles to General Dundas, on the conduct to be purſued in the conquered iſlands. In one he ſaid, "With reſpect to booty, I wiſh there was no ſuch thing; I am heartily ſick of it. We muſt take care that nothing be done to tarniſh the glory of the brilliant actions performed by you and the brave troops." In another, regretting the ſame difficulties, "That contributions, in lieu of booty, had been ſettled with the conſent of the ſeveral iſlands." And in a third, "That the adviſers of violent meaſures ought to be liſtened to with great caution; that as moſt of their information came from Frenchmen who had been emigrants, it was to be received with ſome degree of diſtruſt; and that ſuch of them as were diſpoſed to violence, ſhould be permitted to quit the iſlands."

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG remarked that the proclamations contained principles directly in the teeth of the Law of Nations, as eſtabliſhed by civilians. "Do as you would be done by," was, in theſe enlightened and civilized times, applicable to a ſtate of war. The exerciſe of the right of conqueſt was limited by State uſe.—*Quando hoſtis in mea poteſtate eſt, hoſtis eſſe deſinit.* It was the duty of the Houſe to take from an extenſion of the right of conqueſt, the weight of Britiſh authority. An army ought never to levy money for itſelf. The force of the proclamations, although not acted upon, was not done away by the letters from the Secretaries of State. If thoſe letters were to be inſerted by order in the Gazettes of the ſeveral iſlands, he ſhould be ſatisfied. He concurred moſt heartily in recording the former teſtimony of the Houſe to the merits of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, of which none had a higher ſenſe than he; but if it was to be laid down that reſiſtance of invaſion was to incur the penalty of contributions and confiſcation, what planter who had a family to take care of would take up arms to oppoſe the enemy?

Mr. EAST ſaid, he had never heard but one character of Sir Charles Grey, and he was far from meaning any imputation againſt him or Sir John Jervis. But if they had been led into an error by miſinformation, the Houſe was called upon to correct that error in a ſtronger way than the right honourable Secretary of State propoſed. He was therefore againſt the previous queſtion.

Colonel WOOD addreſſed the Speaker as follows:—It is ſeldom, Sir, that I trouble the Houſe, or intrude myſelf upon your attention; but, on the preſent occaſion, when the characters of two

Officers are ſo deeply implicated, of two gentlemen, who, from their meritorious and important ſervices, have every claim on the gratitude and on the protection of their country, I ſhould not feel that I had properly diſcharged my duty, by merely negativing the propoſition of the honourable gentleman, without at the ſame time ſtating to the Houſe my own opinion upon the ſubject of the complaints which have been ſo induſtriouſly fabricated by the French Weſt-India planters, and which, were we to attend to, ſo far from anſwering any purpoſe of juſtice, would be the moſt impolitic, as well as unjuſt, perſecution of thoſe two Officers, of which this Houſe could be guilty.

Let gentlemen for a moment conſider the nature of the papers which have been ſubmitted to the Houſe, and of the evidence reſulting from them, on which we are called to addreſs His Majeſty to make a declaration, the tendency of which would be to condemn the conduct of two Officers, for ſervices for which they have already received the moſt flattering acknowledgements of the Houſe, and which, ſo far from being likely to anſwer the purpoſes which the Weſt-India planters contend for, would, on the contrary, be holding out to the inhabitants of the French iſlands, that confiſcations of private property had taken place, the contrary of which we know to be the fact.

The papers upon our table conſiſt of a variety of proclamations, which were iſſued by Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, as well as by various ſubordinate Officers, inviting the peaceable inhabitants of the French iſlands to place themſelves under their protection, and to accept of terms, from which otherwiſe, by the laws of war, they would be precluded. A Mr. Maleſpine, one of the inhabitants of St. Pierre, in the iſland of Martinique, has made an affidavit, which ſtates that he, as well as many others, on the iſland of Martinique, had been deprived of their property; and urging, at the ſame time, that he had been one of thoſe *peaceable*, good-intentioned Frenchmen, who wiſhed well to our arms, and had every inclination to have accepted of the terms held out by the Commanders in their proclamation, but had been overawed by the mulattoes and negroes. Even allowing Mr. Maleſpine's evidence to be every word truth, and which, conſidering the evidence which oppoſed it, would certainly be allowing him much more than what he is entitled to, yet what does it amount to?—Not that he had actually conducted himſelf in ſuch manner, as could by any poſſible conſtruction give him any claim to the terms offered; but only that he would have done ſo, but had been prevented. I much fear that a negative ſort of conduct of this ſort, unleſs ſubſtantiated much

better than what has been done by Mr. Malespine, would not on any account have entitled him to an exemption from any general contribution, or compromise made with the conquerors, for not exacting those rights which the laws of war give them. To controvert Mr. Malespine's affidavit, not only so far as regards himself, but as to the general conduct of the people of Martinique, we have not only the affidavit of General Myers, but the declaration of many other respectable Officers, which prove to us, beyond a doubt, that every inch of ground of the island of Martinique had been contested by the planters and inhabitants, that so far from having afforded in any one respect assistance to our troops, they had persevered in the most obstinate acts of hostility; and that although they had frequent invitations to surrender upon terms, yet they never shewed the smallest inclination to do so. That the mulattoes and negroes, so far from having overawed the whites, were the only people who shewed the smallest disposition to be friendly; and that the white inhabitants of St. Pierre had distinguished themselves by their active and obstinate opposition.

Were any farther proofs relative to their disposition and republican principles necessary, let us remember, that we have it in evidence before us, that every Royalist, or person in any degree attached to the English, had long ago either been compelled to fly the island, and have their estates confiscated, or else had been cruelly butchered by these horrible miscreants and cannibals. Gentlemen may therefore form a pretty tolerable judgement of Mr. Malespine and his principles, from the state of opulence in which he was, under a rigid sans-culottes Government, and that he is ready at present to become a good English subject, if he can only wrest from our soldiers and sailors what they have so dearly earned.

Whether a town be inclosed by a rampart and ditch, or defended by batteries, and by ravines and commanding grounds, the distinction, in my contemplation, so far as regards the laws of war, and the rights of the conqueror, is not material. In regard to the good or bad policy of exercising those rights, is another question, regarding which, no doubt, gentlemen will differ, and on the present occasion it would appear, that Government had differed a little from the two Commanders in Chief, but still the right remained the same, and cannot be disputed. On this account, it would be hard, indeed, were Officers to be liable to censure. For my own part, so far from thinking that any part of our late disasters in the West Indies is imputable to having treated the planters at Martinique and Guadaloupe with severity, I am totally of a different opinion; and that in place of adopting those lenient and hu-

mane measures, we had governed them by rigid sans-culottes discipline, removing from those islands these freebooters and vagabonds who are the bane of every regular Government, and until peace was re-established, kept up severe military law, I say, that had we adopted this line of conduct, I am of opinion that we should not only have retained Guadaloupe, but have prevented other disasters. Let gentlemen for a moment turn their eyes to the late horrid scenes at St. Vincent's and at Grenada, the principal instigators and actors in which, are those very French planters, who have been cherished and caressed by our Government. We may all rest assured, that however much these diabolical people may pretend attachment to this country, they all of them, from the very bottom of their souls, envy and detest us; and at the very time when they embrace and press us to their arms, would give us a mortal stab.

If any French planter, living under the British Government, have real grievances to complain of, the Courts of Law in this country are open to them for redress, in the same manner against the man of highest rank, as against the meanest subject. The discontents, however, of the French are not to be found, originating from any real grievance, but from that restless, diabolical, sanguinary disposition, which of late years seems to have pervaded all ranks of men, and to have totally changed the national character.

For the reasons which I have already stated, I should have preferred to have given a decided negative to the proposition of the honourable gentleman, but as the hour is late, and the right honourable gentleman has moved the previous question, I do not wish longer to detain the House upon the subject, especially as so far from seeing any part of the conduct of those two gallant and meritorious Officers as deserving of censure, I will join most cordially in expressing that I still continue to entertain the same sense of the importance of their services, which was so handsomely acknowledged by the House of Commons upwards of twelve months ago.

Mr. SHERIDAN complimented the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Secretary Dundas) upon the fair and manly manner in which he had come forward in defence of gallant officers, whom it was the duty of Ministers who employed them to protect. He rejoiced that the discussion had taken place. Every naval, every military man, the country at large, would rejoice to hear, what the discussion had fully shewn, that there was not a shadow of foundation for the aspersions that had been so long circulated against the characters of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis. He meant not to say that Mr. Thellusson had been intentionally wrong, but it was evident that he had been grossly imposed upon. The proclamation of Ja-

nuary, 1794, had been argued upon as if the inhabitants of Martinico had entitled themselves to the benefit of it, although it was perfectly well known that they had not. The confiscations had been talked of as if they had amounted to the fee simple of the whole property of the islands. If gentlemen would take the trouble of looking at the whole sum to be divided among the navy and army, they would regret the smallness of it as compared with such distinguished service. It amounted to about 183,000l.—a Captain's share to 200l. and much it was to be lamented that not more than a fourth or a third of them were now alive to receive that pittance.

Mr. Alderman LUSHINGTON said, the amount of the actual sales was about 183,000l., but the contributions went to raise a sum of 1,100,000l. currency, or 700,000l. sterling. He would console himself for the loss of the original motion, by the general admission, that the proclamations contained things very objectionable. Even what the right honourable Secretary of State proposed, went the length of admitting this, and the intention of the original motion was, to obtain such a disclaimer. He admitted the merits of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis; but let gentlemen, if they pleased, erect a monument to their merits, provided the House did not vote away the honour of the country.

Mr. FOX said, he should not detain the House upon a subject so fully and so ably discussed. He would have preferred meeting the original motion with a direct negative, but as the previous question had been moved, he would vote for it. He objected to the original motion, because, to condemn a proclamation, without specifying the precise principles condemned, was to lead others into error, as one might think it was condemned upon one principle, and another upon a principle very different. But what he objected to still more, notwithstanding his respect for the mover, was the manner in which the motion had been introduced. To move a vote of disapprobation on the proclamation, and to enter into various allegations of fact not to be found in the papers before the House, without allowing, by a Motion of Inquiry, a fair opportunity of repelling those allegations, must be construed into a direct attack upon the characters of most meritorious officers, and an approbation of the calumnies circulated against them; calumnies which no man believed could stand the test of inquiry. The capture of Martinico was one of those instances of prompt decision, mixed with prudence, which characterised the military conduct of Sir Charles Grey. The latter part of the proposition which was meant to follow the previous question, he trusted, would be adopted unanimously.

Mr. GREY faid, he was at a lofs to know upon what evidence the contributions were faid to be calculated at 700,000l.

Mr. Alderman LUSHINGTON faid, that computing from 300,000l. levied upon St. Lucia, the contribution upon Martinico, an ifland fo much larger, could not be lefs than 700,000l.

Mr. GREY faid, the honourable gentleman knew that no fuch thing had been done as levying 300,000l. upon St. Lucia. That fum had been propofed in lieu of all prize-money, reduced to 150,000l., of which about 12,000l. had been raifed and afterwards remitted. The contribution, if carried into effect, could not have been in the fame proportion at Martinico, where prize-money of another defcription was brought to account for the captors.

General SMITH faid, he did not condemn the proclamations more than they were condemned by gentlemen who oppofed the motion, or by the officers who retracted them. Some declaration to the colonies, and to other nations, was neceffary to counteract the effect of this error in judgement. He denied in the ftrongeft terms the neceffity of giving booty to foldiers, in order to preferve military difcipline. It was not to be expected that military men fhould be fo well verfed in the law of nations as thofe who made it their peculiar ftudy. He wifhed the propofition intimated by the Secretary of State had been thought fufficient, but as it had not, there was no injuftice in faying that it ought to be fhewn.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH faid, that the rigours of war, as they were allowed at the beft to be horrors, fhould be continued by the lateft and moft lenient rule, and not by the lefs civilized rules of ancient and barbarous times.

The Houfe then divided on the previous queftion moved on Mr. Barham's motion.

Ayes 67; Noes 14.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS then made the motions of which he had given notice. On the firft, "That the inhabitants of Martinique had not availed themfelves of the advantages offered by the proclamation of the 1ft of January, 1794, &c. the Houfe divided,

Ayes 64; Noes 13.

On his fecond motion—"That the proclamation of the 10th and 21ft of May, 1704, never having been acted upon, the Houfe do not think it neceffary to come to any declaration thereupon—but cordially perfevere in the Vote of Thanks unanimoufly paffed by the Houfe, to Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, and the officers and troops under their command, for the eminent and diftinguifhed fervices which they rendered to their country;"

A converfation took place.

Several Members said, that to the first part of the proposition they objected, since in their minds the proclamations were acted upon, but to the second part of the motion, declaring their cordial acquiescence in the Vote of Thanks of last year, they had no objection; they wished therefore that the motions should be separated.

Mr Secretary DUNDAS said, that they came, in his mind, properly together, since they declared in the first the reason why they came to the second. It proved that there had been an agitation upon which the House thought proper to renew the Vote of Thanks they had already passed; but at the same time if the House were of opinion that the questions should be divided, he would not resist their wish.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG moved, that the question should be divided at the word "therefore," which was agreed to.

The first motion respecting the proclamations was then put, and the House divided,

Ayes 57, Noes 14

The question of thanks was then put, and it was carried in the affirmative, with the single dissent of Mr. ROSE, jun. who persisted in his negative, though he expressed the veneration in which he held the characters of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, but thinking that the proclamations of the 10th and 21st of May were acted upon, he could not suffer the vote of thanks to pass *nemine contradicente*.

List of the MINORITY on Mr. Barham's Motion.

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|---|---|
| Alexander Allardyce, Esq. | Aberdeen, &c. |
| Mr. Alderman Anderson | City of London |
| John Forster Barham, Esq. | Stockbridge |
| Paul Benfield, Esq. | Shaftsbury |
| Mr. Alderman Curtis | City of London |
| Duncan Davidson, Esq. | Cromartyshire |
| Edward Hyde East, Esq. | Great Bedwin |
| Charles Rose Ellis, Esq. | Heytesbury |
| Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esq. | Lymington |
| Richard Paul Joddrell, Esq. | Seaford |
| Mr. Alderman Lushington | City of London |
| William Manning, Esq. | Plympton Earle |
| George Henry Rose, Esq. | Southampton |
| General Smith. | Wareham |
| George Smith, Esq. | Lestwithiel |
| Robert Smith, Esq. | Nottingham |
| Samuel Smith, Esq. | Leicester |
| Peter Isaac Thellusson, Esq. | Midhurst |
| Sir William Young, Bart. | St. Mawes |

TELLERS.

| | |
|---|---|
| John Forster Barham, Esq. | Stockbridge |
| William Manning, Esq. | Plympton Earle |

*Wednesday, 3d June.*

On reading the order of the day for the second reading of the bill to enable His Majesty to allow a certain income to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, for empowering Commissioners to allot a certain part of that income to the discharge of the debts of his Royal Highness, and from preventing the accumulation of debt in future,

Mr. GREY said, he did not wish to enter at large into this subject now; there might be another opportunity for that purpose; but as he had objected to the payment of these debts *in toto*, he could not give his vote for the second reading of this bill, and therefore he felt it his duty to call for the sense of the House upon the business.

The House divided.

For the second reading 50.—Against it 10.

The Bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed to a Committee of the whole House on Friday next.

Mr. HOBART brought up the Report of the Committee on the Emperor's loan of six millions six hundred thousand pounds.

The resolution was read a first time. On the question for the second reading,

Mr. W. SMITH stated his objections to the general principle of this loan. He wished the House to take this matter again into serious consideration. There was, he said, a great alteration in the affairs of Europe since the House first voted for this loan, so great that he hoped the House would now change its opinion as to the propriety of granting it. It was a question now, whether or not we were likely to obtain an equivalent for this very large sum of money? This question seemed to him to depend very much upon two considerations: first, the probability of any co-operation. Upon the probability of that co-operation he owned, that, considering the state of the Germanic empire, he thought that very doubtful, from the disposition which that Monarch had manifested in his rescript to the Germanic States, wherein he states his readiness to make peace with France, and in this object he seemed to be running a race of negociation with our late ally, the King of Prussia. In another view of this matter it might be said, that the Emperor, apprehending that the States of the Germanic empire may make a disadvantageous peace, is endeavouring to engage them some time longer before they conclude it. What was the result of this?—Why, that he must shew to them that he is sincere, and that he does not mean to make this proposal to them for any personal considerations of his

own, but for the good of the whole Germanic body. Now, he would ask, what certainty had we of any co-operation at all on the part of the Emperor, if he should once make peace, as head of the empire? Even if he should be sincere in his intention to continue the war, through what state could he co-operate with us? Not in the North, or the North-east frontier: the only attack that could be made on France was on the South-east frontier, between Geneva and Nice. Such a system of attack could not but be attended with many disadvantages. The point of attack was at a great distance from his hereditary dominions, and by no means vulnerable. In former times attacks had been made on that frontier of France, but very little impression had at any time been made. The vulnerable part of France was rather from Basle to Dunkirk, than near Nice. The powers that had attacked the South-East frontier, had never been able to penetrate above 30 miles into Provence and Dauphiny. The Duke of Savoy once got as far as Embrun, and was forced to retire almost immediately. Prince Eugene advanced to Toulon, but made no impression upon the place. Besides, it was to be remembered that the French were at present in possession of those passes by which an attack could be made. In the last two centuries the French have often poured down their armies into Savoy, and have taken the whole of it, which they afterwards restored by treaty to the King of Sardinia when peace was concluded with the other hostile powers, though the Savoyards have scarcely ever been able to penetrate into France. The next subject of consideration was, how long we were certain of the alliance with the King of Sardinia, for without that it was impossible for the King of Hungary to do any thing, and Sardinia has always been a sort of *sine qua non*, and even so far back as Father Paul, was celebrated for a *Punica fides*. This perfidious system she has always pursued; and it behoves us to examine, whether this line of conduct arises from the personal character of her Kings, or the nature of her situation? Her situation is between two very powerful countries, which are frequently at enmity, and hence she is constantly obliged to league with the stronger. Such her faith was in 1600, such has it been ever since; for in the time of Charles Emanuel it is recorded, her King was fighting for the French, and bravely too, while he was negociating a treaty with the Emperor; whence, notwithstanding his profound secrecy, policy, and courage, the ill success of the French was afterwards attributed to that negociation. In 1744, or thereabouts, the King of Sardinia entered into two or three negociations with France, Spain, and England at the same time, and afterwards preferred England, because he thereby took an annual sum of 180,000l. Yet, while he received this

money, he entered into a separate peace with France; and in 1746, while he continued to receive our money too, made a separate treaty with Austria. Upon what ground, then, can we now expect better faith? How long are we to be answerable for his conduct, when the French are in possession of Nice?—But there is an inclination in Sardinia to make peace with them, and upon this inclination it is imprudent to run so great a risk, and on such uncertain conditions. The Emperor, in direct opposition to the tenor of his treaty with Great Britain, is about to negociate with the French Republic in his imperial character, because he is compelled thereto by the Germanic empire. If it be impracticable for him then to comply with one part of his engagement, what assurance have we that he will comply with the other? How may he have the ability of repayment?—He may be engaged in another war with Prussia—He may be engaged in another war with the Turks also, and then what chance have we that he will be able to refund the money? Another consideration is, that if he does adhere to his treaty with Great Britain, and does not negociate with the French Republic, that he most probably will be involved in a war with Prussia, and if he is involved, will not that lessen our expectations of any efficient co-operation, and may it not at last stimulate him, according to the vulgar but expressive phrase, to patch up a peace with France? For these reasons he hoped that gentlemen would reflect a little, and give their votes against the loan *in toto*.

Mr. ROBINS opposed the motion; and took occasion to observe, that there had been a great defect somewhere in the management of our navy, into which he was of opinion, an inquiry ought to be instituted.

The SPEAKER suggested, that the point which the honourable gentleman was pursuing, had no reference to the question.

Mr. FOX said, that what fell from his honourable friend, respecting the fleet, did not appear to him to be entirely unconnected with the question, the more especially as the arguments urged originally in favour of the loan, turned chiefly on the benefits to be derived to us from a division of the force of the enemy by land, in order that we might the better continue our superiority at sea. With respect to the loan, he wished the House to consider very seriously the step they were now taking, and how totally destitute they were of any defence of their conduct to their constituents. He then alluded to a fact, which he stated when this subject was last discussed in that House. The fact he stated was not strictly correct, as he learned by a letter since sent to him. But the difference made considerably in favour of the conclusion he drew, as to the fidelity of

the Emperor, in the fulfilment of his pecuniary engagements. He had ſaid, that certain religious houſes in France had lent the Emperor large ſums of money, to be repaid at the Bank of Vienna, and that the Emperor had firſt iſſued an order that the intereſt ſhould not be paid to any but to thoſe who could prove their emigration, and afterwards had iſſued another order that no intereſt ſhould be paid at all. In conſequence of this ſtatement, he had received a letter from a friend, in which he had informed him, "that the religious houſes were ſituated not in France, but in the Auſtrian Netherlands. The bonds for the money lent belonged to Engliſh convents of Nuns in the Emperor's own dominions; and it was to his own ſubjects that the Emperor had been guilty of a breach of faith." Such was the purport of the letter. The fact therefore was, that this was an aggravated circumſtance in the conduct of the perfidious Emperor, and an additional proof of the credit of the Bankrupt bank of Vienna. With reſpect to the political principle of the meaſure, the country was to give money for aſſiſtance, which was not ſtipulated, and which the country could not enforce. His imperial Majeſty did not ſay that he would not make peace, in his Convention with this country; whereas in his reſcript to the Diet of Ratiſbon, he had ſaid, that he would make peace. The Houſe, therefore, were called upon to grant the loan, without any decided aſſurance, that the Emperor would continue the war; and with a direct aſſertion of his readineſs to make peace. With reſpect to the power of the Emperor to repay the money, he ſhould be glad to know what arguments could be adduced in proof of his capacity to keep his engagement on that head with Great Britain. It ought to be ſhewn that the revenues of his Imperial Majeſty were ſufficient to repay the money, independently of the ordinary expenditure of the Imperial dominions: It had been ſaid, that a ſtipulation had been made, that the payment to this country were to be made before any other payments. Could any perſon give credit to this? or ſuppoſe that His Imperial Majeſty would conſent to curtail the neceſſary expenditure in his own dominions, for the purpoſe of ſatisfying the claims of Great Britain? The fact therefore was, that a loan was to be granted, without any aſſurance being made by the Emperor, that he would afford effectual aid. He had, it was true, agreed to raiſe two hundred thouſand men. Where were thoſe men? and how did the country know that they would, if ſuch a number could be raiſed, co-operate with this country? It appeared then, that if the Emperor did not chooſe to keep his engagement, Great Britain could not force him; and that if he did keep his engagement, he might ſtill make peace without any inconſiſtency. By the way, was there

any man ſure that his co-operation would not ceaſe altogether, as ſoon as the royal aſſent ſhould be given to the bill for the loan? Thus after we were deceived by Pruſſia, in an engagement in which we had the power to ſtop the iſſuing of our money, and which, upon his failure, we did ſtop after a great loſs, we were again to enter into an engagement which might coſt us many millions, in which we had no power to ſtop. The Houſe was at liberty to decide as it pleaſed, but if it took upon itſelf to guarantee this loan, and ſhould afterwards be deceived, he bade it remember that it could not ſay but it had properly been warned.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, he had but a few obſervations to make, and thoſe he would compreſs into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible.—A right honourable gentleman had ſaid, that a diverſion in favour of our navy was the only point of benefit on which the loan to the Emperor was juſtified—If that was the only argument, it would of itſelf be a good one—but was it in fact the only ground on which we were to build hopes from this aid of his Imperial Majeſty? Was not a great object of reliance for ſucceſs againſt the enemy the unabated preſſure upon France in her preſent harraſſed and divided ſtate? and in the next degree to our own efforts, were not thoſe of the Houſe of Auſtria the moſt important? This combination might now, conſidering the preſent internal ſtate of France, be brought to bear, and to produce advantages ten-fold ſuperior to any that had hitherto taken place. As to what had been ſaid in depreciation of Auſtrian fidelity in pecuniary engagements, he thought it merited little reply. It conſiſted of *ex parte* ſtatements, extracted from the letters of intereſted individuals, and, if taken into conſideration at all, ſhould be taken with very great allowance. But what marked that ſtatement with peculiarity was, that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox), when he mentioned it on a former day, had pledged himſelf to the Houſe, that it was from good information; and yet this day the right honourable gentleman came down and confeſſed, that on that ſubject he was miſinformed.—Was a ſtatement of this kind, ſo flimſily ſupported, to impeach the fidelity of the Houſe of Auſtria? As to the Emperor's decree reſpecting the non-payment of thoſe who did not prove their emigration, it alluded entirely to his own ſubjects, not to thoſe of France. When the rulers of France got poſſeſſion of Flanders, and contrary to the laws of war and peace, confiſcated the property of the inhabitants, the Court of Vienna thought proper to purſue the line of conduct which had been followed by Great Britain, and to refuſe certain religious ſocieties, who were holders of Imperial ſecurities, payment during the war. Finally, he maintained, that for good faith, no

Court in Europe stood higher than that of Vienna; insomuch, that he challenged any man to shew a single instance in which it was called in question. But it had been said the Emperor intended to make peace with the French. That suggestion, supposing it to be true, was of little weight against the expediency of the loan: for he put it to the candour of the House, he put it to Mr. Fox himself to say, whether there was the smallest inconsistency in the Emperor's declaring, as head of the Germanic body, his willingness to negociate for a peace, and at the same time prosecuting the war as Grand Duke of Austria. If the right honourable gentleman would say so, he would confront him with the records of history. He might as well argue, that the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, should refuse his contingent, or necessarily involve Great Britain in war. The next argument that had been advanced was, that if the States made peace, the Emperor could not continue the war. To this he should reply, that former Emperors had made war with France though the States were at peace. But what led gentlemen such a clear conviction that the States would make peace? Some of the States had expressed wishes for peace, and the Emperor had evinced his willingness to make peace according to the laws of the empire. But how had it been ascertained that the French would not make exorbitant demands, and demand an extension of the Frontier to the Rhine? Would such a demand, which would tend to overthrow the whole Electoral College, tend to induce the States to accept of a peace on such conditions? Had gentlemen well considered what the terms of a treaty might be? and did they imagine that the States would consent to shut out the Emperor from all intercourse with part of his dominions? But admitting the force of the argument deduced from the States making peace, would not such an event be as great a barrier to France as to the Emperor? The Emperor would therefore under such circumstances be able to concentrate all his force on the side of Italy, and here it was asserted that the Emperor might be prevented from attacking France on the south-east frontier, by the King of Sardinia making peace. This was another assertion which was wholly unaccompanied with proof. Did the honourable gentleman who made the assertion, suppose that the recent events that had occurred in the Mediterranean and in France, would afford a powerful inducement to his Sardinian Majesty to make peace? Upon the whole, it was for the House to consider, whether in the present state of France it was not a most adviseable thing to have 200,000 Austrians hanging upon the frontier of France and ready to avail themselves of every opportunity.

Mr. FOX explained the transaction of interest having been re-

fused to be paid upon the Vienna bonds, of which he offered to produce any evidence that the right honourable gentleman might require. He had not expressed a doubt, whether the Emperor would be able to act at all, after having made peace as head of the Empire, but whether he would be able to act with any effect.

Mr. SMITH said, that he had only asserted that the Emperor had never made any considerable impression on the southern frontier, so as to render it worth while to purchase his assistance in that quarter.

General SMITH asked how the right honourable gentleman could prove that our expectations had increased ten-fold. The subject of the loan had been brought forward in December, it was now June, and were we to be told, as the ground of those increased expectations, that the campaign was about to be opened? What, he asked, had been done? The only place belonging to the Emperor in the Low Countries was besieged, and had that siege been raised? He was not to be imposed upon by assertions, he wished to come to a statement of facts. The finest appointed Austrian army that had ever taken the field, had been beat and obliged to recede; the country was not in a condition to furnish new levies. If such had been the fate of the former expedition, how could it be hoped, in the present exhausted state of the Empire, that any fresh attempt would be successful? He would mention an important fact; he was well assured that in every Court on the continent, Great Britain was regarded with detestation, because she was considered as presenting the only obstacle to peace. It was particularly the case in the Court of Vienna; there the desire of peace was so great, that they were not even disposed to carry on the war for the recovery of the Low Countries. The greatest of all curses was a lingering and protracted war. What had been the sentiment of the country for these five or six months past? Had it not been at one time the general wish to recover from Holland the remnant of our troops? Had not the return of these diminished and mutilated squadrons been considered as a sort of triumph? He had at the commencement been an advocate and supporter of the war, he would have made any sacrifice to preserve Holland; but when that was lost, he considered the object of the war as entirely gone.

Mr. HUSSEY repeated the objections which he had made on former occasions to the terms of the loan, as a pecuniary transaction. In consequence of those terms, if the payment should, at the expiration of 18 years, ultimately fall upon this country, an annual sum of 437,000l. would be lost to the Public.

The House divided on the question "That the report be now read a second time:"

Ayes, 60; Noes, 35.

Upon our re-admission into the gallery, we found Mr. Fox on his legs: he was then referring to those Princes of the Empire who were desirous of peace. The very object of those Princes, in making peace, would be to prevent the passage of the French or Austrian troops through their territory. Whether, then, would the Emperor, in such an event, be able so to prosecute the war, that it would be worth while for us to purchase his assistance? He adverted to what had been urged respecting the distress of France. That distress, he said, arose from two causes: the first was the scarcity of provisions, which was experienced in a great many other parts of Europe, and was certainly in a great measure owing to the operation of the war. That scarcity, perhaps, raged more severely in France than any where else, but had the Emperor at all contributed to that circumstance? There was another source of their distress, which arose from their internal divisions. The Emperor might indeed contribute to those divisions, but it was by receding, and not by advancing against them. It had been found that every enemy of France, by relinquishing attacks, took the most effectual method to promote those divisions. Of this he was assured, not only on principle, but from the testimony of facts. They had occasion to observe the French in different stages of their revolution, and it had always been found, that exactly in proportion to the pressure upon them, their exertions had been united. He would not say that if the Emperor were to bring two hundred thousand men to the French frontier it would have an immediate tendency to restore union and regularity in France, but it would certainly be the most likely method to produce such an effect. It had been said, that there was no prospect that an instantaneous peace would take place between France and the States of the Empire. The great bar was now removed—the French Republic was virtually acknowledged; the Emperor had shewn a disposition to make peace, and the effect next to that of the actual conclusion of a treaty, had already taken place. There was one more fact respecting this transaction, to which he should call the attention of the House. Mr. Chancellor Pitt stated four months ago that the Emperor had agreed to bring 200,000 men into the field, if this country would aid him with a loan of four millions; in which sum were to be included the advances that had already been made. It now appeared that the four millions were to be made up over and above those advances. He wished to know if the right honourable gentleman had fairly stated the

transaction in the first instance; if so, the Emperor had already broke his engagement, by requiring a larger sum than had originally been stipulated.

The resolutions were then agreed to without a division, and a bill ordered to be brought in in pursuance of the same.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR referred to the transactions that had lately taken place at the East-India House, respecting an indemnification and an annuity to be granted to Warren Hastings, Esq. A sum of 71,000l. had been already voted to him, as law charges, which, it was stated, was not to be submitted to the Board of Controul. An annuity of 5000l. was proposed to be granted, but this, it was said, must be done in concurrence with that Board. He wished to know from the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Board of Controul, whether that Board had no power over the disposal of so large a sum as 71,000l. If so, it was indeed a most serious consideration, as it was only to that Board they could look for responsibility; he should think himself bound to bring forward the subject to the House, but disclaimed all motives of personal pique and malevolence.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that though little intitled to speak on the authority of an act of Parliament, he would give the best answer he could to the honourable gentleman's question. By the act of the year 1793, there were two distinct appropriations; one, relative to the revenues in India, the other, to the sales at home; and the terms of them were different: As to the revenues collected in India, the first provision was for payment of military charges, the second, for payment of debts; the third, for the charges of Government, the fourth, for providing an investment, and by the fifth, after payment of the 500,000l. to Government, the surplus was to be disposed of agreeable to the orders of the Directors. It was, therefore, he conceived, out of the power of the Court of Directors to apply it on any account till the debts were entirely satisfied. As to the appropriation of the sales at home, after the outgoings and the charges of the Company, there was provision for the interest of all debts—the dividend—the payment of bills of India in way of transfer—500,000l. to the Public—and lastly, the guarantee to accumulate to twelve millions for capital for the Company, as public property. He would say then, since it was mentioned, that he was clear the payment alluded to by the honourable gentleman could not fall under any of those heads. The result was, that the sum of 71,000l. alluded to by the honourable gentleman, could only come under the description of the expences, and charges of the Company at home. By the express regulations of the act, the

Court of Proprietors had not power to dispose of a single sixpence, and he thought that the Court of Directors would pause and hesitate before they give an order for any such sum, under the description of law charges.

General SMITH, after stating that during the minority of the Prince of Wales, the revenue of the Dutchy of Cornwall had been applied in aid of the civil list, and expressing his sense of the hardship with which the Prince had been treated in the late discussion, moved, "That an humble Address should be presented to His Majesty, that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid on the table an account of the proceeds of the Dutchy of Cornwall from the birth of the Prince of Wales, till such time as his Royal Highness came into receipt of the income.

A desultory conversation took place, the result of which was, that the motion should be withdrawn, in order to be brought forward on Friday.

On the question being put, that the Dead-body bill should be read a second time,

Mr. MAINWARING said, that the treatment which this bill had experienced from the House on various former occasions, would, he trusted, have damped the ardour of its supporters.

Mr. JODDRELL.—"I am surprized that the honourable gentleman should insinuate that any thing that has occurred, should have damped the ardour of the supporters of this bill—Sir—

Mr. MAINWARING.—"Mr. Speaker, I move, that the House be counted."

There being only about twenty Members present, the House adjourned till Friday.

*Friday, 5th June.*

This being the day appointed for the call of the House, previous to the doors being opened, we understood that a conversation of some length took place on the question, whether the House should be called over.

The House divided,

For the call, 68; Against it, 182.

On our admission into the House, we found Mr. Secretary Dundas on his legs. He was pronouncing an eulogium on the memory of General Dundas, and alluding to the treatment which his remains had experienced from the French: they had attempted to fix the charge of cruelty upon the character of a General, who, to the greatest gallantry, added the most amiable dispositions, and the most gentle manners. He had now risen to move that a monument should

be erected to his memory; he was aware that these motions had only been made in cases of brilliant success, but he was persuaded that to the loss of that brave General might, in a great measure, be ascribed the calamities which had followed in the West Indies. He concluded with moving, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, that he would be most graciously pleased to give directions that a monument be erected in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London, to the memory of Major-General Thomas Dundas, as a testimony of the grateful sense entertained by this House of the eminent services he has rendered to his country, particularly in the reduction of the French West-India islands, which occasioned the gross insult offered to his remains in the island of Guadaloupe."

Mr. MANNING seconded the motion in a few words, expressive of his sense of the merits of the illustrious Commander.

General TARLETON added his testimony to that which had already been given in honour of General Dundas, and referred to an action in America in 1781, in which he particularly distinguished himself, when opposed to the Marquis La Fayette.

Mr. WILBERFORCE said, that he rose with some difficulty in one respect, though in another with no difficulty at all: he had no difficulty in agreeing most cordially with the vote of thanks to General Dundas, of whose conduct he spoke in the highest terms; neither had he any intention to impute particular blame to Sir Charles Grey, or any other Commander, by what he was going to add; he thought it his duty, however, to notice a clause in the proclamation issued in the West Indies, by which all slaves found in arms in the defence of a French island, on which we made an attack, were threatened with being transported to Africa, if taken, certainly not with the view of restoring them to their respective homes, but "to take their fate," as it was expressed in the proclamation; and it was even added, that all free blacks who might be taken in like manner should, on account of the impossibility of distinguishing them, be transported also. Mr. Wilberforce said, he was persuaded that the Commanders in the West Indies having their minds occupied with the chief objects of their expedition, were not to be supposed to have deliberated particularly on the point he had spoken of, but had admitted, perhaps inadvertently, the clause in question, in compliance with some sentiments in the West Indies. It should be considered, however, that many slaves might be obliged to take up arms in defence of the French islands, by their own superiors, and perhaps under pain of death; and that many free people of colour, of respectable character, and possessed of property,

might be in arms for the defence of that property also. He thought it, therefore, very unbecoming, in the first place, in point of humanity; for us to put the [illegible] the pain of death on the one hand, or [illegible], if they should take up arms, of being thrown on shore on Africa, (a fate [illegible] nearly the same as death.) which was the only other [illegible]. He was proceeding to observe [illegible] his conduct, when

Mr [illegible] him, by observing that his observations [illegible] the present debate.

The SPEAKER [illegible], the proclamation alluded to was signed by General Dundas, [illegible] had any connection with the subject of debate, Mr Wilberforce was in order, but not otherwise.

Mr WILBERFORCE said, that it certainly might be stated to have some connection, though he did not wish to put the House in [illegible] that connection, for obvious reasons. He had taken the [illegible] opportunity of mentioning the subject, because he wished not to [illegible] upon it, but merely to notice it in the course of debate, with a view of preventing any further proclamation in future.

Mr W[illegible] having been interrupted again, said, that he did not wish to [illegible] further on the House at present, and that he [illegible] from the praise given to the Commander whose conduct was under consideration.

Colonel M[illegible] and General SMITH said a few words in support of the motion.

Mr. GREY said a few words in justification of the conduct of the Commanders in the West Indies, under the circumstances in which they were placed.

The question was then put on the motion, and carried *nem. con.* And it was ordered that the Address should be presented to His Majesty by such gentlemen as were Members of his most honourable Privy Council.

Mr CHARLES DUNDAS begged leave to return his warmest thanks for the honour they had done to the memory of his deceased brother. He had left behind him a numerous family; he hoped that they would emulate the virtues of their father. By the motion which they had now passed, the House had restored to his family the comfort which had been wrested from them by the wanton attack of an individual (alluding to the conduct of the French Commandant at Guadaloupe.)

Mr. Chancellor PITT brought up an account of the proceeds of the Dutchy of Cornwall during the minority of the Prince of Wales, an abstract of the debts of his Royal Highness, and an

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account of the application of 25,000l. for the finishing of Carlton House.—Ordered to be laid upon the table

General SMITH said, that the papers for which he intended to move having been laid upon the table, his motion would of course be unnecessary. He should therefore now content himself with moving that these papers be printed

Mr. ROLLE said, that in consequence of what had dropt from the honourable gentleman (Mr. Charles Dundas), he should have something to move with respect to a provision to be granted to the family of General Dundas

Mr. CHARLES DUNDAS said, that nothing which had dropt from him had been intended to lead to any such motion.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that before the question could be submitted to the Committee, what proportion of the income voted to the Prince of Wales should be set apart for the payment of his debts, it was necessary that the House should ascertain whether they would incur the contingent risk of leaving such portion of those debts as might remain unpaid on the event of the demise of his Royal Highness. It [illegible] in the Committee that 65,000l. along with [illegible] the Duchy of Cornwall, should be set apart for the liquidation of the debts, making an annual sum of 78,000l. He remarked that [illegible] could not with propriety be thrown upon the civil list [illegible] in the event of the demise of the Prince, would be charged with the jointure of the Princess of Wales. He should, therefore, move an instruction to the Committee on Money [illegible], that they have a discretionary power to make provision out of the hereditary revenue of the Crown in case of the demise of his present Majesty, during the life of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, for the payment of the remainder of his debts; and in case of the demise of his Royal Highness, to make provision out of the consolidated fund for the payment of such debts as may then remain unpaid.

Mr. POWYS said, that he understood that at the commencement of every reign, the hereditary revenue was commuted for a certain civil list. The mode of proceeding then proposed by the right honourable gentleman, would be attended with no relief to the Public, as, if the civil list should be found inadequate, the deficiency must be made good by Parliament.

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated the hereditary revenue to be, that to which the Prince of Wales would succeed upon the demise of His Majesty. It had been thought proper for several reigns to commute that hereditary revenue for a certain civil list, but the mode of proceeding which he proposed, was the only one calculated to give re-

urity to his creditors, or in the event of his accession, to render his Royal Highness responsible for the payment of his remaining debts, as he would then have a less hereditary revenue to offer in exchange for a civil list.

General SMITH wished to know whether the account laid upon the table, included the whole proceeds of the Dutchy of Cornwall, during the minority of the Prince. He was desirous that it should be known that his Royal Highness had a claim to so large a sum, which was still undecided. He remarked that the estate under the guardianship of the Court of Chancery, would have, during the minority, produced 350,000l. and under the care of a gentleman, by being employed at compound interest, 380,000l. and that at present it would amount altogether to a sum of 600,000l. He should avail himself of a future opportunity to take the sense of the House on the subject. Without adverting to what had taken place in that House, he should only remark that out of doors a great deal of odium had been very ill applied to His Royal Highness, who might eventually be entitled to claim either from the Crown or the public a sum almost equal to the demands of his creditors.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER said, that the account laid upon the table included the nett produce of the income, except the expence of the establishment, which was necessary to be kept up during the minority, as well as at any other period, and a sum of 25,000l. which had been granted by order of his Majesty for public purposes in the county of Devon.

Sir WILLIAM MILNER compared the case of the Prince of Wales, with respect to the Dutchy of Cornwall, to that of a son who had an estate left him during his minority. What father would not, in such a situation, conceive himself bound by every tie of honour and affection to take care of the estate, and employ it to the utmost advantage for the benefit of his son?

Mr. SHERIDAN remarked that the honourable General (Smith) had accurately calculated the interest upon the accumulated revenue of the Dutchy of Cornwall. He conceived that the Prince had hitherto been well advised in making no claim upon his Royal Father. But, if it was true, as he was well persuaded, that he was entitled to the produce of the revenue from his birth, he had at present no option. The accumulated sum belonged neither to the Prince, nor to the King, but to the creditors of his Royal Highness.

The question upon the first instruction, with respect to the remainder of the debts being chargeable upon the hereditary revenue of the Crown, in the event of the demise of his present Majesty, was put and carried.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that in proposing the second instruction, the question was whether, by refusing their countenance to his provision, they would render all their other liberality ineffectual. All other provisions, except that which he was now to propose, would be inefficient both as to the security of the creditors, and the comfort and ease of his Royal Highness. It was certainly attended with some degree of risque to the Public, but it was one of the unfortunate considerations, which could not be separated from the present discussion, and except some other mode could be found consistent with justice, propriety, and policy, they were driven to that option. He concluded with moving his second instruction with respect to making provision out of the consolidated fund in the event of the demise of the Prince of Wales, for the liquidation of such debts as should then remain unpaid.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG said, that because he was attached to the Royal Family he did not wish that the debts should be taken notice of at all. The mode of precedure adopted by the right honourable gentleman tended to degrade the Prince of Wales; it put him, as it were, in leading strings, and held him out as unworthy of confidence. Was this conduct of His Majesty's Ministers either manly or liberal?

Mr. FOX said, that he conceived no such construction could apply to any measures taken to regulate the expenditure of his Royal Highness. When the House voted for Mr. Burke's bill, they had acted in the same spirit. He then conceived that the elevated situation of His Majesty gave a right to that House to lay him under the restrictions which they then imposed, because proud as his situation is, he owns no greater station than that of servant of the people. Before, in the present instance, he consented to burden the people, he wished to know whether what he should grant would be effectual for the purpose for which it was demanded. As far as he understood, there was no compulsion upon the creditors to accept of the terms now offered. He did not wish to impose an additional burden upon the Public without some reasonable certainty that it would really be effectual. The whole of the business had been conducted unfortunately. There ought first to have taken place some arrangement between the Prince and his creditors, that it might be known what terms would be accepted, if a certain security was given. The right honourable gentleman had intimated his intention to fill up the blank in the Committee with the whole additional sum of 65,000l. and the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall. He certainly did not think the sum of 78,000l. a year too large for the purpose of liquidating the debt. But how was the right honourable

gentleman to get at the revenue of the Dutchy of Cornwall, as he understood that the present income of His Royal Highness was conveyed in trust for the benefit of his creditors? It was very unfortunate that the House should be called to impose a contingent burden upon the Public, without either the certainty of relieving the Prince of Wales, or of satisfying his just creditors.

He was now called upon to perform the last disagreeable task which had fallen to his share in the present discussion. He had not flattered the [illegible] he had voted for the larger sum; he had not flattered the [illegible] he had pretty plainly explained his sense of the manner in which [illegible] ought to be appropriated; nor would he, in what he had now to say, flatter that other party, whose immediate favour might be deemed still more important. He sincerely lamented that, as a ground of proceeding, Parliament had received no intimation from His Majesty, that in any possible contingency he should take upon himself the charge of the debts. [illegible] then have had the consolation to say that it was a transaction which had been equally unfortunate for all parties: that the Public had suffered from the imposition of an additional burden, that the Prince had suffered from a diminution of splendor, and that His Majesty had suffered in common with his family and his people. If the bill went forward, he certainly should vote for the appropriation of the 78,000l. which the right honourable gentleman had stated would extinguish the debt in about nine years. The risque of the Public in that case was certainly not great; but why, he asked, should the Public be subjected in this instance to any contingent risque? He adverted to the case of Frederick Prince of Wales, whose income had been increased from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand pounds, and had still been charged upon the civil list. He proposed then to move, that in case of the demise of the Prince of Wales, the portion of his debts, which should then remain unpaid, should be defrayed out of the civil list. It might be said, would not so large a defalcation oblige Parliament to grant an additional supply to the civil list? To this he would only answer, that it would then remain for Parliament to consider what were the peculiar circumstances of the time, and whether the state of the civil list was such as called upon them for an additional sum. When the civil list was increased by accidents, he did not mean to an inconsiderable amount—he particularly alluded to the death of the Princess Amelia; he never had heard of any message stating to the House that it had been freed from such an incumbrance. If the civil list likewise was lightened of some of the burdens with which it was now charged, it might then be ade-

quate to undertake the debts; if not, it would be for Parliament to conſider, according to the circumſtances of the time, what ſupply it would be proper to grant.

There was another material argument, which muſt make every man ſincerely lament that any queſtion with reſpect to His Royal Highneſs's debts, was ever moved in that Houſe at all, but more particularly after what paſſed in the year 1787. He was one, he was one, when that promiſe was given, who doubted the propriety of giving it. He ſhould not have adviſed his Royal Highneſs to have made it. The misfortune was, that promiſe, whether juſtly made or not he ſhould not determine, but that Houſe, in their addreſs on the ſubject, did receive that promiſe, and therefore, from the moment his Royal Highneſs knew that event, however raſhly or improperly that promiſe might be given, he had deliberately bound himſelf by it. After ſuch a promiſe, it was extremely to be lamented that the Prince's debts ſhould come under the conſideration of that Houſe. He felt ſo much for the Prince's ſituation, that he thought his debts ſhould have been arranged, as they ought to have been, as a family concern. With regard to the marriage of his Royal Highneſs, he found a difficulty. He had formerly thought, and was ſtill of that opinion, that that Houſe knowing of the marriage, which was a public matter, did, by their approbation, of that marriage, ſeem to give ſomething of a pledge to his Royal Highneſs, and to his illuſtrious conſort, that they would place them in a ſituation becoming their rank and dignity. He admitted an anſwer had been given to this point by an honourable gentleman, when he obſerved, that the marriage had been actually agreed on, and had the winds and waves permitted, would have been celebrated before the meeting of Parliament. If that Houſe could in any remote degree be conſidered as parties to that marriage, they were bound to that illuſtrious and amiable Princeſs, whom they had invited over to this country, to make a proviſion befitting her rank and ſtation. But if that could be conſidered in any degree as an obligation on that Houſe, how much ſtronger was that obligation on His Majeſty, who was not remotely, who was not contingently, a party to that marriage, but was the direct, immediate contracting party? If that Houſe was bound, by the remote ſhare they had in the marriage, to reſcue the Prince from his involved ſituation, how much more was His Majeſty bound, who had adviſed him to it!—How much more were thoſe bound who were parties to the marriage, not by a remote conſtruction, but who were the direct and immediate parties? How much more were they bound to bear their ſhare, either of the immediate burdens, or contingent riſk, which

were rendered neceſſary in conſequence of that marriage! He had no difficulty at that moment to negative the motion; firſt, becauſe they were not ready for it; and ſecondly, and principally, becauſe that Houſe ought not to vote for contingent burdens on the Public, when the civil liſt might be able to bear it. But he requeſted them to conſider the neceſſary and immediate effect of that event, againſt which the motion was intended to provide, ſixty thouſand pounds would be ſaved to the Public, at the ſame time 50,000l. of that would go for the jointure of her Royal Highneſs, but there was no more certainty in her life than in that of the Prince. It might be ſaid, on the other hand, in caſe of both theſe unfortunate events, there might be another Prince of Wales. Certainly, if their Royal Highneſſes ſhould have iſſue. In the mean time, as all theſe contingencies were poſſibilities which might or might not happen, was it not ſafeſt, was it not wiſeſt, to lay the burden where it ought to fall, on His Majeſty's civil liſt? And if at the time the burden was ſuch as was inconſiſtent with the circumſtances of the country, then that Houſe might take it into its conſideration. That civil liſt might be exonerated from the payment of a jointure, and from ſeveral other allowances that were now paid to ſeveral branches of the Royal family, and though they had a Prince or Princeſs of Wales that was an infant, that circumſtance would not occaſion great expence. He would only ſubject the nation to a contingent riſk, when it appeared to be a matter of abſolute neceſſity. Nothing but political neceſſity ſhould induce him to do ſo unfair a thing to the Public, and to the Prince of Wales himſelf, as that it ſhould be underſtood throughout the country, and the world, that the Public were ſuffering burdens on account of the indiſcretions of his Royal Highneſs. The intereſt of the Prince and of the Public were not diſtinct, but one and the ſame. He ſaid he had ſtated ſome difficulties on this ſubject which had occurred to him, and which ſome right honourable gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe would do well to conſider. It would be a moſt fortunate circumſtance, in his apprehenſion, that the memory of theſe tranſactions ſhould be obliterated as ſoon as poſſible. The Prince of Wales's debentures in the floating ſtock of the country, and the name of the Prince as connected with thoſe debts, was not a very pleaſing circumſtance. He hoped ſuch a mode of proceeding would be avoided. It had been obſerved by the right honourable gentleman, that the exchange of the hereditary revenues of the Crown for the civil liſt, was the effect of an engagement between the King and his Parliament. He took that not to be the caſe, or it was the moſt improvident bargain the Public ever made: the Engliſh Princes preſerved their heredi-

tary revenues, and Parliament gave them what made it amount to 6, 7, or 800,000l. He believed these hereditary dominions never amounted to 300,000l a year, and the only difference of the arrangement between the Parliament and the present King, and of former Kings, was this, that to former Kings they left the hereditary revenues, and gave them a very large income instead of a civil list. With regard to the present King, instead of making up the hereditary revenue, they gave him 900,000l. per annum, and took the hereditary revenues of the Crown into their own hands. They gave him that sum, not as an equivalent for the hereditary revenues of the Crown, but as a sum that was necessary to support the dignity and splendor of such a Magistrate He would never agree to lay the smallest contingent burden on the nation, when very probably at the very moment when the burden began to be felt, the civil list might be in a very prosperous state, and fully able to bear this expence. Some gentlemen thought the country were bound to submit to that expence, because they had been parties to the marriage If that obligation operated at all on that House, it was ten thousand times stronger on His Majesty, who was the only man in his dominions who was to contribute nothing towards this burden. On these grounds he should give his negative to the present motion.

Mr. POWYS observed, that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had discharged his duty in bringing forward this business, though he should not have been surprised if he had refused to interfere in it. It was the duty of the House to consider the plan that had been proposed, he had considered it, and the principle he had laid down to himself, that he could not lay any burdens either directly or indirectly on the people. He had gone as far as he could in voting for the largest establishment, in order to enable his Royal Highness to appropriate a part of that establishment towards the discharge of his debts. For the present moment, at all events, he must dissent from the motion, especially as he thought that some other resource might be found, either in the Dutchy of Cornwall or the civil list.

Mr. Chancellor PITT rose to state some facts in explanation as to the state of the civil list. In case of the demise of the Prince of Wales, it would be relieved from 60,000l. but liable to a jointure of 50,000l. for her Royal Highness. If the Prince should leave issue, there would remain only 10,000l. and [illegible]; some provision must in that case be made for the infant Heir Apparent to the Crown. If he should leave no issue, the [illegible] York would then succeed to the Dutchy of Cornwall, and be left with an income of 40,000l. after the House had expressed their sense that a

sum of 125,000l. was necessary for an establishment to a Prince of Wales, so that, either directly or indirectly, some burden must ultimately fall upon the Public.

Mr. JEKYLL said, he would [illegible] consent even to a contingent burden upon the people, unless it [illegible] be made out that they had no other resource to look to. [illegible] the Dutchy of Cornwall, it had been stated [illegible] might produce a considerable sum, and contribute to the [illegible] of a part of the [illegible] revenue, [illegible] present [illegible] Members of Parliament [illegible] 125,000l. for the establishment of the Prince of Wales, [illegible] but justice, as every [illegible] sum of money must be convinced [illegible] for the establishment the [illegible] their own liberality, [illegible] part of the [illegible] professed to make no provision [illegible] opinion that the Duke of York, [illegible] of the Prince of Wales, would succeed of right to the [illegible] Cornwall, was [illegible] a formal opinion, [illegible] the interpretation of [illegible] different question. [illegible] be found in the [illegible] or the Crown lands. With respect to the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall, from the [illegible] of the Prince to his attaining the age of twenty-one, he [illegible] the Commissioners to be appointed by the bill [illegible] powers to inquire into debts due to the Prince, as well as into debts due by him, and that it would be their duty to inquire into this matter, and sue for the recovery of the money if necessary. He wished to see royal resources applied to the relief of royal embarrassments.

Mr. Alderman NEWNHAM [illegible] that as it was intended to establish a commission armed [illegible] parliamentary powers, and that every creditor would be [illegible] prove his claim upon oath, there would be many persons who would not submit their claims to investigation at all, and those of a great many more would be found replete with extortion. [illegible] would reduce the sum to be paid, and it was for the honour of the nation as well as the Prince, that he should be left unincumbered. A great deal of censure had fallen from gentlemen on his Royal Highness, which he thought neither handsome nor liberal. [illegible] proposed retirement would set his character in the fairest light, [illegible] render him popular with the people. In the higher circles of life, the Prince was allowed to be the first gentleman in the nation. When those amiable manners were adorned by

the virtues which would be nourished in retirement, the Public would have the fairest prospect in the reign of his Royal Highness when, in the event of the death of a much-beloved King, he should come to the Throne of these realms.

Sir WILLIAM MILNER said, he had been told, that the Prince intended making such an arrangement as was now proposed, before any application was made to Parliament.——He was persuaded that the King did not come forward to the relief of the Prince because he had not the means, but the revenue of the Dutchy of Cornwall ought to be inquired into, that justice might be done to all parties.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL recommended the House particularly to regard the high situation of the illustrious personage whose interest and character they were discussing, and he trusted that none of them would forget, that if they did not pay due respect and attention to them, the interests and characters of the Public would not be consulted, with which they were so intimately blended. He had sat attentively hitherto, and collected the various opinions given upon the occasion, and he suspected it would not be without its use to submit to the House, whether gentlemen had looked with that precision and accuracy to the delivery of their sentiments which they ought. The great majority of the House appeared divided, whether they ought to augment the income of his Royal Highness by 40,000l. or by 60,000l. per ann. Surely, he said, it did not occur, that whatever sum was granted, if they did not consent to some liquidation of the debts, that the law of the land would attach to the vote of provision. When they concurred in an appropriation of part of that provision for the reduction of the incumbrances, they did no more than exercise the law of the land by anticipation, in a more lenient and benevolent degree; for thus, by a wise and benevolent decree, they established the best effects of his Royal Highness's income and comfort, which would otherwise be torn to pieces. He was sorry that his honourable friend, who had then left his place (Mr. Jekyll) when he spoke of a temporary alienation of the Dutchy of Cornwall, did not explain what he meant by it, as well as by the sale of the Crown lands. According to the representation of an honourable Baronet upon a former evening, it would appear, that the Dutchy of Cornwall was the estate of [illegible] Prince of Wales, whereas it was not so, but the estate of the [illegible] eldest son, answering the original charter. It was a property [illegible] in succession, and not in the regular course of descent. Not a shilling can be taken from it beyond the value of the tenant's life estate, and even that cannot be taken out of what the sale of the [illegible]nce would

produce. But supposing the House of Commons were to authorise the sale of the inheritance, he could not conceive that the Public would not thereby be emburdened, for as these revenues are in aid of the income of the Princes of Wales, that income must be increased, if they were alienated. The same principle applied to the sale of the Crown lands, the hereditary revenues of the Crown were necessary for the support of royal dignity, and if the forests were capable of improvement, so as to yield a large revenue that might be made applicable to the support of the Monarchy, it would make it unnecessary for the people to contribute in increase. There was another circumstance upon which he should have been sorry to have troubled the House, if he had not been able to speak with some precision upon it. He alluded to an intimation that the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall had not been accounted for during the minority of the Prince. He would not presume to say that they were not to be accounted for, though he apprehended it would be difficult to say they were. They were held by Knight service, and the tenure was not subject to the act of Charles II. he conceived, although that act had been ratified by Parliament. That the King was not to be accountable might be specified in ten or twelve instances, since the possession of it had been given at every period of the age of the inheritor, from two to seventeen, nor was the delivery made at all times to the son but as a fiduciary, in which cases also it appeared, accounts had not been rendered. Guardians were of two species: Guardians in *Soccage* and Guardians in *Chivalry*. Guardians in *Soccage* were subject to all the conditions of the act of Charles II. and must render to the Ward a true delivery of their administration; but Guardians in *Chivalry* are not so restricted, but hold the fee by the original establishment, from which he was inclined to think that the Dutchy must be held by the Crown during the minority of the Prince, without account. But if the revenue, during that period, was the property of the Prince, it was the property of his creditors; by the law of the land the King might be sued, and the trial of a single case would determine the whole. If the money had been applied to the general purposes of the Civil List, it had been applied to the public service, and the Public, not the King, must refund. He saw no benefit that would arise from charging the contingent burden upon the Civil List in the first instance. But whether the charge was to fall upon the civil list or the consolidated fund, was the question hereafter to be considered; and whenever it should arise, he undertook [illegible] it with firmness, and see whether the civil list would admit of a reduction, or the Public were more able to grant it in the first contingency.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that as he found it impossible for him to vote a shilling, nay the weight of a hair, of the public money, for the payment of the Prince's debts, he must make his stand against that proposal; at the same time, he could not agree with the plans suggested by his honourable friend, for the sale of Cornwall or the forest lands. Those plans he much disapproved of, and, indeed, it was evident, the honourable gentleman had only proposed them from the embarrassing situation in which the House and the nation were thrown. The discussion of these debts was painful, but he would meet the question manfully, because the character of the heir apparent was intimately connected with the public fame, because his honour, his comfort, and his dignity, made part of the nation's wealth, and he was interwoven in the constitution of the country. He had no objection to the sale of the Dutchy of Cornwall, but he could not agree to have all the money arising from such sale applied to pay the Prince's debts. The Duke of York had a contingent property, and all subsequent Princes would be injured, but if the Dutchy was sold, and an equivalent to the Prince's life estate only applied, he felt himself so far from objecting, that he thought the sale would be attended with many advantages. The greatest part of the value of the revenues were swallowed up in the collection, it answered the purposes of jobbing and Court influence. The Dutchy, though nominally of Cornwall, was ridiculously split and dispersed; we have Cornwall in Coventry, in Lambeth, and in Westminster; and, as a property, it could not possibly be less beneficial, or productive in any other shape or figure. The plan however which he should propose would be of a different nature, but he assured the House, that no consideration of paying his Court to any body had influenced him to devise it; but to that he would more particularly come by and bye. He would not wish to press on the civil list: he had always been an enemy to its being for life, and had always held, that the real and true control of the purse would be, to vote the civil list annually; then would the House constantly consider the exigencies, and give what should be found necessary. The House of Commons would then have the means of withholding the salaries of Ministers, if they disapproved of their conduct, instead of the vain claim of withholding the supplies, which they knew they could not enforce without injuring the public service, and distressing the public creditor. The Commissioners to be appointed by the bill, ought to have the power of [illegible] into the Prince's right to the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall during his minority. If his right should appear, and even if the money should be to be refunded by the Public, the difference would be, that of the

Prince's being solvent or insolvent. In voting 125,000l. a year for the Prince's establishment, were not gentlemen conscious that they were voting 25,000l. a year for the liquidation of debts, while they professed to be doing no such thing? To vote more than 100,000l. a year, was laying down the prodigal principle, that every future Prince of Wales, no matter under what circumstances, was to have an equal income with that now voted. The Minister who proposed it was not consistent with himself, for he had formerly thought 60,000l. not only sufficient, but ample. Would any man contend, that the Prince's marriage called for an addition to his income of more than double? —That the Princess of Wales, for whom, in case of the death of the Prince, 50,000l. was thought sufficient to maintain an entire establishment, would occasion an increase of expence to an existing establishment of 65,000l. a year? He thought the Prince's debts ought to be provided for in the first instance; but he should oppose taking any thing from the sinking fund, immediately or contingently, for that purpose, till he had taken the sense of the House upon a plan he meant to suggest. The Minister would have consulted both the King's honour and his own, if when the marriage of his Royal Highness was proposed, he had said that he would not bring down a message calling upon the House for money, unless His Majesty would set the example, and be the first to bear a part of the burden. Little delicacy had been observed with respect to the Prince, and as little ought to be observed in representing the truth to His Majesty, which his Ministers had neglected to lay before him. Was it honest, was it loyal, to keep lurking in their minds a disapprobation of His Majesty's conduct, without submitting to his consideration what they wished to do? It was the duty of Ministers to have done this in the first instance, but as they had not done so, it became the duty of Parliament. [illegible] advice insinuated to the Prince had produced an effect [illegible] to his character, and there was no reason to suppose [illegible] Majesty would pay less attention to it. If the worst of [illegible] had devised a plan for disgracing the Prince of Wales and dishonouring the Crown, it would have been such a plan as Ministers had brought forward. Were the expences incurred by the Prince [illegible] very unpardonable? His Majesty possessed [illegible] qualities; but on the subject of expence, or [illegible] with the Public, would the Prince suffer [illegible] with His Majesty? [Mr. Pitt called to order.] Mr. [illegible] the right honourable gentleman listened with pleasure [illegible] praises bestowed upon His Majesty, because he took the [illegible] to himself. He did not mean to defraud [illegible] of the other [illegible] when he spoke of His Majesty's expences

and breach of promise with the Public, he imputed all the blame to his Ministers. On His Majesty's accession the civil list was settled at 800,000l. a year, which was then thought so ample that Parliament was assured from the Throne, that the civil list should not be suffered to run into arrear. Since that assurance, debt of the civil list had been paid to an amount, which at compound interest would make nearly seven millions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the early part of his administration, assured the House that no more debt should be suffered to accrue upon the civil list, and soon after, in violation of his promise, and in violation of the act of Parliament, which directed that Ministers should not receive their salaries till the other claims upon the civil list were discharged, called upon the House to pay a new debt. When an establishment for the Prince of Wales was first proposed, the Duke of Portland, now one of His Majesty's Ministers, and his then colleagues in office, were of opinion that it ought to be 100,000l. His Majesty thought otherwise, and it was settled at 50,000l. He had soon after opportunities of seeing the Prince's embarrassments from the narrowness of his income, and the feelings to which those embarrassments gave rise. Although holding no official situation about his Royal Highness, the Prince honoured him with his confidence, and often asked his advice, chiefly from the knowledge of his fixed determination to accept of no obligation of any kind whatsover. It was not his custom to answer calumnies, many of which he had suffered to pass unnoticed, but he now declared, in the face of the House and of the country, that he never received from the Prince of Wales so much as the present of a horse or of a picture. Lately he had seen his Royal Highness but seldom, from circumstances, which, although it had always been his opinion that a Prince of Wales ought to adopt no party in politics, it was unnecessary to explain; [illegible] account, he was the more desirous of doing justice to the Prince, [illegible]cially, when he saw a disposition to place every part of [illegible] the most odious point of view. Let gentlemen recollect [illegible] was paid for the Prince in 1787. It was 160,000l. of this [illegible]000l. [illegible] Carlton House, and 80,000l. more was voted [illegible] building. A suspicion arose, that this money was [illegible] purpose for which it was voted; but upon investigation by a [illegible] it was found to be faithfully applied. Take all the [illegible] the date of his first establishment to the present [illegible] would be found not to exceed 75,000l. a year, 25,000l. [illegible] than Ministers originally thought his establishment ought to [illegible] 1787, a pledge was given to the House, that no [illegible] be contracted.

By that pledge, the Prince was bound as much as if he had given it knowingly and voluntarily. To attempt any explanation of it now would be unworthy of his honour, as if he had suffered it to be wrung from him, with a view of afterwards pleading that it was against his better judgement, in order to get rid of it. He then advised the Prince not to make any such promise, because it was not to be expected that he could himself enforce the detail of a system of economy, and although he had men of honour and abilities about him, he was totally unprovided with men of business, adequate to such a task. The Prince said he could not give such a pledge, and agree to take back his establishment. He (Mr. Sheridan) drew up a plan of retrenchment, which was approved of by the Prince, and afterwards by His Majesty; and the Prince told him, that the promise was not to be insisted upon. In the King's message, however, the promise was inserted, by whose advice he knew not. He heard it read with surprise, and being asked next day by the Prince to contradict it in his place, he inquired whether the Prince had seen the message before it was brought down. Being told that it had been read to him, but that he did not understand it as containing a promise, he declined contradicting it, and told the Prince that he must abide by it, in whatever way it might have been obtained. By the plan then settled, Ministers had a check upon the Prince's expenditure, which they never exerted, nor enforced adherence to the plan. In so far Ministers, and not the Prince, were to blame. In the expenditure upon Carlton House, they were still more blameable, for with complete authority they had never interposed to stop the most extravagant and useless waste of money. By the [illegible] the House was declared a public work; and the money [illegible] upon it to be put out of the power of the Prince's creditors [illegible] to pay for it. While Ministers never [illegible] to check expences, of which they could not pretend ig[illegible] the Prince had recourse to means for relieving himself fr[illegible]ments, which ultimately tended to increase them [illegible] attempted to raise a loan for him in foreign countries, a measure which he thought unconstitutional, and put a stop [illegible] consultation with Lord Loughborough, all the b[illegible] with a considerable loss to the Prince. [illegible] of retrenchment was proposed [illegible] consultations with Lord Thurlow, who [illegible] open, and manly advice. That noble L[illegible] the promise he had made, he must [illegible] to Parliament; that he must avoid [illegible] of any [illegible] but above all, exposing himself to [illegible] political opinion by his embar-

rassments; that the only course he could pursue with honour, was to retire from public life for a time, and appropriate the greater part of his income to the liquidation of his debts. This plan was agreed upon in the autumn of 1792. Why, it might be asked, was it not carried into effect? About that period, his Royal Highness began to receive unsolicited advice from another quarter. He was told by Lord Loughborough, both in words and in writing, that the plan favoured too much of the advice given to M. Egalite, and he could guess from what quarter it came. For his own part, he was then of opinion, that to have avoided meddling in the great political questions which were then coming to be discussed, and to have put his affairs in a train of adjustment, would have better become his high station, and tended more to secure public respect to it than the pageantry of State liveries. [Mr. Rolle called to order]—After some pause, the House called to Mr. Sheridan to go on. "I am not surprised," said Mr Sheridan, "at the honourable gentleman's calling me to order, I should have been surprised if he had given a reason for it."—These plans were soon after given up, which he could not enough lament, as by adopting them, his Royal Highness might have been, in point of popularity as in rank, the second man in the kingdom. By the plan now proposed, the Prince has not the grace of suggesting either the retrenchments, or the checks upon his future conduct. His past misconduct was exhibited in the harshest point of view; he was set in a gilded pillory, sent to do public pennance in an embroidered sheet He was left in possession of too much income to exempt him from envy, and too little to exempt him from scorn. To pay the debts, something ought to be given by the King. There were debts due to honest tradesmen, to which no exception could be taken, and which ought not to be postponed to a distant period. [illegible] the establishment gentlemen of hunour, whose salaries were [illegible] quarters in arrear; and to some of them it must be a great [illegible] not to be paid. The debts ought therefore to be divided into two parts, and those of the descriptions above-mentioned discharged [illegible]. Carlton House being made the property of the [illegible] the Public ought to pay the expence of rebuilding it. [illegible] reduce the debts to 500,000l. To pay the interest of [illegible] per cent. would require 25,000l. For this he did not [illegible] to the civil list, which might now be almost [illegible] with the consolidated fund. In the last reign, the [illegible] to the Privy Purse was 36,000l. a year. In the [illegible] the present, it was 48,000l. In 1777, when the [illegible] civil list were paid, and 100,000l. a year added to [illegible] Purse was made

60,000l. and the Queen received 50,000l. for her establishment, all their Majesties' houses and villas were now finished, and they had no expences to incur in the way of paraphernalia. The first and most natural feeling of a parent would be, to make some sacrifice to retrieve the imprudence of a son. He should therefore expect 10,000l. a year from His Majesty's privy purse, and 5000l. a year from the Queen's establishment, for the remaining 10,000l. a year, he would look to those places and sinecures, which neither added dignity to the Crown, nor were calculated to afford it support. He would just instance the place of Teller of the Exchequer, which produces between 18 and 20,000l. a year, and is thus indeed peculiarly circumstanced, and unhappily for this country, that it is the more productive as the burdens of the people increase, that he is rich in proportion as the people are poor, and certainly, from the public spirit of the Marquis, he would make any sacrifice in a general arrangement which would be found to tend to public advantage. For the sinking fund he would not take away any gentleman's sinecure place, but appoint a Committee as Trustees, in whom might be placed the revenues of useless offices, which, after the death of the present holders, and as they fell, should be gradually applied to extinguish the principal. When they should be all paid off, it would be of service to our posterity, who would look back with exultation and gratitude for our arrangement, and with wonder that such places ever existed. This would be the way to make our Constitution stable, to prevent the wild system of Jacobinism from undermining or overturning it. Whilst we are spilling our blood and wasting our treasure, in support of theoretical systems of continental monarchy, this may be a rational resource, and prove that monarchy, or those employed under it, will shew examples of self denial, and do something for the benefit of the people. This would be to add lustre to the Crown; unless, indeed, Ministers may think that it shines with additional lustre in proportion to the gloom that surrounds it, and that a King is magnificent as his subjects become miserable. For his part he felt himself a staunch friend to the British Constitution; he surveyed it with rational affection, but was no friend to its abuses. There was one class who loved our Constitution, but did not love its abuses; a second class loved it with all its abuses: and there was a third class—a large interested party, amongst which he placed His Majesty's Ministers, who loved it for nothing else but its abuses. Let that House, the best part of our Constitution, consider its own honour and character; let all parties, as well those who were gorged with sinecure offices, as those who had none, have a contest who shall be most eager to destroy them. [illegible]

a measure as I call for (said Mr. Sheridan), build the ease and dignity of the Prince on the ruins of idleness and corruption, and not by the toil of the industrious poor, who may think their loaf decreased by the payment of his incumbrances.

Mr. Sheridan concluded by moving an amendment to Mr. Pitt's motion, that after the words "Consolidated Fund," be added these words, "provided it shall appear to this House, upon due investigation into the subject, that they cannot be defrayed out of His Majesty's civil list, or out of sinecure offices, and useless places paid by the Public."

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, it could not be expected that he should follow the honourable gentleman through all the immense variety of subjects which he had ranged over. A very large part of his speech was of a nature that rendered reply impossible, inasmuch as it related to confidential details and to private conversations. Another portion of the speech, and not a small one, was occupied by the honourable gentleman in complimenting the candour and wisdom of the advice which he (Mr. Sheridan) had given to his Royal Highness. All this part he should pass by unnoticed, and confine himself principally to the plan which the honourable gentleman had suggested for the payment of the debts. The honourable gentleman had not only insinuated, but declared, in tolerably plain terms, that for a considerable period of time he had enjoyed the confidence of the Prince of Wales, and that during that period he had given him the most salutary advice. He certainly did not mean to dispute either of these assertions, but he could not help lamenting it as a most unfortunate circumstance, that so much excellent advice should not have produced more favourable consequences. He had no doubt but that the advice was candid, conscientious, and disinterested, and to convince the House that it was so, the honourable gentleman had assured them, that he had never held any situation under the Prince; that he had never even taken a horse or a picture as a present from His Royal Highness. He was sure nobody could suspect that honourable gentleman of acting in any case from interested motives; but if the salutary advice which he had informed the House he had given, had been attended with success, his disinterestedness would never have been suspected, although he had received a present of ten horses or ten pictures. The honourable gentleman had informed the House, that in the year 1787, when the debts of His Royal Highness were paid off, the promise which had been given to the House did not in point of fact come from the Prince, but had been given by the Ministers, not only without his Highness's [illegible], but [illegible] his consent. To

this positive assertion he had but one short answer to make—the message was read over to his Royal Highness before it was delivered in Parliament, and no objection was stated to it. He was sure it would not be said that his Royal Highness was unacquainted with the force of the English language, and therefore it was to him a matter of great surprise that his Highness should be ignorant of its contents. However, taking it for granted that the Prince was perfectly acquainted with the contents of that message, he (Mr. Dundas) could not avoid thinking that the language which had been used in the course of the debates upon the subject, was rather too harsh. It had been said that the Prince having again contracted a debt, was a proof that he had broken the pledge which he had upon the former occasion given to the House. When gentlemen spoke of his Highness having broken his pledge, did they suppose that he had considered and foreseen the consequences of every step that he took, or that he was in fact aware of the expences he was incurring? The contrary appeared to him to be the fact; and, although there might be much to lament in the conduct of his Royal Highness, he did not think it justified the very severe observations which had been used. Every gentleman who had spoken, had inferred the necessity of discussing this subject with temper, he should endeavour to follow that advice, and would advert to the plan proposed in the speech, and that suggested in the motion of the honourable gentleman. He had made this distinction, because the two plans differed most essentially from each other, and both of them certainly were extremely different from that [illegible] by his right honourable friend the Chancellor of the [illegible]. The object which His Majesty's Ministers had in [illegible] was, to effect the discharge of the Prince's debts with [illegible] little burden and risque as possible to the people. The plan [illegible], in his opinion, attained this end. The House [illegible], that according to the mode suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Public were only responsible contingently upon the Prince's demise; of course, some degree of [illegible] by the Public; but he wished the House to compare [illegible] one hand with the advantage on the other. From the circumstance of the Public guaranteeing the payment of the [illegible] case of his Highness's death, the creditors had been induced [illegible] accede to this plan of payment; this was a considerable [illegible], and the risk was certainly small—But instead of having [illegible] security, the honourable gentleman had wished to substitute [illegible] the civil list. In the first place, he wished to observe, that [illegible] was never considered by any means as good a security as the Public [illegible] creditors would not feel easy

if they had no other security for their money—But if at present the Public did not approve of the civil list as a security, how much less so must they consider it, if the plan of the honourable gentleman was adopted, and the civil list was voted annually? He had been so much accustomed of late to hear new and extraordinary doctrines, that he was not now much astonished at them; but he was a little surprised to hear it stated, that the King's civil list should be voted annually. This was a proposition that went so far beyond even the wildest plan of reform that he had ever heard suggested in that House, that he could not suppose the honourable gentleman was serious; but if he was, he was sure the House would not suffer their judgement to be biassed by such an argument. But for the sake of the argument, he would suppose, that it was a permanent fund: still it could not be applied to this purpose. The civil list was granted to the Crown, in lieu of the landed property then formerly possessed, and this change was considered as a favourable one to the Constitution. But the House would recollect, that the sum voted for the civil list was distributed under various heads of service, and under the controul of different officers, and he would venture to assert, that the annual amount of the civil list was not more than adequate to the purposes to which it was applied. But it had been asserted that His Majesty ought to contribute something to the payment of the Prince's debts. He had heard this idea insinuated before, but never so fully stated. He thought the honourable gentleman had not considered this point with his usual accuracy, or he would never have pressed this argument, for it was clear that His Majesty was less called upon to provide for his eldest son than any other part of his family, because the Prince was considered in some degree as the property of the Public, he was peculiarly under the care of Parliament, and of course had less right than any other part of the Royal Family to expect this extraordinary aid. His Majesty had a numerous family, many of whom had received no establishment from the public, and whom therefore His Majesty was obliged to provide for; nothing therefore could be more unreasonable than the proposition of the honourable gentleman. With respect to taking a part of the Queen's private purse to pay the Prince's debts, Mr. Dundas said, he would not appeal to the judgement of the House to reject the proposal; he would appeal only to their taste; it was a kind of proposition which could not properly be argued. Her Majesty had 50,000l. a year allowed her for her own expences and for the Princesses, and yet 5,000l. was to be picked out of Her Majesty's private purse for a purpose, and in what manner the honourable gentleman could best

ſuggeſt. The other plan of the honourable gentleman was, to aboliſh ſinecure places. This was a propoſal ſo frequently made, that he ſhould not take up the time of the Houſe in making many obſervations upon it on this occaſion. If any places of this deſcription exiſted, why not move to aboliſh them? But it was ſomething curious to hear the honourable gentleman object to any burdens upon the people for the purpoſe of paying the debts, and immediately propoſe to appropriate the ſalaries of ſinecure places to that object; this was ſo palpable a fallacy that he would not attempt to argue it. Before he ſat down, he begged leave to expreſs a wiſh, that if the honourable gentleman perſiſted in his ideas upon this ſubject, that he would ſpeak of the illuſtrious perſonages on the throne in a different manner, the kind of obſervations which had been made were not, in his opinion, calculated for that Houſe, and he was ſure they could not be attended with any good effect. In ſpeaking of His Majeſty's Miniſters, the honourable gentleman had certainly a right to indulge all his talent for ſatire and invective, but when carried to another quarter, it was very improper.

Mr. BANKES ſaid, he wiſhed to give a direct negative to the original motion, but did not agree in the amendment propoſed by the honourable gentleman, the claims of the creditors he did not conſider as the moſt material part of this important ſubject. Parliament would be guilty, with reſpect to the Public, were they to vote away the ſum of money called for on ſuch grounds, he would vote, as he had formerly done, againſt ſo large an income being given to the Prince of Wales. He thought the creditors of the preſent day were very different from the creditors of the year 1787; then they were ignorant of the Prince's real ſituation; but after the meſſage which was then delivered to Parliament, those who gave him credit ought to know, and, conſequently, to take the riſk. Upon every view of the ſubject, he thought it was the duty of Parliament to act with ſteadineſs, as well for their own ſakes, as for the character of monarchy, which was deeply involved in the preſent queſtion, and for the general ſafety of the Conſtitution and the happineſs of the people.

Mr. FOX ſaid, he certainly could not agree in the amendment moved by his honourable friend; but he muſt ſay, that in the ſpeech which prefaced that motion, he had heard as much good and ſtrong ſenſe [illegible] ever was uttered in that Houſe, and particularly upon [illegible] which ſeemed ſo obnoxious to the right honourable gentleman over the way—the propriety of granting any aſſiſtance from the civil liſt. He thought, with the right honourable gentleman, that it was better to give the civil liſt to the King

for life, than annually, as his honourable friend had wished it. But he could not agree with the right honourable gentleman, that the King should not come forward upon this occasion, because the debts were contracted without his knowledge, and out of the reach of his control. For if this reason applied to the King, it surely more forcibly applied to the Public, who certainly had no sort of control over the Prince's expences, nor any knowledge how they were contracted. With regard to the message from the King on this subject, was there any man in the House who did not know that if his Royal Highness's marriage had not taken place, no such message would have been heard of? It was therefore obvious that Ministers approved of that marriage, which he had not the least doubt would eventually prove a most happy event for the country; and was it not then their duty to have prevented any such application as this coming to the House? The Prince ought not to be accused of breach of promise; he did not believe that he had got into this dilemma intentionally, but Ministers were much to blame for the bad advice they had given both to His Majesty and to the Prince. It must always be an unpleasant thing to lay new burdens on the people for the Royal Family. What had happened in a former reign had shewn the impolicy of such steps, and they must be particularly obnoxious now. He denied that the doctrines of his honourable friend were new? they were the same as he had held, and often before mentioned in that House, since he first sat in it. He knew that there were some who did not advise any reduction of expence in the Prince's establishments, but they were not his friends; and as to the King's expences, he always had thought they ought to be accommodated to the civil list, instead of the civil list being accommodated to them. He contended, that the opinion of the country was with him in asserting, that, if the King had honest Ministers about him, they would have advised him, for his own sake—for the Prince's, and the country's, to have come forward. At an early period the creditors ought to have been called together, and some means attempted to satisfy them: if it could not have been done, then it was time to come to Parliament. He touched upon the allusions made at different times to the Prince's being connected with party politics, in opposition, as it was called, to Government, because he happened, for the time, to agree with those who generally opposed Ministers. He thought the new advisers of the Prince had not increased his popularity; and believed, that his own wish and inclination three years ago was, to have retrenched his expences, in order to get into some probable train of paying his debts; but it was suspected, and he, for one, was now certain of

it, that very different advice had been given to him; and that the example of Monsieur Egalite was held out, as a warning, that, to take any steps such as were proposed, would be dangerous to the cause of monarchy. He stated his grounds for voting on a former night for granting an income of 125,000l. per annum to the Prince, which were, because he thought he, or any Prince of Wales, required it, and he would have so voted if he had not been a sixpence in debt. He thought his honourable friend had done well in proposing that the civil list should contribute towards the payment of the debts, and insisted that it was much more consistent with those old fashions which the right honourable gentleman professed himself attached to, than the mode now proposed by an application to Parliament.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER endeavoured to vindicate the Prince's character and that of Administration so far as respected the present plan. He said, that giving the Prince a large income without paying his debts, was putting him in a worse situation than he now was; because, with a larger income, there might be greater inducemant to give credit, and more to be made by execution in failure of payments. He maintained it was right to notice the debts in the message; and, if the House did not make some arrangements, the benefit of a large income would be lost to His Royal Highness by the pressure of creditors; and the Princess herself would be subject to insult. A reflection had been thrown out disrespectful to his illustrious friend, (the Lord Chancellor) which he could not suffer to pass unnoticed. His Lordship had been accused of giving improper advice to His Royal Highness, by impressing on his mind the sudden retrenchments of L'Egalite, whose conduct had tended to disgrace and overthrow the French monarchy. He thought that this reflection on his illustrious friend was both illiberal and unjust, convinced, that whatever advice had been given to his Royal Highness by that distinguished person was founded on as much political integrity as that offered by any other gentleman on the opposite side.

Mr. W. SMITH reprobated the idea of parliamentary interferrence, and, at the same time, contended, that if any payment was made, it should be from the civil list. In support of the propriety of recurring to the civil list, he moved, "That the message from the King, in the year 1721, might be read," the same was accordingly read by the clerk at the table.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG thought it was a friendly amendment, and was in substance the same with the motion.

Mr. GREY considered any thing relating to the payment of the

debts as an impoſition of new burdens upon the people. He meant, conſiſtently with his former profeſſions, to declare that he thought the propoſition for payment ſhould meet with a direct negative. It was the only method, in his opinion, which could defend the Houſe from future applications of a ſimilar nature. If he were to admit the propriety of diſcharging the debts, he ſhould argue, that it would much better be fixed on the civil liſt. But he lamented, that in the progreſs of this buſineſs the real queſtion had always been aſſumed. They never had an opportunity of declaring their ſentiments upon it. He ſhould ever conſider, all voted above 100,000l. per annum as given for the payment of the debts, and as an additional burden upon the people. Many gentlemen having declared they voted for the larger ſum, under a conviction that it was neceſſary to diſcharge them, and though his honourable friend, and he knew it to be his ſentiment, had declared he voted for the larger ſum without ſuch conſideration, yet he could not from thence ſay it was the ſentiment of the Houſe. When he conſidered the firſt eſtabliſhment called for by the right honourable gentleman (Mr Pitt) himſelf, which he then ſtated ſufficiently ample, he was convinced, that 40,000l. additional, upon his own reaſoning, muſt be ſufficient for the purpoſe. Her Majeſty's eſtabliſhment was but 50,000l., it could therefore never require 65,000l. additional for the eſtabliſhment of a Princeſs of Wales. This carried a conviction to his mind, that ſo large an eſtabliſhment was not neceſſary, and upon that ground he took his stand.

Mr. WILBERFORCE defended Mr Pitt from the charge of bringing the queſtion unfairly before the Houſe. Though he differed from his right honourable friend on the matter, yet he muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that he had [illegible] on the ſum which ought to be ſettled on a Prince of Wales.

Mr. Alderman NEWNHAM ſaid, it had been imputed to him that he had aſſerted that the Prince of Wales had made a declaration that he would not incur any debt if Parliament complied with the application made in 1787. What he did ſay was, that the Prince declared, that if 30 or even 20,000l. a year of additional income were ſettled on him, he would engage not to incur debt—but this did not imply, that if only 10,000l. of additional income were given, he could keep within it.

Mr. BASTARD recommended to Mr. Sheridan to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, he had no objection to withdraw his amendment, that the ſenſe of the Houſe might be taken on the

main question, but he should move it in a direct proposition afterwards.

The amendment was withdrawn.

Mr. Chancellor PITT begged the indulgence of the House for a few words, with which he would not have troubled them, had not some observations which had fallen in the course of the debate provoked his reply. He had been charged with not bringing forward this motion in a fairer shape, by proposing at once the payment of the Prince's debts. To this he would briefly reply, that in no one shape in which it could present itself, would it be more questionable. The honourable gentleman, Mr. Sheridan, had suggested this mode of [illegible] in order to aggravate and load it with every degree of [illegible] with which it could be burdened, and from [illegible] to call for it in such a shape. To another [illegible] right honourable gentleman, [illegible] the Prince's establishment should be augmented from [illegible] to 125,000l. a year, he would but remind the House of the [illegible] which were usually made for heirs of considerable families, when advanced into a married state, and then [illegible] the proportion which a Prince of Wales's [illegible] would bear to that which it had been.— He felt, on his part, and [illegible] lamented, the full force of many objections which had been pressed home by gentlemen from the opposite side of the House, with respect to the breach of that promise which had been [illegible] to Parliament when it had interfered in the [illegible]. But it was not a question now, whether [illegible] the past proceedings by the strict and severe rule of [illegible], but whether upon a feeling and candid consideration, they should make such a provision for his Royal Highness and his illustrious consort, as would be necessary for their rank, station, and dignity. Whether they should, under any pretence, deprive their Royal Highnesses of the comforts and enjoyments of life, or confer upon them freely, and with the generosity becoming the character of the British nation, an ample, easy, and dignified establishment? This, he believed, was the only wise and provident means which could be adopted towards the accomplishment of so beneficial and politic an object. Gentlemen would divest themselves, he hoped, of all considerations which, on too narrow a scale, would but lead to an unjust, however apparently wise, conclusion. They would keep before their eyes that they were providing for the Heir Apparent of the Crown; for an essential and vital part of the constitution; and whatever disorders and evils were suggested by gentlemen to arise from any abuses which the branches

of the Royal Houses had created, they would the more vigorously oppose those abuses, by diverting them from the persons to whom they might have unfortunately attached themselves, and by giving a [illegible] direction, as well as a purer course, to the expenditure of the [illegible], they would ensure in his person the general conservation of [illegible] state.

Mr. MILBANKE said, he voted for the larger sum, to free the Prince from his embarrassments, as he looked upon him as a component part of the constitution.

Mr. STURT concluded the debate by saying, that in his mind the question was, whether, after the Prince had made a solemn pledge of his honour to the nation, in 1787, not to incur debt, they would now agree to pay them?

The House divided on the main question,

Ayes, 148; Noes, 9[illegible]. Majority, [illegible]

Mr. SHERIDAN then, with a short preface, moved, "That a proposition having been made upon a message from the Throne, to make a further provision for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, it becomes the House to consider, whether [illegible] additional provision may not be made without laying any additional burden upon the people, by the reduction of useless and inconvenient places."

Mr. Chancellor PITT, without any observations on this motion, moved to adjourn.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, it would be idle [illegible] him to make any comment on the indecency of moving to adjourn, without inquiring whether the people might not be relieved. He had done his duty in putting the question fairly to the House. It had been ironically said, that to desire the House to make this provision for the Prince, by a reduction of useless places, would be to cheat themselves; he could not charge Ministers with such folly.

The House then divided on the motion to adjourn,

Ayes, 153; Noes, 29. Majority, 124

*Monday, 8th June.*

On the question being put, that the bill for more effectually preventing the frauds committed by Bankers' clerks, be read a second time,

Mr DENT said, that this bill would add to the already immense code of penal laws, without being adequate to the prevention of peculation. The salary of clerks was too low, considering that they were placed in situations of trust and responsibility, and the security given with them was also too low; they commonly gave bonds of indemnification to the amount of 1000l. or possibly [illegible]

whereas they had in their pocket books every day bills and notes to a much larger amount, sometimes 15,000l. To the inadequate salary and security may be traced the causes of various frauds and robberies; and if bankers and merchants would be more cautious and more liberal, it would be altogether unnecessary to pass this act, which proposed to make these frauds liable to the punishments of great and petty larceny. He had another objection, the lateness of the session, which would prevent the bill from obtaining so full a discussion as it ought to receive. He would not then divide the House, but he would oppose it in the Committee.

Alderman CURTIS said, that the bill was produced early in the session, and due time and notice given; and as to the other objections of the honourable gentleman, they seemed to his understanding strong arguments in favour of the bill, so strong and full indeed, that he did not think it necessary to say another word on the subject.

The bill was read a second time, and committed for Thursday.

In the Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, "That every subscriber to the loan of eighteen millions should, in consideration of the reduction of the Austrian loan from six millions to four millions six hundred thousand pounds, be entitled to an annuity of one shilling on every hundred pounds, for a period of sixty-five years."

Agreed to, and the report to be received to morrow.

Mr. DENT gave notice, that he should next session move for leave to bring in a bill to remedy the abuses with respect to franking newspapers.

In the Committee of Supply, a resolution was moved to grant a sum of 1500l. to the Veterinary College, and agreed to, after a slight opposition from Mr. Powys.

Mr. M. ROBINSON observed, that some time since he had expressed a wish in that House, that some steps might be taken for the exchange of prisoners with France; he should be glad to hear if any steps had been taken by His Majesty's Ministers for that purpose, what the result had been, or if it was intended to proceed in any plan for that purpose?

Mr. DUNDAS replied, that His Majesty's Ministers undoubtedly had not been inattentive to what they justly conceived to be an object of no small importance; they had dispatched a gentleman to the coast of France for that very purpose, but the French did not seem disposed to any exchange of the kind, and had assigned as a reason, "that we stood in need of them more than they did."

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, "That the House do now re-

solve itself into a Committee of the whole House, on a resolution relative to the debts of the Prince of Wales, of which he had given notice on a former night."

The House accordingly resolved itself into the said Committee.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, it would not be necessary for him to detain the Committee with any observation on the proposition he was about to submit to their discussion, he believed he had fully explained himself on this subject on a former night. The object of the resolution was, that in case of the demise of the Prince of Wales, an event to be deprecated by that House and the Public, a certain sum of money should be charged on the consolidated fund, to discharge such parts of his debts as might then remain unpaid. He conceived, that the only difference of opinion on this point, would be the extent of the sum, he should propose, in the first place, sixty five thousand pounds, which accordingly he did.

The Chairman having read the resolution,

General SMITH lamented, that he did not see a learned gentleman (the Attorney General) in his place, as that learned gentleman had stated some circumstances relative to the Dutchy of Cornwall, on which he should be very glad to join issue with that learned gentleman. In saying this, he did not wish to have it understood that he could entertain the presumption of entering the lists with that learned gentleman in the line of his profession; that would be presumptuous in him, indeed, but the Committee would recollect, that the learned gentleman had the candour to acknowledge, towards the conclusion of his speech on that occasion, that his opinion was *undecided*. *Undecided* was the last word of that learned gentleman's speech. The honourable General said, when the learned gentleman delivered his opinion on the subject of the Dutchy of Cornwall, he was free to confess, he had not turned his attention to it, but from that moment, he had missed no opportunity of gaining every information on the subject, the result of which was, that he was convinced that the Prince of Wales was fairly, justly, and as legally entitled to the rents, issues, and profits of the Dutchy of Cornwall, as any other minor would be to the income of his estate in similar circumstances. He understood that Commissioners would be appointed under the bill which was then before the House, and armed with authority to inquire into the Prince's debts, he was therefore of opinion that a clause ought to be inserted in that bill, to enable these Commissioners to inquire also into the claims of his Royal Highness, and that the sum or sums, great or small, that should be found owing to him, should be placed opposite to his debts. This, in his opinion, would be the fairest mode of stating his ac-

counts, and at the same time it would satisfy the Public, who became every day more and more interested in this unfortunate business. A few nights since he raised a hearty laughty in the House, when he mentioned the amount of the revenues of Cornwall, during the minority of the Prince. Gentlemen had time to reflect on that business since, and he had also re considered it, and he did not apprehend he should run the risk of raising a second laugh, if he now gave it as his opinion that those revenues would nearly cover the whole of the Prince's debts, or at least be found to come within a hundred thousand pounds of their amount.

Mr. LAMBTON conceived that the subject which had been just stated by the honourable General, demanded the most serious attention of the House. He was of opinion with the honourable General, that there ought to be an especial clause inserted in the act for appointing Commissioners to examine the Prince's accounts, in order to state the sums that he would be entitled to, during his minority, out of the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall, that is, provided he was legally entitled to those revenues during that period; but he did not think that was a question which that House was competent to discuss, being a subject on which the Courts below only could decide.

Sir M. WHITE RIDLEY agreed with the two honourable gentlemen who spoke last, that the subject on which they had just delivered their sentiments, was well entitled to the attention of every gentleman within the walls of that House, and notwithstanding this question was not immediately before the Committee, yet it was very materially connected with it. In the first place, if the Prince was really and legally entitled to the Dutchy of Cornwall, during his minority, it would amount to a very large [illegible]. This sum either went into the privy purse, or into the civil [illegible] and if it belonged to the Prince, it ought to be refunded [illegible] covered those debts, so much the better. This business had made a great impression on the public mind, whether from [illegible] in which it had been brought forward, or the mode in which it had been discussed, it would furnish the enemy of hereditary monarchy with weapons, which otherwise they would not lay hold of. As he was a friend to the present Family on the throne, he wished this affair of the Dutchy of Cornwall to be inquired into; it would have a good effect,—if it should be found that the Prince was entitled to those revenues during his minority, it would enable his Highness to discharge his debts, without laying any burden on the Public. He was sure such an event would gratify the feelings of his Highness, and tend to remove any unfavourable [illegible]ions which this unfor-

tunate business might have occasioned. At the same time that he wished this could be done, there was one circumstance of great delicacy which stood in the way of it, and which, of all things, he was persuaded that House would wish to avoid, which was, to encourage litigation between the Prince and his illustrious Father.

Mr. Chancellor PITT lamented the absence of his learned friend (the Attorney General) who was unavoidably detained from his duty in that House, but the Committee would recollect the observation of his learned friend on this subject, the last time it was discussed. He for one, thought the arguments of his learned friend on the subject of the Dutchy of Cornwall so conclusive, that he should not attempt to add one to them, till he heard some one or other of them refuted. But he did not conceive the Dutchy of Cornwall connected in any manner with the question at that time before the Committee. He lamented with the honourable Baronet (Sir M. W. Ridley) that the question relative to the Prince's debts had given birth to some degree of acrimony, and that it was carried greatly beyond what that House had any reason to expect. As he was on his legs, however, he should say a few words on the Dutchy of Cornwall. That House had already discharged the incumbrances of the civil list three times. In 1787, they had discharged the prince's debts to the amount of one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds, besides voting a sum towards finishing Carlton House. If the Parliament on those occasions had conceived that the Prince was intitled to the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall during his minority, was it to be supposed that they would not have resorted to that, as a fund for the discharge of the incumbrances he had just enumerated? No, the Parliament did no such thing, and in his opinion they acted wisely. If it should appear that the Prince was intitled to those revenues during his minority; and if it should be found that they were applied in aid of the civil list, which was the same as flowing into the pockets of the Public, how would the Public be relieved by refunding those sums? Besides, if the account was to be settled betwixt the Prince and the Public, agreeable to the wishes of some gentlemen, perhaps the balance would be in favour of the Public, so that his Highness, instead of being a gainer, would in all probability lose by such a statement. He did not therefore see any advantage which either one party or the other could derive from the adoption of those gentlemen's wishes.

The honourable Baronet (Sir M. W. Ridley) seemed to think that such a procedure would tend to do away some impressions which the agitation of this unfortunate business had occasioned; if this were really the case, he should feel every disposition to accede to it; but he did not see how it would diminish the regret which it had occasioned.

That honourable Baronet had lamented, that, if it ſhould even be the opinion of the Houſe that the Prince was intitled to the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall, it would produce a litigation betwixt two illuſtrious perſonages; he was certain that was a circumſtance that would be deprecated by every gentleman in that Houſe as well as himſelf, but he conceived that no litigation would ariſe betwixt thoſe two illuſtrious perſonages on that ſubject, the courts below were open to the creditors of the Prince, where, if they could eſtabliſh his claim to that revenue, they would undoubtedly be entitled to it. High as the authority of that Houſe was, it did not extend to the deciſion of that point, he therefore thought it ought to be diſmiſſed from the minds of gentlemen, as entirely irrelevant to the queſtion at preſent before them.

Sir MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY proceeded to ſtate that it would appear to the Public highly indecorous in the Prince to engage in any legal litigation with his Royal Father upon the matter. Such a proceeding would tend to throw more obloquy on him than any thing which had heretofore occurred, and it would be his earneſt wiſh, that all litigation in the buſineſs ſhould be entirely avoided.

Mr. SHERIDAN thought it was by no means irrelevant to the queſtion before the Committee, that queſtion regarded the contingent diſcharge of the debts of his Royal Highneſs, and, however gentlemen might lament that thoſe debts were contracted, they were now called upon for their advice, with reſpect to the beſt mode of diſcharging them. And as he was one of thoſe that had made up his mind upon this ſubject, that a ſingle ſhilling of thoſe debts ſhould not fall on the Public, he was ready to adopt that mode which would enable his Highneſs to extricate himſelf in the moſt juſt, and in the moſt honourable manner. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) ſaid, that if it even ſhould be found that the Prince was entitled to the revenues of Cornwall, that it would not diminiſh the regret of gentlemen on the occaſion,—certainly it would be a matter of regret, that the Prince had contracted thoſe debts imprudently, and improvidently; but would that right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Pitt) ſay, that it would not place the Prince in a very different point of view from that in which he ſtood at preſent? If the Prince could ſay—It is true, I have, through the narrowneſs of my income, contracted debts to a large amount; I wiſh of all things to diſcharge them; but I am happy to have it in my power to diſcharge them out of my own revenues, without calling on the Public for a ſingle ſhilling—would the right honourable gentleman have the confidence to aſſert, that under ſuch circumſtances the Prince would not ſtand in a very different light? But the right honourable gentleman

(Mr. Pitt) says, this money has already gone into the pockets of the Public; and if this was the case it would make no difference; it would make a great and material difference; it would satisfy the Public if it had gone into their pockets, that they were only repaying the Prince his own. Nay, it would satisfy them to know in what pocket it went, and surely that was the least they had a right to expect. The right honourable gentleman says again, this would call forth a balance betwixt the Prince and the Public, that, in all probability, would not be in his favour. What, the expence of his education? Surely not. As the son of the Public, and the offspring of an amiable and illustrious Prince, it was not to be conceived that any such account would be brought against his Royal Highness. The honourable Baronet (Mr. W. Rolle) was apprehensive, that, by bringing this question to issue, it might give birth to litigation betwixt the illustrious father and son, which he, in common with those that heard him, deprecated; he did not see but that might be avoided. Gentlemen had heard of amicable suits in chancery, and surely this might be put on the same issue. He was sorry he did not see the learned gentleman (the Attorney General) in his place, because high as the legal opinion of that gentleman might be, he did not conceive it quite so conclusive on the right of the Dutchy of Cornwall. That learned gentleman had quoted the case of Charles the First, but he ought to have recollected that Prince Henry was the *filius primo genitus*, and that on the demise of that Prince, Charles only held the Dutchy of Cornwall by grant from the King, his father. That learned gentleman argued on a supposition that the Prince of Wales held by Knight service, and in that case that the King was guardian, in chivalry; this he denied, for it was plain that by the act of Charles the Second, that part of the feudal system was abolished. Mr. Sheridan wished that a clause should be introduced in the bill for appointing Commissioners to examine into the accounts of the Dutchy of Cornwall.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER said, that however foreign it might be to his inclinations to enter widely into the subject of discussion, the official situation which he held under his Royal Highness, compelled him to throw what light he was able upon the subject. As to the revenues of the Dutchy, from the birth of the Prince to his being of age, the Public had seen their application, and their appropriation to the civil list, and no contest could possibly, in his opinion, arise on that head. The Prince himself had never disputed the propriety of their appropriation, or once imagined them withheld from him. The learned Member then took an historical survey of the Dutchy from its original tenure, and said, that from all he could collect from

the documents he conſulted, he could not find himſelf juſtified, as the law officer of his Royal Highneſs, in giving advice to him to enter into any litigation concerning the Dutchy. He then entered into a minute detail of particulars reſpecting the Dutchy, in the reign of Charles the Firſt and Second, and that all the judges in 1615 were entirely of a different opinion from the gentleman who ſpoke laſt. From all the reſearches which he had ſeen, he conſidered himſelf fully juſtified in preventing him from inſtituting any proceedings as to his right to the income of the Dutchy, as the creditors could not derive any advantage from them, however their appropriation might be arranged. He was ſorry that a conſiderable ſhare of acrimony had been introduced in the diſcuſſion of the buſineſs, which could not redound in any degree to the dignity of the Houſe, or the ſatisfaction of the Public. He concluded by ſaying, that he thought that the preſent diſcuſſion was totally foreign to the queſtion propoſed to the Committee.

Mr. SHERIDAN wiſhed the Houſe to obſerve the different opinions that had been delivered by Mr. Pitt and Mr Anſtruther. The firſt had ſaid that a ſuit at law might be inſtituted, the ſecond had aſſerted that he would not adviſe his Royal Highneſs to inſtitute any litigation. This difference of opinion was an additional and a ſtrong reaſon why the Houſe ſhould come to a deciſive vote upon the ſubject. The bill could not in its preſent ſtate paſs the Houſe. It held up the Prince in the degraded ſituation of a man whom the Public were warned not to truſt. Was it therefore matter of no importance, whether the Prince ſhould continue for 8 or 9 years in ſuch a ſituation, or whether he ſhould pay his debts to-morrow with his own money? It had been ſaid, would he vote for the income of 125,000l. if he had ſuppoſed that the Prince had a juſt claim upon the arrears of the Dutchy of Cornwall? To this he ſhould reply, that he certainly would not.

Mr. LAMBTON aſſerted, that the Houſe ought to look to the credit ſide of the Prince's account, as well as to the debt ſide.

Mr. SUMNER ſuggeſted the poſſibility of the creditors of the Dukes of York and Clarence making a claim upon the Prince of Wales for the ſum for which his Royal Highneſs was joint ſecurity.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, that this was a material circumſtance. The debts of the Dukes of York and Clarence, it had been ſaid, were in a train of liquidation, and therefore were not included in the account of the Prince of Wales's debts. But though they were not included in the account, the Houſe did not mean to extinguiſh the ſecurity which creditors of their Royal Highneſſes poſſeſſed; which beſides, it ought to be remembered, that the death of either

the Duke of York, or of Clarence, was not an improbable event. In that case, the creditors would certainly come on the Prince of Wales.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the discussion would come with more propriety in the Committee on the bill. The debts of the Dukes of York and Clarence were now put into such a state of liquidation, that their creditors would not be likely to form any demand upon the heir apparent.

Mr. SHERIDAN said that he meant to take an opportunity in another stage of the proceeding, to propose that mode of liquidating the debts which he considered as most consistent with the honour and dignity of the Crown, and the interests of the people, and he trusted when he brought forward the proposition that it would not be attempted to be got rid of by a motion to adjourn at two o'clock in the morning. He meant to move an Address to His Majesty, to require and intreat His Majesty to give a fund out of the civil list towards liquidating the debts, and also to propose to the House that some provision should be made out of the sinecure places for the same purpose. If the House should negative the Address, and refuse to enter into the discussion, he would then not consent to vote either the one sum or the other for the liquidation of the debt.

Mr. PURTON proposed that the creditors should be left to take such means as they should think proper to procure payment from the present revenue of his Royal Highness, and that the additional revenue should be secured to him by legislative regulation. There were two sets of creditors, the one fair and honest, the other of a contrary description; the former would be able to urge their claims with a good grace, the other would not dare to bring them forward to public view. The Prince would then be freed from the odium of having the Public called in to guaranty his debts, and would be left with a large income, to take such measures as might tend to satisfy his fair creditors. He mentioned the example of the venerable Lord Lyttelton, the Historian, who, having got into embarrassments, in order to extricate himself, was accustomed, during one month in the year, to live at his noble seat at Hagley, with all the splendour befitting his high rank, and, during the other eleven months, to confine himself to the establishment of a private gentleman.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS objected strongly to the mode proposed by the honourable gentleman: He thought that his Royal Highness should be put in a situation as little painful as possible. He could not subscribe to any thing that would put him under an eclipse eleven months in the year, in which the honourable

as an advantage gained. He concluded, therefore, by proposing an amendment—"During such term as His Majesty or his Royal Highness continue to have an interest in the same estate."

Mr. Chancellor PITT had no objection to the amendment.

The original question, with the amendment, were both carried without a division.

Mr. FOX apprehended the Committee was merely empowered to receive the clause, and not bound to add it, and accordinly moved, "That it be an instruction to the Committee, that they have power to receive a clause for appropriating a certain sum from the civil list for the liquidation of the debts of his Royal Highness, in case of his death before the demise of the Crown."

Mr. Chancellor PITT opposed this motion, on the ground that the House had decided already, that in the event which this motion specified, the consolidated fund should be charged rather than the civil list.

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| Division—for the motion, | | - | - | 58 |
| Against it, | - | - | - | 96 |

The bill being read a second time, it was proposed to go into a Committee of the whole House upon it, for which purpose it was moved—That the Speaker do now leave the chair.

Mr. WHITBREAD opposed the motion, he said, that by the provisions which this bill contained, Ministers proposed to degrade and disgrace the Prince under the pretence of providing for his dignity and splendour, and therefore he should not for one consent to the Speaker leaving the chair.

Mr. LAMBTON differed from his honourable friend upon this occasion. He did not think his Royal Highness disgraced or degraded, nor did his Royal Highness himself see the matter at all in that odious light. On the contrary, he had reason to know that the Prince totally and entirely assented to the principle of the bill, and approved generally of the restrictions of it, for in adverting to the particulars of his debts, and he declared he knew not by what means they had been contracted, and that if these restrictions were not agreed upon he might be again exposed to the same inconveniencies; for many of them were things over which, in his present state, he had no controul; these restrictions therefore entirely corresponded with the wishes of his Royal Highness in general.

Mr. POWYS apprehended that the attendance of Members would become thinner day after day as this business should be brought forward in the discussion, and therefore it was fitting that some points should be now explained before the business proceeded too far. He was of opinion that the House would do well to postpone

the provision for the eventual payment of any part of the incumbrances, in case of the death of the Prince of Wales, until all doubts were removed. The objects he had in view could not, he believed, all of them be carried into effect, without the consent of the illustrious parties interested, and particularly the Prince himself; but the advice of the House might be given upon such an occasion without any indelicacy whatever. As to the Dutchy of Cornwall, he did not see that it was essential to the dignity of his Royal Highness to preserve that appenage to the Crown, and that was a matter to be discussed in the course of this bill's passing through the House. They were to transfer from that House, very properly, he believed, the examination of these debts to Commissioners, but the House ought to know exactly the amount of them. They were stated at something more than 600,000l. Now he would ask if gentlemen were wholly satisfied that they were incurred *bona fide*. They were under three distinct heads—debts for which securities were given, tradesmens bills, and arrears of establishment. He wanted to know whether the 68,000l. the expences of the marriage, &c. were included under the head of tradesmens bills. These were points on which he wished to be informed.

Mr. FOX said, if he voted for the Speaker's leaving the chair, he ought to state the ground upon which he did so, for he confessed there were doubts and difficulties in this business. If the question was now put that the bill be put off for two months, he should certainly give his negative to such a proposition, because he thought that this business ought to be discussed, but he was of opinion also that time ought to be given to examine into the different parts of it. There were, in his opinion, many arrangements to be made by his Royal Highness, and many arrangements also to be made by His Majesty's advisers, with regard to the Dutchy of Cornwall, before the subject was matured for the decision of that House. Much of this bill, he confessed, he considered as proper. He thought that making up the income of the Prince of Wales to 125,000l. a year, was proper; he thought it becoming the dignity and the wisdom of Parliament. With respect to the provision in the bill, to prevent his Royal Highness from incurring any debt in future, that had also his complete approbation. But what appeared to him objectionable was, that by this bill they gave to his Royal Highness that which they did not give him the management of. The whole matter, he feared, would be under the management and approbation of the Minister. It was placing the Prince in a state of dependance on the King's treasury, which was, in other words, subjecting the Prince to the power of the Minister. He was dissatisfied with re-

gard to the regulation of Carlton House. The property there was added to the debts of the Prince of Wales. To whom should the furniture there belong? why, to the Prince of Wales, who paid for it, certainly. And yet they were to be made heir looms—so that Parliament might say to the Prince—"You have furnished Carlton House more expensively than you ought to have done, but we shall have it." This was a little unfair with regard to the Prince; it was very unfair with regard to the creditors; because the furniture, if this provision were not in the bill, would be moveable assets, subject to the payment of the debts; and perhaps this would operate to the prejudice of those very creditors who had provided this very furniture. Now, if he voted for the Speaker leaving the chair, it must be under an understanding that these difficulties should be removed; because, without a better understanding of many of the topics, he would venture to say, that the House might be now doing what would neither effectually relieve the Prince, nor secure the public property. As to the Dutchy of Cornwall, he confessed he was exceedingly anxious that it should be wholly sold. He confessed there would be some difficulty in ascertaining precisely the value of the interest which his Royal Highness had in that Dutchy, because it was not a life estate that he had in it, it was only while he continued Prince of Wales, but at any event, the sale would produce more than it could produce to his Royal Highness in its present state. He thought it would produce 600,000l. He was far below the value he believed, but he would take it at that sum.—The sum to be appropriated out of that for this debt would be very considerable; instead of the 13,000l. a year, it would amount to 330,000l. if the money from the sale was put into the hands of Commissioners, in the name and for the use of His Royal Highness. If this was called bargaining with the Prince, and therefore unworthy of the House of Commons, he should answer, that it was a perfectly constitutional proceeding, and that this country never had better security for its liberty than when it made these kinds of bargains with its Princes. He should wish that something of this kind should be moved, and he had rather that any other person should move it than himself. If nobody did, perhaps he might; this, however, he did not pledge himself to do; the session was far advanced, and the House might not like to have a new subject to discuss; but he should be sorry if this business was suffered to pass without due consideration. The annihilation of the Dutchy would, to be sure, diminish the overgrown influence of the Crown, and here was the [illegible] objection, so that the real interests of the country were [illegible]ced to ministerial jobbing. His opinion was, that

the House was at liberty now to bring in a bill for this purpose, and he believed that His Majesty would readily accede to it. The thinness of the House he confessed disgusted him much, and he was afraid, now that the call was discharged, that the House would become thinner and thinner every day. He therefore wished that the House should proceed in this business as became the representatives of the people, neither to conciliate the favour, nor dread the resentment of any individual, however illustrious for his rank or dignity.

Mr. LAMETON, in explanation, observed, that he did not mean to say that all the restrictions in the bill were agreeable to his Royal Highness, but they generally received his approbation.

Mr. Chancellor PITT declined following the gentlemen who had preceded him, through the extensive field of declamation and argument which they had thought proper to indulge themselves in, because he conceived it to be totally irrelevant and foreign to the purpose. With respect to the "sale of the Dutchy of Cornwall," tho' it was a fair subject of discussion, yet, as a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had signified his intention to bring in a bill for its total annihilation, he should reserve himself till that measure was regularly before the House. The insinuation that "the preservation of it in the hands of the Crown contributed to the influence of Administration," was unfounded in fact, and he should object to it on grounds more tenable than those anticipated by the right honourable gentleman opposite. The reason assigned for delay, "that a previous arrangement ought to be made with the creditors," was, in his opinion, unworthy of notice; for he could not see that it would be necessary even after the passing of the bill, much less so before that bill found its way into the Committee. "The state of the debts" was no argument for delay. He could not think it necessary there should be any previous inquiry by commission. For his own part, he said, he was not aware that there were any debts in the account laid before the House that were not *bonâ fide*, and no other he wished to be understood would be passed by the commission. No arguments had been used to induce the House not to go into the Committee, and therefore he should support the motion, that the Speaker leave the chair.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that nothing had fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which had, in the least, tended to alter his opinion, and that he could not give a silent vote on the question of the Speaker's leaving the chair; but must say, that he thought the language used by his honourable friend who opposed it, was extremely just and proper; and that the present bill was of the highest

degree degrading and diſgraceful to the Prince. He ſaid, that Mr. Pitt had grafted one plan upon another. He had, at the outſet propoſed to make the Prince's eſtabliſhment one hundred thouſand a year, and appropriate twenty-five thouſand to the payment of the debts; and according to this, he had formed an eſtabliſhment for the Prince's houſhold, ſince which he adopted Mr. Fox's plan of appropriating ſixty-five thouſand a year to the debts, and letting the Prince live in retirement, as a private nobleman; but by this bill he was to be a private nobleman with a Prince's eſtabliſhment, for inſtead of the groom and the footman, the bill talked of his maſter of the Horſe and Lord of the Bedchamber. It was an heterogeneous maſs—a variegated tiſſue, a hodge-podge of abſurdity. He declared that he would not accede to any propoſition for taking a ſingle ſhilling out of the pockets of the Public until he ſaw Miniſters ſet about the buſineſs in good earneſt. By this he meant that the Houſe ought not to reſort to the people, but to thoſe ſinecure places which contributed neither to the ſupport nor dignity of the Crown. As these fell in, he ſhould propoſe to form out of them a fund to diſcharge the intereſt, and finally to extinguiſh the Prince's debts. He ſtill cheriſhed the idea too that the Houſe would ſtill have ſome aſſiſtance from the civil liſt, and from the Dutchy of Cornwall. The arrears of which had accumulated during the minority of his Royal Highneſs, was a reſource, which would go a great way towards the extinction of the incumbrances. The crown lands ought alſo, on this emergency, to be called in aid, without any prejudice however to His Majeſty, theſe he was ſure would be adequate to the purpoſe, and he truſted that Miniſters would avail themſelves of his ſuggeſtion, and ſuffer the burden to fall where it was likely to be leaſt felt. Having argued on the general grounds, Mr. Sheridan proceeded to the ſpecial grounds. It had been ſtated by an honourable friend of his, (Mr. Lambton) that his Royal Highneſs approved of the reſtrictions in the bill, but this aſſertion he had ſo qualified in his explanation, that little ſtreſs ought to be laid upon it. Was it not, he begged leave to aſk, a degradation to put a perſon out of the reach of the law? For his part, he could not figure to himſelf any thing ſo prepoſterous, as to wiſh for an act of Parliament to put a man into an ignominious ſituation, ſo reſtricted, that he could not keep his word, and do juſtice to tradeſmen. If an heir apparent were ſo abſurd as to ſolicit a law to fly from his word and bond, he had no heſitation of pronouncing ſuch a man as unfit for reigning over an enlightened nation.

Colonel FULLARTON, in anſwer to Mr. Sheridan, ſaid, the honourable gentleman objected to the whole tenor of the bill, where-

as he objected to the mode in which that gentleman and others had conducted the discussion respecting the object of the bill. If the object were to pull the key-stone out of the arch of Royalty, and to strip the Royal bird of all his plumes, leaving him a bare, plumeless biped, like a peacock without a tail, in that case he should understand the meaning of the repeated invectives uttered against the Prince of Wales by that honourable gentleman and others. If they were sitting in the Convention, and if the object was to degrade Royalty, and to pull down the fabric of the constitution, or if the object was to reduce the Heir Apparent to the condition of Buckhorse, so as never to receive a shilling without a buffet and a blow along with it—he said he should understand the meaning of that honourable gentleman's invectives. But on what principle a British House of Commons, professing attachment to the establishment under which they lived, should persist in outraging every feeling which ought to exist in the Heir Apparent's breast, he could not tell; neither could he tell what were the sensations of Royal persons on such occasions, but of this he was sure, that there was not a beggar in the streets, who would not rather live under a hedge, than owe a shilling to their liberality, if thrown at him with such bitter taunts as those which had been vented by the honourable gentleman and others against the Prince of Wales. He said, one might have hoped that after every change had been rung on every note in the parliamentary gamut, from the lowest tones of obloquy to the shrillest shrieks of reprobation, at some period or other the Philippic strains of censure and reproach might have ceased, especially after the conciliatory message which had been sent by the Prince of Wales to that House. So far, however, from having produced returning sentiments of civility and conciliation from the House, that message seemed only to have provoked additional severities from some gentlemen, whose own conduct was by no means exempted from irregularity and extravagance. In particular, the message seemed to have excited the animosity of an honourable gentleman, who, till the message was delivered, never attended, nor took any part in those debates. That honourable gentleman appeared at present in the character of what Sir Peter Teazle, or Sir Fretful, calls a "damned good-natured friend;" he himself has informed the House that he has been a most confidential friend to the Prince of Wales, who had honoured him with extraordinary marks of confidence and condescension—of the Prince of Wales, whose most secret councils he had not hesitated to reveal within these *unconfidential walls*. The honourable gentleman then lamented that so much good counsel with which he, *unobliged, or disobliged*, had [illegible] the Prince of Wales,

should have been gratuitously expended; that so many unwise things should have been done, and so many unkind things said; and then, in the true spirit of Mrs. Candour and Sir Benjamin Backbite, he lodged his bullet in the thorax with such an explosion, as would render it no less impossible to heal the wound than to extract the ball. The honourable gentleman assured the House, he had administered large doses of wholesome counsel, gratis, to the Prince of Wales. As his advice was given without any valuable consideration, perhaps in some instances it might have been better if his advice had been received as not entitled to consideration. He next proceeded a step farther, and after inveighing against all offices of trust and profit, very modestly appointed himself to the office of the greatest trust that could possibly exist, as Counsel General and Adviser General to the King, Queen, and all the Royal Family.—Here, too, his advice was gratuitously given, but as it could not be gratuitously fulfilled, perhaps it might be received like the blessing of a pious Bishop to a poor parishioner, who had asked him for pence, and being refused, informed his Reverence, that if his blessing had been worth a penny, he would not have parted with it.—Colonel Fullarton then said, that considering the honourable gentleman, in this high predicament, as the adviser of the King, Queen, and all the Royal Family, he could only say of him, as Mr. Prig, in the farce, says of Mr. Squib, the auctioneer, "It would ill become me to advise that great man." He would, however, take the liberty of asking him a simple question—Did he, or did he not, reveal the secret counsels of the Prince of Wales with Lord Loughborough, Lord Thurlow, and the Duke of Portland, with or without the consent of those great characters? If he did so with their consent, they were not the safe and cautious statesmen he supposed them; and if he did so, without their consent, they would prove themselves to be no statesmen at all, if ever they held communication or consultation with that honourable gentleman, except as they would with a herald at Charing-Cross, for purposes of promulgation and proclamation.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, he never was a secret counsellor to the Prince of Wales. He never gave him any advice, in which he did not wish it were possible for the King to stand on one side, and the people of England on the other. He had stated what was true, that Lord Thurlow gave the Prince wise advice, in a manly manner, and that Lord Loughborough counteracted that advice. As to some parts of the speech of the honourable gentleman, some of the sentences he believed nobody understood, and he believed that somebody had advised him to prepare a speech against what he thought

should be said to-night. He had ransacked the English language to find trite sayings, and had so obscured his harangue with metaphor, and embellished it with coarse daubing, as to render it totally unintelligible to meaner capacities. In answer to dark insinuations, he had only to say, that he had never, during the long period he enjoyed the confidence of his Royal Highness, accepted the slightest favour of his Royal Highness.

A division took place; when the numbers were,

For the commitment, 157; Against it, 36. Majority 121.

The House then resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House on the bill.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER moved, "That the blank in the clause for granting his Royal Highness an additional allowance, be filled up with the words "sixty-five thousand pounds."

Mr. WHITBREAD objected to the largeness of the sum, and hinted that he thought an amendment ought to be moved from the same quarter that had all along opposed the increase of income proposed by this bill.

Mr. WILBERFORCE agreed in the suggestion of the honourable gentleman, and moved an amendment, That instead of 65,000l. the sum of 40,000l. be inserted. On which a conversation arose between Mr. Curwen, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, General Smith, and others.

The SPEAKER said, that the serious and important nature of the business was now before the House in that stage in which it became his duty to state his reasons for the vote he meant to give.— He had always been for the larger sum, because he thought it barely adequate to the situation in which the Prince was placed, and not equal to what his grandfather had enjoyed, when the difference of expence between the two periods was taken into consideration. He lamented, in common with every Member of the House, the circumstance of his Royal Highness's incumbrances, but he equally differed with those who wished to swell the burden which the Public was to sustain, and those who wished not to deduct any part of the income for the payment of debts. After the gracious communication which the House had recently received from his Royal Highness, he thought they had every reason to place a reliance on an avowal that must give them so much satisfaction—a communication equally brilliant and constitutional upon the part of his Royal Highness, and particularly admired when the principle upon which it came to them was considered, viz. the principle that the public opinion in this country must always operate on the sentiments of persons the most exalted in birth and situation, and would always have its due weight;

in influencing their conduct. The House and the country were interested in his Royal Highness's character and dignity, and he approved of the bill, both as diminishing the time for the payment of the debts, and likewise satisfying the creditors that they were to be paid.

Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL suggested the propriety of omitting the sum altogether, until the arrangements respecting the debts were completed.

After a few words from Mr. Curwen and Sir George Howard, the House divided,

For the larger sum, 141; For the smaller, 38. Majority, 103.

On the clause for charging the annuity of 65,000l. upon the consolidated fund,

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG observed, that the civil list was now exonerated from pensions, amounting to 110,000l. which His Majesty had found charged upon it at the commencement of his reign. This burden consisted of sums payable to the late Princess of Wales, the Princess Amelia, and the great Duke of Cumberland.—[A loud laugh.]—The honourable Baronet objected to this levity, and explained that his reverence for that personage had been habitual ever since he had gone into mourning for him in the twelfth year of his age. He then suggested the propriety of charging this 65,000l. upon the civil list rather than upon the consolidated fund, observing, that in this reign was the expence of the collateral branches of the Royal Family first charged upon the latter fund, and in this reign were the Royal Family exempted from taxes. Sir William concluded by moving, That the words "civil list," be inserted instead of "consolidated fund."

Mr. SHERIDAN seconded the motion. He thought the Committee would not discharge its duty, if they did not try every means to discharge the debt, before they resorted to additional burdens on their constituents. It may be said that the civil list was inadequate. It should be tried whether the reduction of useless places, paid by that list, would not supply the necessary means.

Mr. Chancellor PITT was against the motion. He said, it was the proposition of the honourable gentleman brought forward in another shape. If any places were deemed useless, the question respecting their abolition should be brought forward in a distinct shape.

Sir W. YOUNG suggested the propriety of appointing a Committee of Grievances to inquire into this subject.

Sir ELIJAH IMPEY said, that the House in its Address had promised to "enable" His Majesty to discharge these debts; it was

not the mode to *enable* His Majesty, if they were to be thrown as a load upon the civil list.

Mr. FOX thought the sum more properly chargeable upon the consolidated fund than the civil list, because in considering the annuities of the Duke of York and the Duke of Clarence, the House had thought the civil list incompetent to the payment of them, though so much smaller than the present.

Mr. SHERIDAN reminded the Committee, that the consolidated fund contained no unappropriated heap, and that in fact there was not a shilling in it from which this annuity could be paid, without imposing fresh burdens upon the people. A saving to that amount might be made in the civil list, at all events the experiment should be tried.

Mr. WILBERFORCE supported the clause, and said, that the honourable gentleman should first have shewn how these savings could be made from the civil list.

Mr. SHERIDAN replied, that, though the civil list had been thought incapable of retrenchment, it was certain, even when that opinion prevailed, that if a pinching exigency should come, retrenchment must be tried; and he thought it should be attempted, when such a sum as the present was demanded. He would pay the Prince's debts, but wished the money to come out of the civil list.

The Committe divided.

For the amendment 16;—Against it 149.—Majority 133.

The question was then put upon the clause, as it originally stood, which was carried without a division.

The Committee then adjourned, and on the House being resumed, the Chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again to-morrow.

Mr. ROSE moved for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of persons detained in jail for the want of bail; and explained, that the persons meant were detained upon revenue penalties, and judgements for assaults upon revenue officers.—Leave granted.

Mr. ROSE next moved for leave to bring in a bill, for allowing a farther time to persons liable to the hair-powder tax to take out certificates. There had been, he said, such a crowd of applicants at the different offices, on the last day allowed by the present act, that all could not receive certificates.—Leave granted: as also for bringing in a bill to allow farther time for registering barges and boats under an act of the present session.

*Tuesday, 9th June.*

There being only 38 Members present at four o'clock, the House of course adjourned.

*Wednesday, 10th June.*

On the question for the second reading of the bill for granting a loan of 4,600,000l to the Emperor,

General TARLETON said, On this subject, which is certainly of a momentous nature, as the national interest is involved in it, I beg leave to make a few observations. It appears to me, that the sum to be guaranteed to the Emperor will tend to prolong this calamitous war, which, in the way it is conducted, has not a chance of being successful, and that it is an idle, a profuse, and profligate expenditure of the public money: these several propositions I shall argue, and endeavour to establish, before I sit down. On the relative situations of the Emperor with the King of Bohemia, the Diet of Germany, the King of Prussia, and the King of Great Britain, it would be the highest presumption in me to say a single syllable, because my right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) on the first occasion which presented itself for discussing those serious and important considerations, exhausted the subject. On that occasion, I say, he offered such sound argument, and such Statesman-like reasons, which yet, I trust, live in the memory of gentlemen, because, at the period to which I allude, they arrested the attention of the House, and imposed silence on the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

On a second occasion of debating this question, my right honourable friend, with that ingenuousness of mind which belongs to his character, corrected a minute and almost trivial point of the information which he had given to the House; then the right honourable gentleman broke silence, and, in reply, boldly assumed and asserted, that all the statements of my right honourable friend might be or were erroneous, because he explained himself on a single point. Afterwards, the right honourable gentleman made a summer excursion along the banks of the Rhine, to the lakes of Geneva, to the mountains of Savoy, and to the plains of Savoy; but I leave it to the House, whether the right honourable gentleman pointed out the resources of the Emperor, or displayed any advantage Great Britain could even eventually receive from the Austrian loan.

Now, Sir, there is a part of this question which has not been thoroughly investigated. I acknowledge, an honourable friend of mine (General Smith) has successfully skirmished with it; but yet I

contend it has not had that minute investigation which it ought to undergo, before this great question is dismissed. As this money is intended for military operations, and will, I am afraid, be voted by this credulous and confiding Parliament, let us examine the military side of this subject.

With the permission of the House, I will describe and picture the probable operations of the campaign, and the probable result of those operations. In the first place, and for the sake of brevity and perspicuity, which I equally admire, and which I always endeavour to blend and associate, it will be necessary to state the number of the Emperor's army, local situation of the troops, and the probable views of the Imperial General with the force under his command, which is about to be taken into the pay of Great Britain. But it occurs to me at this moment, that I had better, before I commence the military detail, take a view of the Emperor in a two-fold capacity—as making peace or war, or, in other words, as keeping his faith with England, by a vigorous prosecution of the war, or bending to his natural interest, and following the example of the King of Prussia in making peace. But, on second thoughts, I can more conveniently investigate this part of the question hereafter. I shall therefore proceed to the military calculation I have made on the subject. It must occur to gentlemen, that the season is far advanced for the commencement of a campaign; it must likewise strike them, that the preparations are not so formidable, or the situation of the Austrian army so respectable, as at the opening of the last campaign. Indeed, compared with that which turned out so unfortunately, and which closed in so miserable a manner, the most sanguine can now have very little ground for hope or consolation. But without any more preliminary matter, I will briefly state my ideas on this subject. The Emperor's army, I will suppose, nay, I will allow, consists at this moment of two hundred thousand men, well appointed, well furnished with artillery and military stores, and well provided with magazines of every description—its situation on the north-east banks of the Rhine, and lying between Dusseldorf and Strasbourg—its object, the relief of Luxembourg. Now, Sir, it may not be improper to form a calculation respecting the French army, and the probable line of conduct of its generals. We have heard constantly that the French troops are more numerous than their enemies. We know, and have felt, that they have been successful in almost all their attempts and designs. What, therefore, may we reasonably expect from Pichegru and Jourdan, at the head of the armies of the Rhine, and the Moselle, the Sambre, and the Meuse. Here, Sir, give me leave to make a small digression,

perhaps it is a light fancy of my own; but I solemnly believe, if the last season had not been a bad one for corn, or if Mr. Brook Watson's magazines, which he collected for *all* the forces serving in Flanders and Holland, had not been expended, that the French would have been sufficiently powerful and numerous to have foiled every vigorous attempt of the Emperor, and to have made a descent upon this country in the course of the summer. I shall content myself here, by observing, that we are more obliged to Providence for averting that evil, than any exercise of human wisdom or power.

I will now, Sir, return to the French troops in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. Is it to be supposed, that General Pichegru will neglect taking the best measures and the best positions to frustrate the plans of the Austrians, and organize that victory which has constantly attended his banners? It cannot be passed over that the French are in the neighbourhood of their own fortresses, and can be in no want of provisions. Indeed, the right honourable gentleman fortifies me, by what he said on a former occasion—that provisions had been sent to Paris from the army of the Rhine. Many boats, I understand, laden with provisions, have been sent by the Prussians, since the treaty with France, up the Rhine, for the use of the French armies. Provisions, if any are to be found in the country, as well as all other stores and resources whatever, will not be deficient or wanting for military operations. A defeat, therefore, to the French, comparatively with the Austrians, would be of very little consequence indeed; for, on account of the vicinity of France, and its triple row of fortresses, another army would soon be created, and rise into action, and many serious and bloody combats must ensue, before Luxembourg could be relieved. This assertion will be strengthened into irresistible argument, by taking only an impartial view of the Imperial army. Let the Austrians pass the Rhine—let them move forwards towards Luxembourg; let any considerate, I do not require a military man, reflect upon the formidable size of that river to be passed in the presence of a victorious enemy—(I do not call passing the enemy having a few redoubts near Morbach and Mayence)—But I will suppose it passed, and the Austrian army moving forwards to the point of its destination, Luxembourg, a fortress distant 80 miles from the Rhine, besides having a body of men on the banks of the river. It must occur to every person, that every step must be fortified and garrisoned; this will occasion a great diminution of force, and one unsuccessful combat, either in front or the flanks, or on the line of communication, would baffle the enterprize; one defeat, prove the destruction of the Imperial army.

In addition, therefore, to what my honourable friend said, that the Emperor had not hitherto been able to relieve the only fortress he possessed in the Low Countries, I add, that Luxembourg is a prisoner of war in France, which no military ingenuity or force can extricate or deliver.

Now, Sir, is it to be permitted and endured, that four millions six hundred thousand pounds should be expended in this manner—in this, what is called, the vigorous prosecution of the war? I have calculated, in the statement I have just made, that the Emperor keeps his faith with the King of England, and have exhibited the probable consequences, nay, the rational conclusion, to be drawn from his exertions and his good faith. It may not be amiss now to look at the other side of the question. I will suppose that he receives the millions of Great Britain, and follows the example of the King of Prussia. His rescript and his situation manifest most strongly such intentions. A second rescript, published at Ratisbon, I am told breathes more strongly the language of peace. If he pursues that line of conduct, the arrogant Minister of England may be humbled, but this country and Europe may eventually have reason to rejoice, because it would shorten a war, which has moistened the earth with blood, and sent innumerable victims to the grave. But, Sir, I can look at the military operations in another point of view, which I consider as still more prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain. Suppose the Emperor's General thinks it expedient to pass the Rhine, and march towards Luxembourg, and the Emperor thinks he cannot delicately or decently, after he has received the money of England, make peace, then, Sir, we shall experience the greatest of all possible calamities—a defensive and protracted war; and Great Britain may be called upon next year for another loan, as well as for fresh and destructive engagements with the two Imperial Courts; for although we are acquainted with our alliance with Russia, her performances are yet in the back ground, and require a little English money to bring them forwards. Would it not therefore, be more wise, more politic, and more humane, at this juncture, to refuse the Emperor our money, and join with him in his rescript, acknowledging the French Republic?

Why should we continue a war which cannot prove advantageous to Great Britain? Peace is the natural interest of this country. The imposing a Government on France, or the conquest of 24 millions of people, are equally wild and Quixotic. A prolongation of war, without endangering France, may endanger this country. Look at the expenditure in every quarter! Look at the grinding taxes which are yearly thrust upon the people, and assuming, per-

[illegible], that peace is neceſſary for the ſalvation of the country, is it not more than probable it would prove the moſt deſtructive meaſure we could employ againſt our enemy? The late commotions in Paris and at Toulon fortify me in this calculation; and indeed, as my right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) obſerved, on a former occaſion, the commotions in the interior of France have generally prevailed, [illegible], in ſome meaſure, have been the conſequence of the relaxed efforts of their enemies upon the frontiers. Therefore, I fairly infer we are likely to injure France more by pacific than by hoſtile, attempts. Thus I confidently ſay, that Frenchmen being delivered from external enemies, and under the influence of various and uncontrolled paſſions, which are ſpurred with greater conſtitutional energy than thoſe of any other people on the face of the earth, would have difficulties innumerable to ſurmount, then the rival factions would tilt againſt each other, then France only would be deluged with blood, then Frenchmen alone would ſuffer under the accumulated ſcourges of civil war, and that ſyſtem which we have [illegible] againſt with ſuch a profuſion of Engliſh blood and treaſure, being no longer protected by our external attacks, would be diſorganized, and in conformity to the wiſhes of all the Kings in Europe, liberty would moſt probably be baniſhed from the face of the Continent. Is it neceſſary to re-ſtate the three points I have juſt urged, of the Emperor's receiving the money, and acting vigorouſly; of his taking our money, and acting defenſively, or following the example of the King of Pruſſia? I believe there is no occaſion; and therefore I ſhall proceed to notice what was ſaid on a former occaſion, reſpecting an article of reciprocity, namely, for neither Power to lay down their arms, without the conſent of the other. Was not that article in the Pruſſian, and in all other treaties, of the ſame import? But is ſuch an article binding on Courts, when they find it their intereſt to break it? Now, Sir, I have heard in this ſeſſion, and within this month, that we now ſtand in a more proſperous ſituation than during the war. I confeſs that aſſertion, unſupported as it was by argument and proof, ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed me. I looked around, in vain, to diſcover our vantage ground. What advantages have we gained? What acquiſitions have we made in the courſe of the laſt campaign? I ſhall ſpeak only with reſpect to Europe on the occaſion. We have acquired the *loſs* of Flanders, Brabant, Dutch Flanders, Holland, the principality of Liege; in ſhort, of all the territories to the Weſt of the Rhine. But we have acquired an eſſential advantage, I admit, on the return of our own troops from the Continent. We have acquired the loſs of the King of Pruſſia as an ally; but we have acquired ſomething which infi-

nitely outweighs that defection; we have acquired the Emperor's consent to take four times his stipend. But, Sir, there is one acquisition in our reach and power, which might be productive of the happiness of mankind—it is the opportunity of joining our only ally left on the Continent—it is joining the Emperor in his rescript.—If I saw the King of Great Britain's name associated with the Emperor's, to bring about a general and honourable pacification, then I should say we had acquired a boon both consolatory and useful.

Sir, I think the House ought to consider another part of the question before it is too late. This House is the guardian of the purse of the country, and ought to pause and reflect before it lends such a large sum of money, which must be chiefly transmitted in specie, at this time, out of the country. I am aware, Sir, that Mr. Hume, and other writers, have maintained that money will always find its way back to this country; that was the consequence of many wars on the Continent, I likewise admit; but I put it to the House and the country, if the loss of Flanders and Holland does not make a material alteration? In King William and Queen Anne's wars, the money was expended in Flanders, and by means of Holland, which was always an ally against France, we had the opportunity, through the medium of our industry and commerce, to recover the money we had lavished in those continental wars. By the loss of those commercial countries, I am afraid no opportunity will present itself, and that our gold and silver will eventually and ultimately prove more beneficial to France than to Great Britain.

That this important and truly interesting subject, the Austrian loan, might not be discussed in a thin House, I thought it my duty to oppose the order for the call of the House being withdrawn. On that occasion, I was overborne by the phalanx of Ministers, and by gentlemen of different parties and various descriptions in this House. I thought, and I asserted, that this momentous question demanded vet great attention and investigation; but His Majesty's Ministers were of a different opinion, because they were conscious that their actions were not of a nature to bear publicity, and therefore they kindly permitted the Members to retire into the country. They were conscious, Sir, that this Austrian loan would not bear the light of truth or reason; they therefore courted their houses and obscurity. But I trust, Sir, we are not so improvident, so infatuated, so besotted, as to suffer this money, this immense sum to be sent out of the country, to be employed in the prolongation of our disgraces and calamities. One word to those gentlemen who have attended a point of business with much assiduity this session—Will you, country gentlemen, rather send five millions to a despot

in Germany, than furnish half a million to new-model and adorn the corner-stone of your hereditary Monarchy?——Can a despot of Germany be dearer to you than the Heir Apparent of England? ——Retain, I beseech and conjure you, the money of your constituents in this country; it can be productive only of bloodshed on the Continent, and may eventually, if these novel and destructive measures are not speedily stopped and terminated, be productive of bankruptcy to Great Britain.

Mr. M. ROBINSON insisted, that there was apparent perfidy in the conduct of the Emperor of Germany, and that the House had a right to be distrustful of a Prince who had at the same time signed a treaty for the continuance of the war, and sent to the Diet of Ratisbon a rescript, expressive of his wish to make peace. The Minister had not experienced sufficient adversity, and seemed to want a little of the correction of the House.

Mr. LECHMERE opposed the bill. He was not often in the habit of intruding upon the House, and he seldom wearied them by long speeches. On the present occasion, however, he felt it impossible to resist delivering his opinion, which he assured gentlemen he would do with as much brevity as was consistent with the performance of a task, which a strong sense of duty had imposed upon him. It appeared sufficiently clear, that the expences of this disastrous war had fallen entirely upon this country, and had been drawn from the hard-earned pittance of the poor—The vast mass of expence he could not consent to swell, and it was therefore his opinion, that no loan should be granted to the Emperor. In fact, he conceived that the loan was a gross imposition upon the people of this country. Prussia had been subsidized at a period when his Prussian Majesty had explicitly asserted, that he could not find troops [illegible] to act against the French. He could not furnish troops to [illegible] his engagements with Great Britain, but he could find sufficient to carry into execution the infamous robbery of Poland, in [illegible] with that harpy, the Empress of Russia. It was curious to observe how very fond the Minister seemed to be of subsidies and loans.—A subsidy had been granted to the King of Sardinia—For what? For [illegible] to defend his own dominions: The [illegible] Emperor was evidently for the purpose of preventing him from making peace. That honourable Monarch, the King of Prussia, who had picked the pockets of the mild [illegible], commonly called Stanislaus the IIId. and afterwards the pockets of poor *John Bull*, had, notwithstanding the subsidy, made peace; and the Minister was now going to repeat the experiment upon the Emperor, and to pay him for not following the ex-

ample of Pruſſia in making peace. To the giving of any loan for any ſuch purpoſe, he ſhould decidedly object; but certainly if the Houſe did give the loan, they ought to accompany it with a [illegible] tion, that the Emperor ſhould not make peace without the knowledge and concurrence of this country.

Mr. FOX expreſſed it as his determination, not to enter again at large into the diſcuſſion of a ſubject which had already been fully diſcuſſed. What he roſe for was, to move an amendment to the motion for reading the bill a ſecond time. The Houſe had been told that the French were in great diſtreſs, and ſo he believed they were. The Houſe had alſo been told that much might be done by ſtanding aloof. His own idea of ſtanding aloof, was to ſtand aloof at peace, or at an expence not much above the ordinary peace eſtabliſhment, and not at an annual expence of thirty millions. France, it had been ſaid, was falling to pieces, and yet ſhe made treaties of peace. Why was therefore a treaty with this country to prevent her from continuing to fall to pieces? The preſent was altogether a new ſyſtem, of which the Miniſters were the authors; they had a ſufficient experience of the conduct of Pruſſia, and they were now going to try the Emperor. He underſtood that there were to be ſome new allies, not new allies in point of principle, but in point of performance, and that Ruſſia was to co-operate with this country. He wiſhed to know why the Empreſs was more to be truſted now than the King of Pruſſia, and how hiſtorians were to diſtinguiſh between Pruſſia and the other powers, who had participated in the diſmemberment of Poland? But did the Miniſter, or did any man, expect any cordial co-operation from the Auſtrians? He had frequently challenged the Miniſter to produce one General Officer who would ſay, that any co-operation could be expected from them. He had had reaſon to know that there had been times in which the aſſiſtance of the Auſtrians might have been productive of the moſt important effects, and where the delay of a few hours would have been of material conſequence, and yet this delay had been refuſed, unleſs it were paid for. It had been ſaid by the Miniſter, that to be ſure there were ſome circumſtances in the caſe which it was difficult to explain, and therefore very wiſely he had not made any attempt to explain them. Of the Auſtrians, it would not be deemed too much to ſay, that they were as much to be truſted as the Pruſſians, and the Pruſſians as the Auſtrians. He concluded by moving, as an amendment to the motion, that the bill ſhould be read a ſecond time this day two months.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid that he ſhould confine himſelf to a very few obſervations. An alluſion had been made to the idea of

ſtanding aloof; and the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had ſaid that he was for ſtanding aloof at peace, inſtead of at war. He ſhould in anſwer confine himſelf to the ſingle argument which he had uſed on a former occaſion, that the preſſure of a great force upon France would compel her to make exertions, to which ſhe was unequal. In that view of the ſubject he had contended, that the co-operation of ſo great a military power as that of Auſtria, would be of material importance. Of the military tranſactions to which Mr. Fox had alluded, he ſhould ſay nothing, becauſe he was aware of the difficulty of deciding on military events that took place at a diſtance; but he fancied that nobody would deny Auſtria to be a great military power, and to be deeply intereſted in the event of the war.

The Houſe divided on the queſtion, whether the bill be now read? when there were,

For it 55; Againſt it 29. Majority 26.

Mr. FOX gave notice, that he ſhould move to-morrow for a new writ to be iſſued for the election of a Member to ſerve in Parliament, in the room of Sir Gilbert Elliot, whoſe appointment to the Government of Corſica had, in his opinion, vacated his ſeat.

General SMITH, after expreſſing a firm conviction that the Prince had a right to the arrears of the Dutchy of Cornwall during his minority, gave notice, that he ſhould on Friday next make a motion relative to theſe arrears.

The Houſe now reſolved itſelf into a Committee to proceed farther in the bill for ſettling an income on the Prince of Wales, and for enabling him to pay his debts.

Mr. LECHMERE ſaid, that he was as much attached to the King as any man, but when the kingdom was ſo oppreſſed by taxes as it was at preſent, he could not help feeling a ſtrong inclination to relieve the poor and the induſtrious as much as poſſible.—He was proceeding to ſay, that an application to His Majeſty for his aſſiſtance would be an adviſable meaſure, when he was called to order.

Sir M. WHITE RIDLEY objected to the commiſſion appointed to inquire into debts, being attended with any expence.

Mr. Chancellor PITT explained, that it was not intended to give any ſalary to the Commiſſioners; nothing more was meant than to provide for the neceſſary contingent expence attendant on a commiſſion of that ſort, which would amount to ſo trifling a ſum, as, he apprehended, would afford to the honourable Baronet no ground of objection. The nomination of the Commiſſioners would naturally be left to the Crown.

Mr. POWYS ſaid, that from the active intereſt they had taken

in the business, the nomination ought to belong to the House of Commons.

Sir WILLIAM MILNER thought that the right of nominating the Commissioners ought not to be taken from the Prince. The particular arrangement was left for future discussion.

Mr. POWYS said, that a statement of the debts had been laid on the table; the provision, however, with respect to their liquidation, was so worded as to have the effect to bind the House to pay those debts to an unlimited amount.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER said, that the account of the debts had been made up with as much accuracy as possible; it was necessary, however, that a little latitude should be allowed, as it would be extremely difficult to fix the sum with absolute precision. It would not, however, be found to exceed the statement by above 3,000l. It was proposed and adopted that the amount of the debts to be paid should be fixed in the preamble at a sum not exceeding 650,000l.

Mr. CURWEN suggested, whether it would not be better for the Public to borrow a sum of money to pay off the debts at once, and in lieu to take the annuity which was by the present bill to be appropriated to the creditors.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the provision was so worded as to leave it open to the Public to pay off the debts at any time, when money might be borrowed at a lower rate of interest than it could be had at present.

General SMITH adverted to the peculiarly hard situation of the Princess of Wales, and proposed that a separate provision should be made for her Royal Highness.

Colonel STANLEY said, as he could not consent to any farther burdens being laid on the Public, he should propose the provision to her Royal Highness to be made out of the 60,000l. to be allotted for the expenditure of the Prince.

Mr. Chancellor PITT and Mr. FOX both reprobated the idea of any separate provision being made for her Royal Highness out of the income of the Prince, as he conceived that he would be disposed to set aside, out of the sum allotted him, whatever proportion could with propriety be granted, for the ease and comfort of her Royal Highness.

Mr. ADDINGTON (the Speaker) thought that the most delicate and respectful mode of proceeding would be to add a sum to the present income intended for the Prince, which should be understood to be in the nature of a provision for the use of her Royal Highness. It was understood that this business should be farther debated on the Report.

The Committee then proceeded in the discussion of the clauses of the bill, in several of which the blanks were filled up, and the clauses read and agreed to.

Correct List of the MINORITY who voted on Mr. FOX's Motion to defer the second Reading of the Austrian Loan Bill.

| | |
|---|---|
| Aubrey, Sir John | Clitheroe |
| Barclay, George | Bridport |
| Basset, Sir Francis | Penryn |
| Bouverie, Hon. Edward | Northampton |
| Burch, J. R. | Thetford |
| Church, J. B. | Wendover |
| Courtenay, John | Tamworth |
| Curwen, J. Christian | Carlisle |
| Fox, Right Hon. C. J. | Westminster |
| Francis, Philip | Blechingly |
| Harcourt, John | Ilchester |
| Hare, James | Knaresborough |
| Hussey, William | New Sarum |
| Lambton, William Henry | Durham |
| Lechmere, Edmund | Worcester |
| Lemon, Sir William | Cornwall County |
| Martin, James | Tewkesbury |
| North, Dudley | Great Grimsby |
| Plumer, William | Hertfordshire |
| Ridley, Sir M. W. | Newcastle-upon-Tyne |
| Robinson, M. | Boroughbridge |
| Russell, Lord John | Tavistock |
| Russell, Lord William | Surry County |
| Shuckburgh, Sir G. A. W. | Warwickshire |
| Smith, Richard | Wareham |
| Smith, William | Camelford |
| Spencer, Lord Robert | Wareham |
| Tarleton, General | Liverpool |
| Western, C. C. | Malden |
| Whitbread, Samuel, jun. | Bedford |
| Wyndham, Hon. P. C. | Midhurst. |

TELLERS.

| | |
|---|---|
| General Tarleton | Liverpool |
| William Smith | Camelford. |

*Thursday, [illegible] June.*

[illegible] the Committee after a few observations against it from Mr. M. Robinson. The Report was ordered [illegible] to-morrow.

Mr. WHITBREAD observed, that on account of the lateness of the session, he must defer to the next, his intended motion with

regard to a bill for ascertaining, by returns from parish officers, the quantity of arable land in England and Wales.

The SPEAKER informed the House, that returns had been received, giving accounts of the different persons who are now confined in different gaols of this kingdom, in consequence of processes issued out of the ecclesiastical Courts.

Mr. FOX observed, that differences of opinion might arise on the appointment of Sir Gilbert Elliot to the office of Viceroy of Corsica. It was a question also, how far it was consistent with the principles of our Constitution for the Crown to annex any thing to its dominion without the authority of Parliament: these were points which he should not now discuss, but he apprehended, that by accepting that office Sir Gilbert Elliot vacated his seat in that House. This was clear from the act of Parliament passed in the time of Queen Anne, and from various authorities which it was needless for him to mention, and therefore he should move, "That the Speaker do issue his warrant to the clerk of the Crown for a new writ to be issued for the election of a Burgess to serve in Parliament for the borough of Hellstone, in the county of Cornwall, in the room of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baronet, who since his election has accepted of the office of Viceroy of Corsica."—Ordered.

Lord SHEFFIELD moved for leave to present a petition. He observed, that it was unnecessary to go at length into the particulars of the devastation which had taken place in the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, but that, in another stage of the business, proofs would be brought forward of the general mischief which was likely to arise from the calamity in question. That when it was first proposed to give relief by Exchequer bills, he felt great difficulty in resorting again so soon to that measure; but that afterwards, having an opportunity of more complete information, he was convinced there was great danger of widely-extended bankruptcy, which would greatly affect the manufactures and commerce of this country, and that unless such relief was given as would re-establish the plantations in the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, the advantage of a produce, equal to a million yearly, would be lost to this country, and also the revenue arising from such [illegible]. That he knew several very eminent houses had accepted bills, which, in consequence of the failure of returns from these islands, could not be paid. That the amount of [illegible] was very great, and the failure of those houses would involve in ruin many great [illegible] in London, Liverpool, and Glasgow. He therefore thought it his duty to recommend the case of the merchants and planters to the [illegible]

tention of the House; and to move that the petition should be referred to the consideration of a select Committee.

The Petition of the Merchants, connected with, and trading to, the islands of Grenada and Saint Vincent, was then presented to the House, and read, setting forth,

That the recent calamities which have befallen the said islands, and the consequences with which they are, or must be, attended, compel the petitioners to apply to the House [illegible] may, in some degree, alleviate their misfortunes. That these calamities have been occasioned by insurrections of the French inhabitants, and the people of colour, in both the said islands, joined in Saint Vincent by the Caribs, and although it is to be hoped, that [illegible] the most futile [illegible] equal degree, yet every estate must be materially injured by the [illegible] of the Managers and Overseers, who, in the [illegible] of the crop, assembled a militia for the defence of the [illegible], and that the petitioners had [illegible] to expect an importation of produce to a very large amount, which would have enabled them to have fulfilled various engagements, which, [illegible] their concern in business, they had entered into, and, [illegible] of different articles from this country will be required for [illegible] the estates, the petitioners will be unable, without the aid of the House, either to fulfill such engagements or furnish such supplies, [illegible] the petitioners compute, that the clear value of the produce from Grenada and Saint Vincent has been equal to one million [illegible], [illegible] proportion of such produce can now be expected, they [illegible] begin to feel the pressure so serious a [illegible], by the effect which it hath produced upon their credit in the commercial world, and therefore praying the House to take their case into immediate consideration, and to grant such relief as to the House may seem proper.

Mr. Chancellor PITT seconded the motion. He entered at large into the merits of the bill passed two years ago for the relief of our commercial credit. He expatiated on the beneficial effects of that bill, and expressed himself of opinion that something upon the same principle should be adopted in the present case. He maintained that no blame was imputable to the merchants who made this application, nor would any be found to attach to Government if an inquiry was to be instituted. The calamity which had befallen the islands was unforeseen and unavoidable. The general course of West India property was such as to require considerable time in its [illegible], and as this business was of great importance, he was of opinion that legislative aid, in the way he had already mentioned, should be granted to the present petitioners; and he had [illegible] confidence in the good effects which it would produce from the experience he had had already of the effects of the bill to which he alluded. He chose to open this business generally, in order that the House might be apprised at once of the nature of the sub-

Mr. WILBERFORCE complimented the Minister upon the regard he had always shewn for the public money, but thought this a matter of too much public importance for him to hazard an opinion without much examination. He should therefore first inquire into the merits of the case, and then take such steps as should appear to him to be dictated by his public duty.

Mr. FOX said, that among the many and various calamities which this war had already heaped upon us, beyond any thing of which the whole history of the country furnished an example, this was a striking instance. He could not help lamenting that we were going on with a war that would heap upon us still farther calamities of the nature to which the petition alluded. When the bill for the relief of our commercial credit was proposed, he doubted the expediency of it, because, if reliefs of this kind were to be granted whenever they were asked, every one must see what the influence of the Minister must be with all persons connected with commercial dealings. The present petition proved to him the truth of this observation, for he could not but recollect how often he had been told in private by persons of considerable importance in public affairs, "We have West-India property, and we must support Administration." Here was at once an explanation of the cause of the support given by commercial men to the measures of the King's Ministers: they apprehended that their own circumstances might be in danger, and therefore in order to have parliamentary aid in their embarrassment, they sanctioned with their voices what they disapproved in their hearts. If this system continued to be acted upon, he would venture to say, that we might indeed have the form and name of a Constitution, but the spirit of it would be gone, and there would not remain among us even the vestige of liberty, for there would not be a man remaining, who had any commercial dealings, who would venture to speak his mind upon public affairs, from fear of disobliging the Minister, whose favour he was likely to stand in need of. Every war in its nature tended to increase the influence of the Ministers of this country, but this in a greater degree than all former wars; for day after day it introduced innovation upon innovation, such as the boldest man, who had any regard for liberty, could not behold without the most alarming apprehensions: for of all innovations on the principles of liberty, these were the most dangerous which were silent in their effect, and gradual in their progress. Such measures as the present were, in his apprehension, much more dangerous to the Constitution of this country, than any abuse of the election of Members to serve in Parliament, great even as that evil might be. If, in the common course of war, the West-India islands should

fall into the hands of the enemy, he wished to know in what respect that case could be distinguished in point of principle from the present application? and he wished to know what ground there was for us to be assured that even that misfortune may not befall us? The Minister had said there was no blame to be attached to the merchants who made this application. He would dare to say not, except in the circumstance of not having opposed that which brought on their misfortune; and he hinted too that no blame would attach to Ministers if the subject was inquired into, and yet this very inquiry the Minister had always refused to grant. He would say again, what he had often said, that there was much to blame, that Ministers had been grossly negligent in that quarter, as well as in many other parts of the world, and he trusted that a new House of Commons, or, perhaps, even this House of Commons, would be of that way of thinking, for he believed such long to have been the opinion of the Public. Such was the opinion in the West Indies—Such he verily believed to be the opinion of the very men who signed this petition, an opinion which they would have expressed long ago, had they not foreseen that they might be under the necessity of asking such a boon as this from Government. He then desired the House to consider the nature of West India property, and to pause before they proceeded upon this business. Above all, he hoped that the House would recollect its own resolution with regard to the abolition of the slave trade; and he trusted that no measure would be adopted by Parliament, to give aid to the purchase of slaves, for that would be in the last degree disgraceful to the House. He saw a number of difficulties in this business, and he lamented that the lateness of the session made it impossible that it should be discussed in a House properly attended. He was afraid it would succeed in Parliament, if countenanced by the Minister; but it was his intention to give it his decided negative.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS approved of this measure highly, and took occasion to enlarge very much on the beneficial effects of the bill passed two years ago, to support our commercial credit. No country upon earth but Great Britain was capable of such energy. [illegible] none of the evils which the right honourable gentleman had predicted: on the contrary, he thought they would turn out in [illegible] same way as those he had anticipated, when he opposed the former bill. It had been said, that at least five millions would be [illegible] the support of the plan in the former commercial credit bill; only two millions and an half had been called for, yet now credit was entirely restored, and the country in a state of highest prosperity. He maintained that this was not a new mea-

ſure, for many years ago, it had been adopted at St. Kitt's, Barbadoes, and Jamaica; nay more, in that caſe large ſums of money had been granted, and here we were only to add to the ſecurity of the merchants, and to guarantee payment. He thought there was nothing to fear from the influence which Miniſters would gain by doing a meritorious action, ſo loudly called for by the exigency of the caſe. He denied entirely the truth of any one aſſertion, of the negligence of Adminiſtration, with reſpect to the ſafety of the Weſt Indies. He was perfectly ready to inveſtigate that buſineſs, and he maintained that no ſpecific complaint in that reſpect had ever been made.

Mr. FOX obſerved that he had made complaints on this very point, among many others, when he moved for a Committee of Inquiry on the ſtate of the nation. He was ready to go into it any time, and he was ready to prove, if the inquiry was granted, that the force ſent under Sir Charles Grey was inadequate to its object; but Miniſters had refuſed to grant the inquiry, and it was a little too much now to aſſert that there was no complaint made, for complaint had been made, and inquiry refuſed by Miniſters.

Mr. M. ROBINSON concurred in opinion with Mr. Fox, and attributed the Miniſter's large majorities in that Houſe to ſuch increaſing influence.

Sir W. PULTENEY was in favour of the petition, and commended the Miniſter for giving it ſupport.

Mr. TAYLOR wiſhed rather they ſhould be aſſiſted with money than credit. He ſaid, a ſtrong aſſertion was of weight in that Houſe; he ſhould meet the aſſertion of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) with as ſtrong a one – at no one period was the Weſt-India iſlands more neglected.

General TARLETON ſaid he ſhould vote for the petition being referred to a Committee, but ſhould apply afterwards to his conſtituents, many of whom were, he believed, convinced that the Miniſter had ruined great part of our commerce.

Mr. HUSSEY thought this was a buſineſs which required much deliberation.

Mr. Alderman CURTIS thought the propoſed meaſure indiſpenſably neceſſary.

Sir W. DOLBEN thought the Miniſters were laudably attentive to all the iſlands except Cape Breton, to which, with every endeavour, he was unable to draw their attention. Its late worthy excellent Lieutenant-Governor had failed for two years paſt to obtain it from them, and as he had no other means of bringing the ſubject before the Public, he ſhould on Monday next move for an

account of all the proceedings respecting that settlement since its institution in 1784, to be referred to a Committee.

Mr. Chancellor PITT explained, that Government had thought proper to retain its own opinion against that of the [illegible] Baronet, in respect to the propriety of admitting [illegible] by the Lieutenant Governor alluded to.

The motion was then agreed to, the select C[illegible], and the House adjourned.

[illegible]

The bill for [illegible] by temple bar, after some slight opposition from Mr [illegible], was read a third time and passed.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply.

On the question [illegible] granted on account of the expences [illegible] the marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Mr. POWYS said, that [illegible] part of the expence actually incurred on account of the marriage, it was one of those unfortunate transactions, which the House could not look to without grief and shame. After the message, however, which the Prince had given to the House [illegible] his future conduct, it must be the general wish [illegible] forward than to look backward. He must nevertheless remark, that there was no precedent of any such sum having been granted for the marriage expences of the Prince of Wales as was now required, and he thought that before such a demand was made, some special ground ought to have been laid on the present occasion. Some gentlemen had expressed their surprise that His Majesty had not come forward to grant some assistance to the Prince. He had not touched on that topic, because he was persuaded, that if there had existed the means, His Majesty would certainly have interfered to have prevented the Prince from being reduced to so humiliating a situation.

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that he could not produce any precedent of a sum having been granted for marriage expences, but it had been usual to grant a sum to a Prince of Wales, when he first engaged in an establishment.

The sum was then voted, as also a sum of 25,000l. for finishing the repairs of Carlton House.

The House being resumed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, that there should be laid on the table, a copy of the report to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury from the Commissioners appointed for the issue of certain Exchequer bills.

He faid, that laft year a relief had been granted by an Exchequer loan to the commercial intereft of this country, as a demand for a fimilar relief was now made by the merchants of Grenada, he wifhed the report to be laid on the table, in order that the Houfe might be qualified to judge of the effects of the former meafure. The report was brought up, and ordered to be laid on the table.

On the report being brought up of the bill granting a jointure to her Royal Highnefs the Princefs of Wales,

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY faid, that he fhould propofe to introduce a claufe on the third reading, granting this jointure to her Royal Highnefs, in bar of any claim fhe might have to a dower from the Dutchy of Cornwall.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER did not fee any reafon why a different claufe fhould be introduced in the prefent inftance, from what had been adopted on former occafions.

General SMITH faid, that the widow of the Black Prince had a dower from the Dutchy of Cornwall.

The report was then agreed to.

The report of the Select Committee appointed to examine into the petition of the merchants of Grenada, was brought up and ordered to be taken into confideration on Monday next.—Adjourned.

*Monday, 15th June.*

On reading the order of the day on the bill for the more expeditious and punctual payment of certain officers of the navy,

Mr. JEKYLL adverted to what he had faid on a former occafion relative to the officers of the marines. He wifhed, if in the courfe of official arrangements it could be done, that the fame provifion as that now before the Houfe fhould be extended to the marines.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS obferved, that this did not properly come under his department in office; any advice, or affiftance, however, which he could give, he was ready to offer, if any gentleman fhould come forward with any official regulation upon that fubject.

The bill was then read a third time and paffed.

The report of the Committee on the petition of the merchants of Grenada and St. Vincent's being brought up, [illegible] Houfe refolved itfelf into a Committee of the whole Houfe to [illegible] of the [illegible] of the report.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ftated that, as the Houfe were [illegible] fo fully in poffeffion of all the circumftances on which the [illegible] founded, it would be unneceffary for him to fay any thing [illegible]

He therefore contented himſelf with moving a reſolution, for leave to bring in a bill to enable His Majeſty to direct the iſſuing of Exchequer bills to the amount of one million and an half, to be iſſued to Commiſſioners, to be by them advanced under certain regulations and reſtrictions for the accommodation of certain merchants and other perſons connected with and trading to the iſlands of Grenada and St. Vincent's, who ſhall be deſirous to receive them for a time to be limited.

General SMITH wiſhed to know why the ſum granted was to be a million and a half, as he underſtood that the ſum was only a million.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY ſaid, that he underſtood alſo that a million would be ſufficient, but as it was impoſſible to know exactly, the better way would be to name a million and a half. The Commiſſioners were by no means bound to iſſue that ſum, although they had the power.

Mr. Chancellor PITT ſaid, that from the experience we had of the meaſure which paſſed two years ago, for the ſupport of commercial credit, he truſted the Houſe would be ready to agree to this propoſition. The real ſum which might be wanted might be leſs than the ſum now propoſed, but he thought that ſhould be left, under all the circumſtances, to the diſcretion of the Commiſſioners to be authoriſed to act under the bill.

Mr. M. ROBINSON ſaid a few words.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS vindicated the aſſertions which he formerly made with regard to the care which Government had taken to ſend adequate forces to the Weſt Indies, and maintained that the calamities which befel the inhabitants there were unforeſeen and unavoidable. He then enumerated the troops ſent from time to time to the Weſt Indies, to corroborate what he had aſſerted. The whole of the troops ſent thither were 20,206 men.

Mr. FOX ſaid, there was no doubt of the number ſent; but the queſtion was, whether the force was adequate to the object? If, for inſtance, he were to ſay, after voting a larger ſupply than at any former period, that no more could be wanted, he apprehended the Miniſters would ſay that this was not the way to argue fairly; but the queſtion was not whether the ſupply already granted was or was not larger than any former ſupply, but whether it was large enough for the purpoſes which the Executive Government had in view? Juſt ſo was the caſe here, the queſtion not being whether the force was larger than any before ſent to the Weſt Indies, but whether it was adequate to the object we had in view. Under [illegible] and juſt conſideration of all the circumſtances, taking it in that

view, he would maintain again, that the force fent to the Weft Indies was inadequate to the protection of the iflands, and that they were too long kept back. Minifters had had three objects in view at the fame time: the keeping poffeffion of Toulon, the landing of an army on the coaft of France, and the conquering of the French Weft-India iflands. They had not facrificed any one of thefe projects for the purpofe of carrying into execution the remaining two; but by purfuing each at once, had failed in all. It was not that he complained of the number of the troops fent out, but of the period at which they were fent out, and of the manner in which they had been diftributed on the different iflands. Martinique was taken; yet the force left upon the ifland was, he contended, inadequate to the prefervation of it. If, however, the Houfe would confent to go into a Committee of Inquiry, they would then fee whether proper attention had, or had not, been paid to the Weft-India iflands.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS pofitively denied that the force under Sir Charles Grey was inadequate to the execution of the plan on which he had been fent out. The original plan extended to the conqueft not only of the Windward iflands, but of the ifland of St. Domingo, fo that after the troops were withdrawn from Sir Charles Grey's expedition, there were abundantly fufficient for the reduction of the Windward iflands only, and the confequence was, that the iflands fell. With refpect to the fubfequent lofs of them, he would only remark, that fo far was Sir Charles Grey from apprehending any danger, that he was on his return home. On the misfortune at Guadaloupe he would not dwell—he could not without incurring the fufpicion of partiality advert to the whole of that tranfaction, but would barely mention, that Sir Charles Grey faid, if General Dundas had not died, the ifland of Guadaloupe would not have been loft. Befides, the unparalleled mortality among the troops tended to leave the iflands more defencelefs.

Mr. FOX, alluding to the opinion that had been expreffed by Sir Charles Grey, faid, that he fhould like to afk that gallant General's opinion from himfelf. The Secretary of State had feemed to hint that there was blame fomewhere. He wifhed to know where that blame was; and that the right honourable gentleman would not deal in dark infinuations. The real fault was, that the Minifters had uniformly proceeded in a fuppofition that a lefs force would do, than experience had proved was neceffary.

Mr. ST. JOHN went over the circumftances of the campaign in the Weft Indies, and agreed with Mr. Fox, that our forces there were inadequate to our object. He wifhed very much for an inquiry into this bufinefs, and but for the latenefs of the feffion he

should move for the production of a number of papers that would convey to the House a great deal of information upon this matter. He affirmed, that the British islands were left entirely unprotected, to conquer St. Domingo. And he challenged Ministers to call forward any one man belonging to the West Indies who would say that those islands had received such protection as the interests of Great Britain required.

The question was then put and carried, and the report of the Committee was ordered to be received to-morrow.

Sir WILLIAM DOLBEN said, he rose to move for certain papers respecting the colony of Cape Breton, which had been neglected beyond any other belonging to Great Britain ever since the year 1787, when Lieutenant Governor Debardt was recalled to answer charges preferred against him by some of the inhabitants—He came over in 1, [illegible] and could get no satisfaction, though he had [illegible] from week to week and month to month, [illegible]. Sir William stated, that he himself and others, not merely for the [illegible] but for the interest of the Public, also applied [illegible], but in vain—he therefore brought forward [illegible] the remonstrance of that gentleman, and [illegible] had expended for Government [illegible]—His motion was, "That "there be [illegible] appointment of Lieutenant-"Governor [illegible] to Ministers—the remon-"strances [illegible]—[illegible] letters of recal—and "the correspondence [illegible] Governor who succeeded "him."

Mr. [illegible] said, that if the object of the motion was pecuniary [illegible], he would make no objection to bringing them forward [illegible] Governor Debardt and his accounts had undergone a full and regular investigation by the Commissioners for auditing the public accounts, and were decided up to so late a period as October 1793, and the balance determined; but since that Governor Debardt had given in fresh demands, and there was a determination against him, so that all proper attention had been given to his demands by the different departments under whom it properly came. In order to shew the House what grounds there were for the motion, and particularly for what fell from the honourable Baronet on the point of pecuniary claims, he would read some extracts from the Commissioners' report—this he accordingly did, and the tenor of them appeared to be clearly against the demands of the Governor.

Mr. COURTENAY thought, that the character of Governor

Derbadt was unjustly implicated in the report just read. He [illegible] that there did not exist in that House, or any where, a gentleman of greater honour and integrity, or one who had better served his country. He had served under General Wolfe, and lost his rank by pursuing surveys of the coast of Nova Scotia, which were acknowledged to be of the greatest [illegible] by all naval officers, and particularly by Lord Howe, who wrote him a letter, thanking him for them, as they [illegible] and saved many ships. He was also [illegible] the Marquis Townshend and Colonel [illegible], as a man of [illegible].

Mr Chancellor [illegible] from report, to the good char[acter] of Governor Derbadt, but said that point was not [illegible].

Mr. WIN[DHAM] [illegible] bore honourable testimony to the Governor's character.

Mr FO[X] [illegible].

On a division, [illegible]

For it, [illegible] Against it, 64—Majority, 40.

The order of [the day] being moved, which was for the third reading of the bill for a loan of four millions six hundred thousand pounds to the Emperor of Germany,

Mr. FOX observed, that this measure had always been in his mind a profligate waste of the money of the people of this country; and what had [illegible] him in that opinion was the surrender of Luxembourg. It [became] the House now to consider very seriously indeed, whether, after the Emperor had lost one of the most important fortresses in Europe, every nerve which he [could] employ, could, in any material degree, be favourable to us [against] the French in the present contest? Whether, after the taking of that fortress [on] the seventh of this month, a season which in other times, we had been used to call the middle, but now hardly the beginning of a campaign, there were any rational hopes of any successful operations on the part of the Emperor against the French? This was not all; there were reports of the cessation of hostilities, which might be proper to be inquired into; and also a report that there was a new alliance b[etwe]en this country, Austria, and Russia. He knew he might be told, that this subject was not now before the House. He hoped, however, [if it] existed, it would [be] laid before us immediately, or not [until] the next session; not [as] the subsidy to the King of Sardinia, brought forward at the [illegible] Parliament, and hurried through the House. This was, [in his] mind, a serious and an alarming thing; there were persons who believed that the consequence of such an alliance would be a [illegible]

[illegible] the two Imperial Powers and Pruſſia. Whether ſuch an alliance were right or wrong, he would not preſume to determine; he ſhould only ſay, he was ſorry to believe that there were ſome perſons, who called themſelves politicians, who were ſo ſhort-ſighted as to think ſuch a connection advantageous at all events to this country. But, for his own part, he entertained a very different opinion; for he could not help believing, that ſuch a war as this alliance might produce muſt involve one half of Europe, and he could not help looking with great anxiety and concern at the condition of ſo large a part of mankind, if the horrors and calamities of war were to be thus extended, and the proſpect of peace to be placed at ſo great a diſtance. He knew, he ſaid, that theſe points were not now immediately before the Houſe, but the reflections were ſo natural, that he could not help alluding to them, even in this ſtage of the preſent bill, for, from the events which we had juſt heard of, it was impoſſible for any man who did not deceive himſelf with ſanguine views, to think that Auſtria could be equal to France in this conteſt. If this war was to be carried on, we muſt have ſome farther ſupport than merely that of the Emperor againſt France, and this muſt put that peace which was ſo deſirable to all, far off indeed. We were told, every day, of the great diſtreſſes of France: and he believed that they [illegible] to a certain degree: but he never could look with pleaſure on the proſecution of a war, when the queſtion between the parties was, who could hold out under ſevere preſſure, and bear great diſtreſs the longeſt? Such a determination was too dreadful even to think of. He had heard, that, with reſpect to our own proſpect of diſtreſs, the accounts were exaggerated. He wiſhed to hear a ſtatement of facts that would lead him to be[illegible] that ſuch was really the caſe. But he knew that the diſtr[illegible] France from the ſcarcity and high price of proviſions was not likely to be felt alſo in this country, and that for a conſiderable time, even although the evil ſhould not in reality be equal to the accounts of it, for we all knew what mighty miſchief monopoly was capable of creating. He could not let paſs this opportunity of delivering his ſentiments. He wiſhed at all times that we ſhould avoid, as much as poſſible, the calamities of war, always dreadful, but now much more ſo as every part of Europe was likely ſoon to feel the [illegible] of pro[illegible] [illegible] theſe ſerious and, to him, alarming apprehenſions, he [illegible] it his duty to oppoſe this bill in its laſt ſtage.

[illegible] and the bill was read a third time, paſſed, [illegible] ordered to be carried to the Lords.

[illegible] Houſe then proceeded to conſider the Report on the bill

for an establishment to the Prince of Wales, liquidating his debts, &c.

Some conversation took place, whether a separate provision should be made for the Princess out of the 60,000l. allotted to his Royal Highness, or the 65,000l. appropriated for the liquidation of debts, on which the House divided.

For taking the sum from the 65,000l.

Ayes, 81; Noes, 12.

After this, strangers were excluded for a considerable time, during which one or two divisions took place on different clauses.—Upon the re admission into the gallery, General Smith was moving a clause empowering the Commissioners to inquire into the amount of the revenue arising from the Dutchy of Cornwall during the minority of the Prince, with a view of its being applicable to the liquidation of his debts *

The ATTORNEY GENERAL began with admitting, that he had not been quite accurate in the statement which he had formerly given on the subject. The Dutchy of Cornwall was a tenure neither held by Knights service nor by soccage; it was of a nature so peculiar, as it was very difficult for him to describe. He apologized that he could not go minutely into the question, as in

* The following is an account of the several sums paid from the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall, during the minority of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in pursuance of His Majesty's warrants, countersigned by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, with the dates of such warrants.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] July, 1763, | 12,000 | 0 | 0 |
| [illegible] May, 1765, | 20,000 | 0 | 0 |
| [illegible] July, 1766, | 16,478 | 11 | 2 |
| 8th July, 1768, | 12,500 | 0 | 0 |
| 17th April, 1769, | 11,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 6th April, 1770, | 17,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 3d April, 1771, | 8,700 | 0 | 0 |
| 16th April, 1772, | 13,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 23d May, 1773, | [illegible] | 0 | 0 |
| 4th August, 1774, | 8,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 24th April, 1775, | [illegible] | 0 | 0 |
| 17th April, 1776, | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 29th May, 1777, | [illegible] | 0 | 0 |
| 16th April, 1778, | [illegible] | 0 | 0 |
| 16th April, 1779, | [illegible] | 0 | 0 |
| 26th June, 1780, | [illegible] | [illegible] | 0 |
| 21st May, 1781, | [illegible] | 0 | [illegible] |
| 25th March, 1782, | [illegible] | 0 | 0 |
| 7th May, 1783, | [illegible] | 0 | [illegible] |

the station which he held, it might be necessary for him to discuss the question, in opposition to those who supported the right of the Prince. He described it as a fund, set apart by the Legislature, for the support of the State and dignity of the Prince of Wales—who had very properly been represented as *Major a die nativitates.* In support of this opinion, he went through the different cases which had been brought forward. The question of the right of the Prince he confessed to be exceedingly difficult. If this was a fund for the support of the Prince of Wales from the period of his birth, the King, as his natural guardian, had the disposal of that fund during his minority. The difficulty was increased by the long period which had intervened since that minority, which would render any claim on the part of the Prince extremely doubtful in the decision, if it was still proper to bring it forward.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he wished only to state a few practical points relating to the question. If there existed any claim, it was a claim upon the Public. The revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall had been applied to the civil list; as such, they had been recognized by Parliament, but the debts of that civil list had been more than once paid. It was next to be considered how far, in point of substantial justice, any thing was due from the Public to the Prince of Wales. If this was a fund for the support of the State and dignity of the Prince of Wales, it was certainly intended that the appropriation of this fund should prevent any expence from falling either upon the civil list, or the Public. The Public would then have a right to set off against the amount of the income, during the minority, any expence which might have been incurred on account of his Royal Highness. It was [illegible] to calculate the expence during his infancy; from 1771 to 1783, the expence of his education had amounted to 80,000l. with an extraordinary expence of 3000l. for some years; (the education of the Duke of York was included, but as the same preceptors would have been necessary for the Prince, this made but a trifling addition to the Prince;) in 1783 a sum of 60,000l. had been granted him to defray the expences of his outset; and afterwards, in 1787, his debts had been paid to the amount of 219,000l. All these sums taken together amounted to upwards of 300,000l. and would be to be deducted from the proceeds of the Dutchy of Cornwall, if these should be adjudged to be due to him during his minority. He conceived the present discussion to have no other effect than that of stirring a difficult and abstruse question, without any chance of practical benefit, either to the Prince or the Public. He remarked that neither the Prince himself, his creditors, nor Parliament, had

at all proceeded upon a supposition of any such sum being due to him.

Mr. FOX said, that he saw the business in a very different light; and that even if the assumptions of the right honourable gentleman were right, he thought a very opposite conclusion was to be drawn from them. What the honourable and learned gentleman had stated of the law, had only confirmed him in his former opinion upon the subject. He had stated that this was a fund granted for the support of the State and dignity of the Prince of Wales, but this was not the only fund conceived to be necessary, since afterwards the principality of Wales, and the Earldom of Chester, were granted for the same purpose. He paid the right honourable gentleman some compliments for his dexterity in making out a bill of the expences of the education of the Prince of Wales, he had thrown those of the Duke of York into the bargain. He conceived what had been urged, that the expences would fall upon the Public, to be a most unseemly argument. Natural feeling suggested, that the King, like every other father, ought to be chargeable with the education of his own son, and, because Parliament had paid a debt of the civil list, to the amount of 600,000l. it was not to be inferred, though it might probably have been the case, that they would, with the same ease and facility, have paid a debt of 800,000l. When the honourable and learned gentleman laid so much stress upon the delay that had taken place in urging the claim, he thought that he was disposed to plead the statute of limitations. He conceived it to be of the utmost importance to ascertain what was due to the Prince, at a moment when they were complaining of his debts, and boasting of the liberality which they had shewn in their conduct to him.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL commented on the delicate manner in which the Prince had submitted to the judgement and directions of that House, and observed, in reply to the arguments of the right honourable gentleman, that the House had formerly acted upon the consideration of His Majesty's applying the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall to the civil list, as was evinced by their proceedings upon it, nor could he think the Prince had any interest in the present motion. He concluded that the Prince's claim, if he had any, ought to be left to a Court of Law; a remedy to which it would not be for the Prince's honour to resort.

Sir WILLIAM MILNER lamented the very unpleasant situation into which the House was put, but thought that those who said they voted for 125,000l. as a proper income for the Prince, without any view to his having debts to pay, ought not to urge the

largeness of the sum as a bar to any just claim the Prince might have to the revenue of the Dutchy during his minority.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that from the mode of proceeding adopted by the House, the Prince's character was implicated in the question, inasmuch as it would decide whether or not he could pay his debts, and assume the splendour befitting his station in any reasonable time. His income he received originally burdened with pensions to the amount of 8,000l. a year, and deducting rent and taxes, the whole sum left him by the bill, even including the sum just voted for the privy purse of the Princess, would not exceed 18,000l. a year. To this sum he was to be restricted for ten years, obliged to dismiss gentlemen from his service, who, perhaps, had formed their dependance upon him, and unable to appropriate any thing to benevolence or charity. The House were making themselves trustees for his whole property, and in that character they were bound in honour to inquire what money was due to him, as well as what debts he owed. As to the expences of his Royal Highness's education, he said, the right honourable gentleman had exaggerated them, and had forgotten that the statements lay upon the table, delivered at a former period According to them, from the 5th of January 1770, to the 5th of January 1777, the sum total amounted to 42,242l., and as to the pretence attempted to be established, that nearly that sum must have been alone expended in the education and establishment of his Royal Highness, exclusive of his Royal brother, he could not see how any solid and rational argument could be substantiated upon it. He was at a loss to know why the Bishop of Osnaburg should come in [illegible]der upon the Prince's learning, to pick up the dry crums of [illegible] Unless the Prince, therefore, swallowed three times as mu[illegible]ek as his brother, and took up a larger portion of dancing, he could not tell why the half of that sum should not be attributed to the education of the Duke of York. Reckoning, however, 25,000l. for the Prince out of it, the receipts of the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall, during the same interval, amounted to 95,450l. so that the expenditure for the maintenance and education of his Royal [illegible] not form a third part of his income. The 60,000l. vote[illegible] was not voted for the Prince, but generally in aid of the civil [illegible], and the Prince did not receive more than 20,000l. [illegible] As [illegible] other [illegible]60,000l. which Parliament granted in [illegible] had to [illegible] what [illegible]fore stated, that 80,000l. of it [illegible] for the rebuilding [illegible] [illegible]niture of Carlton House, which [illegible] was [illegible] for habitation. Since Carlton House, therefore, [illegible] to be considered as the property of the nation, or rather as the

property of His Majesty, and disposable with all the furniture, perhaps by him to-morrow, he blamed the right honourable gentleman for including those sums in his account of the expenditure. On a fair calculation, it would be found that the Prince had not received more than 100,000l. over and above his regular income; and the revenue of the Dutchy of Cornwall, with interest, during his minority, would amount to 500,000l. He did not see how the House could appoint Commissioners to pay his debts, without looking into so large a sum due to him.

Mr. WILLIAM GRANT shewed that the Dutchy of Cornwall materially differed from soccage, and a tenure in chivalry, and was a tenure *sui generis* alone. By the statute of Edward III. it was granted for "the sustentation of the princely estate," and hence it was evident that the Royal heir was peculiarly distinguished, and during his minority was considered as the pupil of the nation. In knight service the inheritor possesses the estate immediately on the death of the tenant, and thenceforward the award is made, but the death of the tenant must be first supposed, before there can be any claim.—Now, in respect to the inheritance of the Dutchy, there is no death, nor supposition of a death, required, for it is, *bona fide*, the property of the King, until a son be born, and then he preserves it at discretion, apportioning as much of it as may be needful for the education of the Prince. Here, too, the obligation of the father differs from all common obligations of a similar nature, which appears to be the direct tendency of the grant for making the Prince the pupil of the nation; for although the King would certainly possess as much paternal care for the education of one child as another, and although in chivalry, where a son inherits an estate in his own right, the father is obliged to maintain and educate him for a certain term of years, yet the Dutchy of Cornwall seems to be given especially with a view to this distinction in the eldest son of the King. Hence he conceived that Mr. Fox's arguments did not apply, and that the King might appropriate whatever sums he pleased for his own use, till the period of the delivery of the Dutchy, when the Prince was of age. There was no trace of any account rendered on this subject; and he was of opinion, that to unravel the whole of this proceeding would neither contribute to the character of the Prince, nor to that of Parliament.

Mr. FOX said, that if the whole of the receipts had been applied to the expences of the Prince's education, the King was still accountable.

Mr. SHERIDAN observed, that it interested the character of the Prince, not to lay any additional burden on the Public. [illegible]

[illegible] were fairly laid at the door of the civil list, he would answer [illegible] Public should never be troubled on this subject.

General SMITH contended strongly for the Prince's right as having suffered by no lapse of time. The arrears of claimants, he observed, had lately been paid by that House after a lapse of 45 years.

Mr. Chancellor PITT repeated his assertion, that the people had no interest in the discussion. If the charges against the civil list were made good, they must of course be paid by the Public.

The House divided: the numbers were on General Smith's motion,

Ayes 40, Noes 97. Majority 57

Another division took place on the proposition for making the 5000l. to the Princess liable to the payment of debts.

The House divided Noes 131
[Nobody went out but the Tellers.] Ayes ——

The remaining clauses of the bill were gone through with the amendments.—Ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time on Wednesday next, if then engrossed.

Sir W. PULTENEY moved for leave to bring in a bill, to prevent the Prince of Wales, and all future Princes of Wales, from getting into debt so as to affect the Public in the payment of such debts.

Mr. POWYS seconded the motion.

Leave was granted, and Sir W. Pulteney, Mr. Powys, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Secretary Dundas, ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

Under the motion of Mr. Chancellor PITT, the bill for allowing a jointure to the Princess of Wales was ordered to be read a third time on Wednesday next, if then engrossed.

*Tuesday, 16th June.*

The order of the day being read for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the papers relative to the affairs of India, the House accordingly resolved itself into the said Committee, Mr. [illegible] in the chair,

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS rose, and said, that although the accounts, on which the attention of the House was that night to be engaged, were pretty numerous, and of a nature at once important and extensive, he hoped to be able to explain them fully, without trespassing very long on the indulgence of the House, for the [illegible] contained in them, though various, were entirely free from [illegible]. Gentlemen had already, he supposed, inspected the [illegible] articles contained in the accounts; it would, therefore, be

unnecessary for him to trouble them with preliminary [illegible] would, therefore, without farther preface, proceed to that [illegible]tion which the nature of his duty demanded from him, first, [illegible] the particular accounts, and finally, the result of the wh[illegible] together.

The first branch of this explanation was to be directed to the [illegible] of the revenues in India, after deducting the various charges, [illegible] foundation of the capital of the Company for carrying on the trade; and the next, to the situation of the Company's trade at home, arising out of, and connected with, those revenues. From both those he was to draw a general result, and shew to the House how far the circumstances of the Company were better, or worse than when he had last the honour of laying the affairs of India before them. In doing this, Bengal naturally presented itself first; and here he would remark, that the accounts had been made up with such a degree of accuracy, that he should not have occasion to enter into a minute detail of the articles which composed them, unless some person should call upon him to solve some doubts respecting them.

The House would recollect, that in forming his estimates of the probable produce of the revenues, charges, &c. of the Company, he had always adopted the mode of stating an average of the last three years, and also the estimate and actual accounts for the last year, and the estimate for the future. According to this mode, the accounts were made up, which he should state particularly in pounds sterling, agreeable to the respective valuation of the current coins at the different settlements.

BENGAL.—Current Rupees at 2s.

REVENUES.

| | | £. |
|---|---|---|
| No. I. | Average revenues of 3 years, 1791-2 to 1793-4 | 5,445,[illegible] |
| No. II. | Estimated amount of revenues for 1793-4 — | 5,432,7[illegible] |
| | The actual amount in that year — | 5,871,9[illegible] |
| | Revenues more than estimated | 438,17[illegible] |

CHARGES.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| No. III. | The charges for 1793-4 were estimated at | [illegible] |
| | Actual amount — | 3,131,9[illegible] |
| | Charges more than estimated | [illegible] |
| | The actual account was therefore better than the estimate — | 334[illegible] |
| | And the actual nett revenue in the year was | 2,53[illegible] |

ESTIMATES, 1794-5.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| No. I. Revenues are estimated to amount to | — | 5,580,606 |
| No. II. And charges to | — — | 3,278,634 |
| Estimated nett revenues for the following year | | 2,301,972 |

The excess of the revenue above the estimate in 1793-4, arose, first, out of the land revenue, partly from the paying up of arrears, and partly from an increase in the current revenue, secondly, from an increase of the revenue from salt, above the estimate; a clear proof, as it did not appear that the price was raised, that the consumption, and consequently the population of the country, were increased.

The excess of the charges above the estimate arose from an additional donation to the army, amounting to 46,729l. more than the sum settled by the Marquis Cornwallis, and an increase of charges upon salt and opium, to the amount of 77,156l.—Deducting the excess of charges from the excess of revenue, the actual account was better than the estimate by 345,546l.

He saw no reason to think that the revenue for 1794-5 would be less productive than for the year preceding, but it had always been his wish to take the estimate so low, as to leave no chance of the actual amount falling short of it. Such were the directions which had long since been given to the Company's servants in India; and upon this principle it was, not upon any ground of distrust, that the estimate was taken lower than the actual produce of 1793-4. In the account, No II., the Committee would see an article for the charges of the Dewanny and Nizamut, City and Zilla Adawluts, of the Police establishments, and Courts of Appeal. These charges appeared for the first time separately stated in the accounts, because, as it had been thought proper, for the protection and convenience of the natives, to separate the provincial jurisdictions from the collection of the revenue, it had also been thought proper to separate the charges, and the change took place in 1793.

MADRAS.—Pagoda at 8s.

| | | £. |
|---|---|---|
| No. VI. The revenues for 1793-4 were estimated at | — | 2,232,077 |
| Actual amount | — — | 2,110,089 |
| Less than estimate | — — | 121,988 |
| The charges were estimated at | — | 1,701,298 |
| And amounted to | — — | 1,999,376 |
| More than estimated | — | 298,078 |
| The actual account was therefore worse than the estimate | — | 420,066 |

ESTIMATES, 1794-5.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. IV | The revenues are estimated to amount to | — | 1,855,317 |
| No. V. | And the charges to | — | 1,782,247 |
| | Estimated nett revenue in that year | | 73,070 |

He could not give an average of three years from Madras, for several reasons. During the war, the Rajah of Travancore paid a subsidy to this Presidency; a new arrangement had been made with the Nabob of Arcot and Rajah of Tanjore, which required time to be carried into effect, as did also the regulations for settling and collecting the revenue of the countries ceded by Tippoo.

The causes of the deficiency in the actual amount of the revenue in 1793-4 were, that the Nabob of Arcot had paid the year before a lack of rupees before it was due, and had not made a similar advance in payment the next. In the treaty with the Nabob, the Company agreed to take, as part of his subsidy, the tribute payable to him by the southern polygars, because, he calling for the tribute as his necessities urged him, and they refusing to pay, the Company, as holding the sword, were frequently called upon to interfere, and therefore it was thought more adviseable to take the collection of the tribute at once into their own hands: this tribute was not yet regularly paid, although there was no doubt that it would, when the polygars found by experience that they were only to be called upon regularly, not according to our necessities, but according to our established rights; the northern circars had also suffered by famine a few years ago, from which they were not yet recovered, and some disturbances had also taken place in some of them: these different circumstances occasioned a defalcation of revenue.

The excess of charges in that year was accounted for by an additional donation to the army serving in the war against Mysore, amounting to 146,550l. and the expences attending the capture of Pondicherry, 173,042l.; these two articles were more than the excess above the estimate, the charges having been less in some other articles.

By the estimate for 1794-5, the revenue exceeded the charges by 73,070l. He was far from saying that Madras did not hold out a more flattering prospect; but even this was sufficient to justify all the calculations he had ever offered to the House respecting it, which never went farther than to say, that it would be able to pay its own current expences. He hoped that it would soon be able to do much more.

BOMBAY.—Rupees at 2s. 3d.

| | | £. |
|---|---|---|
| No. XI. | The revenues for 1793-4, were estimated at | 277,898 |
| | And amounted to | 312,364 |
| | Being more than estimated | 34,466 |
| | The charges were estimated at | 696,139 |
| | And amounted to | 783,791 |
| | More than estimated | 87,652 |
| | The actual account, therefore, worse than the estimate | 53,186 |
| No. VII. | The revenues in 1794-5, are estimated to amount to | 354,883 |
| No. VIII. | And the charges to | 757,551 |
| | Estimated charges more than the revenues | 402,668 |

From Bombay, an average of three years would be of no use, because great part of the revenue arose from territory ceded by Tippoo Sultan at the close of the late war, the collections of which were not yet accurately ascertained. The excess of charges in the year 1793-4 above the estimate, arose from the increase of marine expence occasioned by the war; from an addition to the army, and from the expences occasioned in that year by the necessity of employing natives in addition to the Company's servants, for ascertaining and collecting the revenues of the ceded countries. This, in the first instance, was a measure of policy, as well as of necessity; the benefits of which would remain when the expence had ceased.

BENCOOLEN AND ISLANDS.

| | | £. |
|---|---|---|
| | Revenue on an average of 3 years, at Fort Marlborough | 4,840 |
| | Supplies from Bengal to ditto, Pinang, St. Helena, &c. estimated for 1793-4 | 77,000 |
| No. XVIII. | Actual amount | 66,358 |
| No. XI. | Estimated to be supplied in 1794-5 | 104,632 |

The estimate of supplies, to these settlements in 1794-5, was considerably above both the estimated and the actual amount for the year before, for which he could assign no reason, as it had been transmitted to him without any explanation.

GENERAL STATE OF REVENUES AND CHARGES IN INDIA.

| | | £. |
|---|---|---|
| Total of the revenues of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, 1793-4, as above stated — — | | 8,[illegible]94,399 |
| Charge of ditto, (including 66,358l. supplies to Bencoolen, &c.) — — — | | 6,181,504 |
| Revenues more than charges — — | | 2,112,895 |
| Interest on debts paid from this sum — | | 458,043 |
| Surplus revenues — — | | 1,654,852 |
| Add imports, sales, and certificates — — | | 475,994 |
| Amount applicable to the provision of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c. (exclusive of 20,000l. gained by issuing notes) — — | | 2,130,846 |
| | £. | £. |
| By No. XVIII. it appeared that there had been applied to that purpose, at Bengal, in the year — — | 1,40[illegible],0[illegible]8 | |
| By No. XIX. at Madras, in the year — | 404,648 | |
| By No. XX. at Bombay, in the year | 3[illegible]0,[illegible]48 | |
| By No. XXII. goods shipped from Bencoolen, in the year — — | 1[illegible],618 | |
| | | [illegible] 47 652 |
| Amount applicable to investments, &c. as above stated | | [illegible],130,846 |
| In the estimate made in February, 1793, the sum stated was | | 1,51[illegible],577 |
| More in 1793-4 than in that estimate — | | 617,26[illegible] |

By the above account it appeared that more had been applied to the investments, &c. than the surplus revenues, and the amount of sales and certificates. This was accounted for by the Profit and Loss Account upon internal trade, and the profit upon the issuing of promissory notes.

It might be said that he had rated the surplus too high, since it was swelled by the payment of 401,826l. from Tippoo Sultan.—This, he admitted, was an extraordinary article of income, but on the other side of the account were included extraordinary articles of expenditure, as the additional donations to the army, and expences occasioned by the present war, to the amount of 500,000l.

ESTIMATES for 1794-5.

| | |
|---|---|
| Total revenues of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, estimated, 1794-5 — — | £. 7,790,807 |
| Total charges, ditto, (including [illegible] supplies to Bencoolen, &c. — — | 5,923,063 |
| | 1,867,744 |
| Deduct interest on debts, per No. XVI. — | 43[illegible],047 |
| Estimated surplus revenue — | 1,430,697 |
| Add per No XV. Estimated sales of imports, and amount of certificates — — — — | 380,66[illegible] |
| Amount estimated to be applicable to investments, payment of [illegible], &c. &c. — — | 1,811,366 |

[illegible] of Bengal, every article of income, except the [illegible], was taken under the actual produce for last year, to an [illegible] of near 500,000l. so that there was no ground to fear [illegible]; [illegible] from these estimates, he observed, considerably exceeded those on which his calculations were founded in 1793.

[illegible] —Current Rupees at 2s.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Amount owing by the Company, stated to the House last year — — — — | | £. 7,857,405 |
| Amount by the latest advices (No XVI.) — | | 7,305,462 |
| Decrease — | | 551,943 |
| | C. Rs. | £. |
| The debt transferred in the year (No XVII.) | 98,59,035 | |
| Of which allowed in the accounts of last year, by No. XVI of that date — | 31,[illegible]6,646 | |
| Remains transferred — | 67,22,389 | 672,23[illegible] |
| The debt bearing interest last year amounted to — | | 6,322,3[illegible]8 |
| Amount bearing interest at present, per No. XVI. | | 5,597,299 |
| Decrease of debt bearing interest — | | 7[illegible]5,0[illegible]9 |
| Amount of interest payable by last year's accounts — | | 517,825 |
| Amount of interest payable by No. XVI. — | | 437,047 |
| Less to be paid for interest on the debts per annum — | | 80,778 |

Although the total reduction of debt was only 551,943l. the reduction of debt bearing interest was 725,029l. It was for the

advantage of the Company to reduce the debt bearing interest as much as possible, although the amount of debt not bearing interest should be increased as much as could be kept outstanding, without injuring their credit.

ASSETS in INDIA.—Current Rupees at 2s.

| | |
|---|---|
| | £. |
| Cash, goods, debts, &c. at the several settlements, stated in last year's account at — — | 8,733,796 |
| Per No. XXI. of the present statements — | 8,807,600 |
| Increase — — | 73,804 |
| Adding this to the decrease of debts, the Company's affairs appear better in these respects in India by | 625,747 |

HOME ACCOUNTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Dundas observed, that in 1793 he had stated the average of the three last annual sales of the East India Company's goods, viz. from 1790 to 1793, the amount of which was | 5,103,094 |
| In the last year the sales had exceeded the latest of those year's sales, and amounted to 418,764 more than this average, the total sales in 1794* having been — | 5,521,858 |
| The estimate for that year was — — | 5,364,358 |
| The actual amount, therefore, exceeded the estimate | 157,500 |
| Amount received for goods sold in this year was, per No. XXIII. — - | 5,392,966 |
| Being less than stated last year — | [illegible] |
| Charges and profit on private trade, were estimated at | 70,000 |
| Actual amount, per No. XXIII. | 6[illegible],4[illegible]9 |
| Less than estimated - - - | 7,541 |
| In the estimate of February, 1793, the amount of sales, profit on private trade, and interest on annuities, after paying annuitants, was — — | 5,094,527 |
| Actual amount last year — — | 5,620,544 |
| More than in that estimate — | 526,017 |
| Charges in that estimate—Dividends at 8 per cent. — | 3,889,100 |
| Paid last year—Dividends at $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. — | 4,467,787 |
| Charges more than in that estimate | 578,687 |
| The difference therefore was only | 52,670 |

| | |
|---|---|
| * Goods sold in private trade this year amounted to — | 1,053 [illegible] |
| So that total India goods sold in the year was — | 6,575,3[illegible] |

By which sum the surplus of sales, &c. above the ordinary payments last year, was less than he had computed upon in making the arrangement with the Company in 1793. But 416,996l. being paid for tea in that year on the Continent, and 933,095l. of India transferred debt discharged and 140,650l. of bonds paid off, absorbed that surplus, and drained the Treasury, so that they could not pay the 500,000l. to Government.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| The amount estimated to be received in the present year for goods sold is, per No. XXIII — — | 5,549,000 |
| And profit on private trade — — — | 6 ,000 |

The charges are estimated nearly equal to the receipts and cash in hand, and no surplus expected to apply to the payment of the India transferred debt in this year.

But it was to be observed, that the India debt paid off in the last two years, had amounted

| | £ | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1793, to — — | 1,008,[illegible] | |
| 1794, — | 9 ,015 | |
| | | 1,941,7[illegible] |

More by [illegible] 173 [illegible] than [illegible]. In the present year 40[illegible] is estimated to be discharged, if the [illegible]. [illegible] the Home Accounts would appear [illegible] in the following statement.

Debts at Home.

| | |
|---|---|
| The debts, includ[illegible] transferred from India, amounted | |
| In March, 1794, to — — | 7,006,500 |
| In March, 1795, to — | 6,946,323 |
| Less in March last — | 60,177 |

Assets.

| | |
|---|---|
| Assets at home and afloat, 1st of March last, stated in No. XXIII. at — — — | 10,413,354 |
| Similar articles valued last year at — | 9,888,836 |
| More in March last | 524,518 |
| Adding decrease of debts to increase of assets, the Company's affairs appear better at home by — — | 584 695 |

China and St. Helena.

| | |
|---|---|
| The balance of quick stock at China and St. Helena, was in last year's accounts in favour of the Company — | 1,080,381 |
| By the last accounts stated in the second No. I. — | 979,158 |
| Balance less at present | 101,723 |

GENERAL RESULT OF THE COMPARISON OF THE LAST AND PRESENT YEAR'S ACCOUNTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| | £. |
| Debts less, and assets more, in India — | 625,747 |
| ——— at home — — | 584,695 |
| | 1,210,442 |
| Balance less in China and St. Helena — - | 101,723 |
| | 1,108,719 |
| Add for the balance of bills [illegible] and [illegible] shipped from India, after [illegible] the [illegible] compared with the last year's [illegible] — — | 303,530 |
| The Company's affairs [illegible] estimated [illegible] — — | 1,412,249 |
| This sum [illegible] comparing [illegible] No. I. with the account No. XXIV. [illegible] Home last year | |
| The balance of [illegible] the Company, per No. I. is — | [illegible] 774 |
| Last year's [illegible] | [illegible] 525 |
| The Company's affairs [illegible] March 1795 | 1,412,249 |

The sales, he had already observed, had produced more in the last year than the average of the three most productive years ever known, and were greater than the largest of those years. On the whole of the Company's receipts and payments in the last year, the result was, that the actual account [illegible] the estimate by [illegible]03,405l. the balance estimated to remain in March last, having been 230,926l. and the actual amount being 4[illegible]4,[illegible]31l. besides which, it was estimated that [illegible]00,000l. would be borrowed on mortgage of the annuities, but in fact, only 100,000l. was borrowed, although the balance was so much larger.

If such was the state of their affairs at home, it might be asked, why they had not been called upon to pay the 500,000l. due, or supposed to be due, to the Public? Without giving any opinion upon the right to call for payment, he would answer, that it would have been imprudent. The debt to be transferred annually from India was calculated in 1793, at 500,000l. per annum, but before the instructions restricting it to that sum could reach India, bills to a far greater amount had been sent over, of which a million fell due in the preceding year, and 933,095l. in the last year. In the last year also, they had expended 416,996l. for the purchase of teas on the Continent. All the estimates of freight, &c. were made upon a peace establishment, and now they must be paid upon a war establishment. They were estimated in 1793 at 690,670l. and in the

last year upwards of 800,000l. was paid; yet this was not all that ought to have been paid, for three of the Company's ships were very wisely detained in India, and converted into cruizers for the protection of the country trade. The arrear of freight, &c. due upon these ships, would be to be paid this year, which, with the other charges of the same description, is estimated to amount to 1,606,649l. A large sum was also expected to become due in this year for bills of exchange, and on the whole, after paying the amount of India debt stated in the estimate, there would be a deficiency in their cash account of 371,838l. on the first of March 1796. Under such circumstances would it be adviseable to press them for the 500,000l. to the Public? They were allowed to increase their bond debt from two millions to three, which they had not had occasion to do, and consequently had a credit of a million, if they should want it next year. Why not, it would be asked, make use of this credit to pay the Public? In case of exigency on the part of the Public, they might have been called upon, as this credit was given them to pay the extra debt transferred from India, and if they had issued bonds for that purpose, there would have been a surplus in their treasury for the Public; but in consequence of the war, they must either have issued those bonds at a discount, or raised the interest nearly as high as the interest produced by their stock, which would have brought upon them all their outstanding bonds bearing four per cent. interest. Again, it might be asked, why they did not rather apply their surplus revenue in India, to paying off their India debt, rather than invest it in trade, upon which they had to pay 900,000l. additional freight? In the bill for the renewal of their charter, the principle adopted throughout was to make London as much as possible the emporium of all the trade from India. It was with this view, too, that he had proposed to allow Indian shipping to transport goods to Europe, for without these provisions the whole private trade and private fortunes of the Company's servants would become a capital to the Danes and Swedes to carry on the India trade, and undersell us in foreign markets. Therefore, though in a commercial point of view, contracting their trade for the present, and applying the money to the payment of their debts, bearing interest, might be attended with a saving to the Company, still he would maintain it to be bad policy to do so, for if the trade was diminished, the shipping must of course be diminished also, which, as those ships were of a kind applicable only to that particular purpose, would materially injure the capitals of men laid out in that trade; besides, it would, only for the sake of a temporary gain, encourage other nations to take up the trade.

As author of the propositions in 1793, when the new charter was granted, he thought it incumbent on him to take care that the Public should know whether in the estimates and calculations on which he grounded those propositions, he had taken an exaggerated view of the revenues of India, or of the appropriations of them. It was for that reason he had been so particular in making the foregoing statements to the House, by which it appeared, that as in the revenues, so in the sales at home, his estimates had been greatly exceeded, though the Company laboured under great disadvantages by detention of ships, and though the want of coast goods obliged them to narrow their sales—had it not been for those disadvantages, the excess would have amounted, no doubt, to a very considerable sum.

If he looked to India, he saw no circumstance that did not lead to confidence in the increasing prosperity of the country. The increased consumption of salt in Bengal was a clear proof of increased population. Since the benefits of a regular and fixed mode of collecting the revenues were felt, the landholders were not only paying their assessment punctually, but paying up their old arrears. When a system of law and justice was established, which afforded equal protection to the rich and to the poor; when the tenure by which men held their property was rendered permanent instead of precarious: when the natives began to feel that they had a deep interest in the stability of the British government, there was every reason to believe that the wealth, population, and prosperity of the country would keep progressively and rapidly advancing. The same hopes might be entertained of Madras. Taking the collection of the tribute which the southern Polygars were bound to pay into the hands of the Company, was a wise measure. They would soon learn that our demands were regulated by our rights, not by our necessities, and the difficulties in obtaining payment would cease. The northern Circars were not so much improved as they were capable of being, or as they deserved to be. The first step towards improvement was to give security with respect to persons and property, and this perhaps could not be effected so well as by gradually introducing the system which had been introduced into Bengal. Then would the presidency of Madras not only pay its own expences, but in the course of ten years furnish a surplus for an investment, without drawing upon the treasury of Bengal. On this, however, he begged to be understood as founding no estimate; he merely mentioned it as one of many reasons for being persuaded there was no danger of defalcation. The same might be said of Bombay, where a large territory on the Malabar coast had been ceded to us by Tippoo Sultan. The revenues, it was true, had fallen 120,000l. short of the sum

at which they were valued by Tippoo, but in the courſe of three years they had been regularly increaſing, as might naturally be expected under a better government. It was, however, to be recollected that theſe provinces had not long emerged from the calamities of war, and, of courſe, could not be ſuppoſed to yield the full extent of their real revenues. In the courſe, however, of three years, the amount of theſe revenues had progreſſively increaſed. In the firſt year the amount had been about four, in the ſecond, eleven, and the third was eſtimated at ſeventeen lacks of rupees, and, therefore, it might be inferred, that if a ſimilar ſyſtem with that of Bengal ſhould be introduced in theſe valuable acquiſitions, the effect would be an increaſe of revenue.

While ſuch were the ſituation and proſpects of the Company in India, there was ſurely nothing diſcouraging in the ſtate of their affairs at home. In time of war, and when the markets of a great part of Europe were ſhut againſt them, their ſales were greater than they had ever been before. Could it be apprehended they would be leſs on the return of peace, when all the markets of Europe would be open, and all the private trade from India brought home in the Company's ſhips? He was far from putting the India trade upon the footing of an excluſive monopoly, he ſhould have no objection to open the trade of India to every nation of the world that choſe to trade thither on the produce of its own induſtry, or its own wealth. We were ſovereigns in India, as well as merchants, and it was our duty to act not merely in the narrow views of a commercial monopoly, but to advance the proſperity of the people over whom we were ſovereigns. But while we were guided by this liberal ſpirit of policy, we ought not at the ſame time to allow other nations to trade to India on the capital of Britiſh ſubjects, or on the revenues of India, while thoſe revenues were ours.

After ſtating theſe circumſtances and referring to the preſent ſurplus of the Company's receipts as ſpecified in the accounts before the Houſe, he adverted to the contingencies which muſt abridge that ſurplus in the ſubſequent years.

In the courſe of the preſent year the Company eſtimated to pay 60,000l. bounties to ſeamen.

It muſt, in a conſiderable degree, be leſs, from the proviſion which would be required, in order to do juſtice to the claims of their meritorious armies.

Before our acquiſition of territories, the Company's army in India conſiſted only of the requiſite guards for their factories or ſeats of trade; they had now, not only a greater military force to keep in conſtant pay than was required on ordinary occaſions for Britain and

its other dependencies, but an establishment equal to many of the military powers in Europe; it was, indeed, without such an army, as impossible to protect the provinces, and the large commercial concerns of the Company, as to make that army efficient, without regulations in every degree applicable to the duties required from it.

There were certain general grounds upon which it would be requisite to fix the arrangements for the Company's forces in India.

In the first place, the Company at present gave no higher rank to their oldest officers than that of Colonel, a circumstance which deprived their most experienced and meritorious officers of that promotion, to which military men look forward as their best and most honourable reward, and therefore, he would propose, "That a certain proportion of General and Field Officers should be allowed "to each of the military establishments in India," a regulation which would produce a general promotion in the subordinate ranks of their army.

In the next place, under the present regulation, an officer who may have served thirty years in India, and yet who, during this dreary service, may not have acquired a competency to enable him to return to his friends and his country, must resign his rank and his pay, or remain in exile.—He would therefore propose, "that "a comfortable and honourable retreat, should, after a certain number of years service, be afforded to them." This provision also would have its effect of accelerating promotion in the army.

In the last place, many of the officers who went at an early period of life to India, experienced, from the difference of climate, the loss of health, but under the present regulation, by returning to Europe, they had no other resource, except in the feelings and charity of their friends, without which they must remain in India, and fall victims to the diseases of the climate: he would, therefore, propose, "that under medical certificates, with the approbation of "the Commanders in Chief, and the governments in India, officers, the recovery of whose health might require it, should be "permitted to return to Europe, without loss either of rank or pay." Nor would he limit this principle to the necessity arising from want of health only, for he would propose (as he held it to be politic, as well as reasonable) "that a certain proportion of the officers, in rotation, should be allowed to re-visit their native country upon "furloughs, without the loss either of rank or pay."

These principles appeared to him to be the general ground upon which the new arrangements for the Indian army should proceed, and he would suggest a plan for these purposes to the Company, who, he was persuaded, would feel the propriety of establishing a

liberal arrangement for their armies, whose services they, and their country, were ready to acknowledge and to reward.

Mr. Dundas concluded by moving his first resolution.

Mr. HUSSEY said, that he did not see in the papers on the table a statement of any debt due to Government.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS replied, that the East-India Company contended that no debt was due.

Mr. HUSSEY said, he had always doubted whether the affairs of the Company were in so flourishing a situation as they were represented, both from their want of an increase of capital, and from the circumstance of their continually borrowing money. In the accounts of the year 1781, which he held in his hand, he saw that the balance was stated to be nearly the same as that of the present year; the difference was only a sum of 42,000l. less, with respect to the present year. In 1781, the capital was only 2,800,000l. it had since received an addition of upwards of 4,000,000l. He wished, then, to be shewn where was the increase of prosperity on the part of the Company?

Mr. Chancellor PITT stated, that at the period to which the honourable gentleman alluded, the accounts of the Company were very much disputed, they were then involved in obscurity and embarrassment, it was only since the system of regularity, which had within these few years been introduced by his right honourable friend, that they could be relied on in point of accuracy.—The fair way, then, in order to ascertain their comparative improvement, was to take some years since the commencement of that system adopted by his right honourable friend, and view it with a reference to the subsequent years. In 1781 the expences of the war were still going on. It had not been practicable till after repeated orders sent to India to obtain the proper returns of those expences. It had been found necessary, that debts stated to be due to the Company should be struck off, and likewise it had been discovered, that there were millions owing by them, of which nothing had been known. If, therefore, for some years there had been no appearance of improvement in the state of the Company's finances, it was not because there was no real improvement, but because his right honourable friend had during those years been engaged in winding up the old accounts. He mentioned 1786 as the first year from which the new system began to operate.

Mr. HUSSEY said, he had referred to the year 1781, not from any principle of selection, but merely because the accounts of that year happened to be in his possession.

General SMITH expressed his satisfaction at the order which

the right honourable secretary had introduced into his annual statement of the affairs of the East-India Company. Having introduced this practice, he wished he would carry it farther, and appoint a separate day for the discussion of his statement, as in the case of the Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the House might be prepared to go into the detail of the business, and, if necessary, to urge their objections. So far from there being any prospect of a diminution of the prosperity of the Company, he thought that the reverse was likely to be the case. He should confine himself to the last head of the speech of the right honourable Secretary. He was glad to find the case of the officers in India at last likely to be taken up He could not tell how many applications had been made to him on the subject. He should now read a letter from the Secretary of the India House to one of the oldest officers in the service of the Company. The letter was an application to know, whether the officers would be paid their arrears, and whether such of them as were sick and wounded would be allowed a passage? The answer stated, that the Directors could not comply with the request, but that they were ready to take into consideration the case of any individual officer. Men could not be so treated without feeling most severely. But he should press the subject no farther, relying on the promise of the right honourable gentleman, that some steps would be taken before the sailing of the next ships for India. He trusted, that the situation of the officers who had come home would not be overlooked, and that something would be done to rescue them from the dependence and poverty under which they now laboured. Their case was so disgraceful to the country that he wondered how it could at all have been suffered to exist.

Mr. D. SCOTT desired the honourable gentleman to read over the three last lines of the letter from the Secretary of the India House.

General SMITH remarked, that he did not mean any reflection on the Court of Directors, they could not act otherwise till a new system was adopted.

Mr. D. SCOTT said, he wished to do away any unfavourable impression that the perusal of the letter might have excited on the minds of the Committee with respect to the conduct of the Court of Directors. He challenged the honourable General to produce any one instance where an officer who had made application to the Court had been neglected. He stated, that the effect of the new arrangements had first taken place in 1786; before that period, it had not been known within a sum of three millions, what was the

amount of the debt; and since that, the revenues of the Company had been increased two millions annually.

Mr. HUSSEY said, that the Public had not teas at the prices for which the Company had bargained to supply them.

Mr. D. SCOTT replied, that the Company were obliged to put up their teas at a certain price: if the Public paid for them more than they were worth, it was their own fault.

Mr. LUSHINGTON enforced the claims and the sufferings of the officers in the service of the East-India Company. He felt himself particularly interested in the subject, as many of them had been induced to come to this country in consequence of a motion which he had some time since made on their behalf. He recapitulated the leading points of the speech of the right honourable Secretary of State, and highly commended the clear and convincing manner in which they were stated.

Colonel WOOD also supported the claims of the officers, and wished to have some specific engagement from one of the Directors on their behalf.

Sir FRANCIS BARING alluding to what had fallen from General Smith, said, it was the first time he had heard any attack on the Court of Directors, for their conduct to the officers of the Company. Every service had its different rules: the officers in the King's service had their advantages, as had likewise those in the service of the Company. A Colonel had a yearly income of 10,000l.—He did not know what might be the pay of a General. The honourable General had surely himself no reason to complain.

General SMITH expressed himself surprised at the treatment which he had just received from his old friend. He had made no attack on the Court of Directors, he had only found fault with the system which prevailed with respect to the officers. What had just dropped from his honourable friend, he must suppose, either to be the effect of temporary heat, or a piece of good-humoured raillery; but, as it seemed to convey a personal insinuation, he defied any one to find a single action to blame in the whole course of his life; and referred to the testimony which had been given to his conduct by the vote of thanks which had been passed for his services to the Company.

Sir FRANCIS BARING explained that he meant no personal allusion.

After a few desultory remarks from Mr. Hussey and Mr. Dundas, the resolutions were successively put and carried.

The House was then resumed, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.—Adjourned.

*Wednesday, 17th June.*

Mr. Vice Chamberlain of the Household reported to the House, that their Address of the 5th day of this instant June (that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions, that a monument be erected in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, to the memory of Major General Thomas Dundas, as a testimony of the grateful sense entertained by this House of the eminent services which he rendered to his country, particularly in the reduction of the French West-India islands, and which occasioned a gross insult to his remains in the island of Guadaloupe) had been presented to His Majesty, and that His Majesty had commanded him to acquaint this House, that he will give directions as desired by the said Address.

On the order of the day, that the bill allowing a million and half, to be raised on Exchequer bills for the purpose of aiding the credit of merchants trading in Grenada and St. Vincent's, should be read a second time,

Mr. FOX said, that he did not rise to object to the principle of the bill, he meant only to say a few words with respect to the West Indies. He contended, that the force sent to that quarter had been inadequate. When the right honourable gentleman, on a former occasion, asserted, that 20,000 men had been sent, he must have looked to the orders which had been issued for sending troops, and not to the number which had actually been sent. He should not, at this advanced period of the session, move for an inquiry, because he could not hope that the House would be induced to agree to any step which would compel their attendance. If he could be persuaded that the House would be seriously disposed to entertain such an inquiry, he would pay to it the utmost attention in his power, with whatever inconvenience it might be attended to himself. But, he would pledge himself, that, upon an investigation of facts, it would turn out, that the force which had been employed in the West Indies was not such a force as was deemed sufficient for the purposes of the expedition, either by the Commanders in Chief, or by Ministers. The loss of Guadaloupe had been either owing to the want of a sufficient force, or the failure of the necessary reinforcements. And not only was there a neglect with respect to sending a sufficient number of men, but also with respect to supplying the articles required for the use of the troops employed in the service. It had been urged by a right honourable gentleman that Sir Charles Grey had said, that the misfortunes in the West Indies would not have happened had it not been for the death of General Dundas.

Had Sir Charles Grey given such an opinion in writing? had he stated it for the purpose of being repeated? or had he not expressed it in such a manner as might convey a different meaning from that which was inferred? He adverted to this only in order to show in what a careless way statements were brought forward, which might carry with them an appearance as if they had come from authority. Until such time as the House should agree to go into an inquiry, he had a right to suppose that the blame rested with Ministers, either for not having sent an adequate force, or not having taken proper measures for the distribution of that force. If the House should not be now disposed to go into an inquiry, he begged at least that the object might not be considered as abandoned, and he hoped that there would be no obstacle to such an inquiry at a future period, on pretext of the time at which it was brought forward.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that as the right honourable gentleman had himself supposed that the House would not be disposed to agree to an inquiry, he should not take up their time in arguing about it. He should only repeat what he had asserted before, that the force originally sent to the West Indies had been such as was supposed to be adequate for the purposes of the expedition; that there had been no subsequent neglect in sending proper reinforcements, and that the failures had proceeded from circumstances, which could not have been foreseen or prevented by Ministers.—The recent disasters we had met with, he attributed in the first instance, particularly the loss of Guadaloupe, to the sudden and unfortunate death of the late General Dundas, and in the second, to the unexpected arrival of the French.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that in one point only he agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that if a motion for inquiry was made, it would not be likely to succeed, and on this ground he supposed, that the right honourable gentleman was so much inclined to deal in assertions. He remarked of the right honourable gentleman, that whenever he stood upon weak ground, where he was conscious of his incapacity to make a defence, that instead of waiting for an attack, he immediately sallied forth to claim merit, and challenge applause. Such was his conduct with respect to the system pursued by Administration in the West Indies, which, among all the absurd and assailable measures adopted by them in the prosecution of the war, was the most weak, and the most vulnerable. He asked, whether Sir Charles Grey, so far from receiving a reinforcement of twenty, ten, or five thousand men, had received even one man to retain possession of the islands which he had conquered? Instead of twenty, not above ten thousand men had been sent, not

one of whom arrived in proper time. As to the assertion that Guadaloupe would not have been lost, had it not been for the death of General Dundas, he knew very little about it, not more than the right honourable gentleman by whom it was made. If the unfortunate consequences of the neglect shown with respect to the West Indies, should extend to our own possessions in that quarter, the crime and the blame would rest entirely with Ministers. Mr. Sheridan then adverted to what he had said on a former occasion, of the sickly condition of the troops detained on board the transports, which had then been controverted by Ministers, though they afterwards had recourse to the expedient, which he advised, of relanding several of the regiments, as unfit for the service for which they were destined.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS, in explanation, informed the honourable gentleman that a reinforcement was sent out, which arrived almost immediately after the death of General Dundas. He did not mean to impute blame, he said, to the officers who succeeded in command, when he asserted that the death of that General had created great confusion, because he had no doubt but every officer in the service most faithfully performed his duty, and if he did not, it was his duty not to insinuate blame, but to make a direct and open charge.

Mr. FOX said, his expression did certainly convey blame against those officers who succeeded General Dundas, although he did not suspect that such was the right honourable gentleman's intention.

Mr. DUNDAS regretted he had not explained it at the time.

Mr. M. ROBINSON said, that the Ministers were determined some way or other to throw away six millions of the public money, and therefore they now came forward to apply the million and a half, which had been refused by the Emperor, to the relief of the Grenada merchants.

The bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.

Mr. JODDRELL brought up the resolutions of the Committee on the India Budget.

General SMITH said, he had no objection to the report, but he begged leave to repeat what he had yesterday stated in the Committee, that a day ought to be given for the consideration of it, and that in every future session, he should take the day on which the report was made for that purpose.

The resolutions were read a first and second time.

The order of the day was read, for the third reading of the bill granting an establishment to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Mr. JOLLIFFE said, that although when the bill was first brought in, he thought it improper and unjust, from the alterations and amendments made, it was rather harmless and inoffensive. He wished, however, to suggest, that it would be more honourable to the Public, and more creditable to His Royal Highness, if the money were advanced immediately from the consolidated fund for the payment of the debts, as it would be afterwards restored. The Commissioners, he thought, might buy up the debentures and easily adjust it. There were two objects, the appointment of Commissioners and the restrictions upon future Princes, which he wished to be incorporated also in the present bill, instead of framing a new one, as by that means all odium would be done away and mutual good humour be restored. One other thing he had to notice, which was, the use of some harsh words, particularly an expression of a right honourable gentleman not then present (Mr. Pitt,) that the Prince was the last of His Majesty's children upon whom the King ought to be expected to bestow any grant. Such an expression, he thought, tended to create dissatisfaction, and should be obviated.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER observed, whether the bill was better or worse than formerly, it had not received any assistance from the honourable gentleman, and it would now be impossible to introduce any such clauses in the present stage of the bill as he had proposed; and lastly, in regard to the expression of his right honourable friend, it was not understood by the House to be offensive, but, on the contrary, to imply, that the reason why His Majesty ought not to bestow any grant upon the Prince was, because His Majesty had a large family to provide for, and because the Prince was more particularly the peculiar object of the people

Colonel STANLEY was about to propose some alteration, when

The SPEAKER informed him no alteration could be regularly made in the bill till after the third reading.

Mr. HUSSEY opposed the third reading altogether, as he considered it imposed an additional burden on the consolidated fund of 65,000l. a year. He had formerly suggested a plan for removing this burden, which was treated by the right honourable gentleman, not then in his place (Mr. Pitt,) and by the Member for Yorkshire, (Mr. Wilberforce,) as a delusion; and he was charged by [illegible] Attorney General with a want of accuracy. His [illegible] was the sale of the forest land, or landed revenue of the Crown, when he was told by His Majesty's Attorney General, that it was tantamount to the burden on the consolidated fund. [illegible] denied, and desired that part of the journals to be read [illegible] contained the 12th and 13th Reports of the Commissioners

of Accompts on the 25th of May 1792, stating what small sums were paid into the Exchequer in consequence of the frequent grants of Crown lands, and that the reversion of an estate which was granted for nothing, was purchased for 10,000l. [The Clerk read the extracts.] After this, he had no doubt but as the 65,000l. when taken from the consolidated fund, was a burden, so if it were to be raised by the sale of Crown lands, it would be a benefit, inasmuch as it would decrease the patronage of the Crown, and improve many thousand acres of land. He professed himself unequal to say so much upon this subject as he ought, but he held it out as affording a desirable prospect of advantage.

Mr. ROSE considered it as the same thing, since the money arising from the revenues of the Crown lands was applied to those contingencies for the public service which must otherwise be defrayed from the consolidated fund. He did not understand why the reports of the Commissioners of Accompts had been read, since they merely stated that there had been gross mismanagement of the Crown lands, and a law was passed in consequence, which he hoped would lead to a remedy of the abuse.

Mr. FOX said, that the reason why no assistance could be derived from the Crown lands on the present occasion was one very easy to guess, though very difficult to be stated, by those who were most immediately interested. It was a fund, which had been stated as a resource by a very respectable Committee of that House, but any proposition to resort to it was sure to meet with resistance, because it was found to afford a source of influence. He hoped that his honourable friend would take some other opportunity to bring forward this fund as a practical resource to the Public.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said, that the two honourable gentlemen seemed to be ignorant of the act which had been passed last year for the improvement of the Crown lands. It would be most improvident to dispose of them in the present moment, as in the state in which they now were, they would not fetch one half of the price which they would be worth at a future period.

General SMITH wished to hold out to the Public, the claim which the Prince had to the revenue of the Dutchy of Cornwall. He strongly insisted on the inference to be drawn from the opinion given by the first law officer of the Crown, that the right of his Royal Highness to the amount of that revenue was doubtful.

Mr. SHERIDAN said he must oppose the bill both in its principle and its provisions, because it went to burden the Public with taxes to the amount of 65,000l. this he had said, again and again, was the effect of it, which he must now repeat. It was, therefore,

[illegible]able to him, because he thought that the whole charge ought to fall on pensions, sinecures, and all the trappings of the Court, and also the arrears of the Dutchy of Cornwall. A learned gentleman had said, that nothing would be more expensive and absurd than the sale of the Crown lands at this time, because the Crown lands were in a state of improvement. He should be glad to [illegible] what the improvement was which that gentleman expected. He doubted very much whether the Commissioners who examined the state of the Crown lands, would take the produce of the improvement as the reward of their labour. But if there was any improvement to be made, there could be no doubt but that would have its effect on the price which would be given. As to the question on the arrears of the Dutchy, he agreed with the honourable General entirely; that they ought to be accounted for to the Prince, and that this question could not be set at rest by this bill. It was an unfortunate circumstance for His Royal Highness that his advisers thought so lightly of his claim. But, if he had his former advisers, who were honourable and learned gentlemen, he had no doubt but that the claim would be made, for they were the friends of the Prince, not less his friends, for being also the friends of the Public. He then desired that the part of His Majesty's message to the House, relative to this business, which recommends that they would settle an establishment on the Prince, be read, which, being done, he proceeded to shew that this measure was not an establishment for the Prince suitable to his rank and dignity; he therefore, for one, should not consider this subject as closed, but open for discussion at any future time; and he thought that sinecure places and pensions ought to be applied to the discharge of the incumbrances. He thought also that a sum of money ought to be raised immediately to the discharge of the debts, for by the present plan the Prince's name would appear indorsed on all his bills for 8 or 9 years together. This was improper with regard to the creditors also, whom some gentlemen put together as a gang of robbers in a lump, but many of whom, he believed to have fair and just claims upon his Royal Highness; these creditors were ill treated by this measure; they would lose four or five per cent. for discount of the debentures after [illegible] should be allowed; so that after all the tradesmen would [illegible] of their demands settled. There was another [illegible] could not help alluding. Gentlemen had blamed [illegible] the establishment which he did, before he [illegible] what Parliament would think fit to grant him. Now he had [illegible] believe that his Royal Highness was encouraged in that [illegible] in whom he thought he might trust; for he believed

that the Prince was assured his income should be at least ... a year, clear of all deduction, instead of which, all the addition to his income was to go in payment of his debts, and that ... den on the Public. Thinking, therefore, that the Public and the Prince were equally ill treated, Mr. Sheridan found himself bound to oppose this bill altogether.

Mr. ROSE desired a certain part of the report of the Commissioners on the state of the Crown lands to be read; which being done, it appeared that the Commissioners were of opinion the Crown lands were improveable, so as to become worth 200,000l. a year.

Mr ANSTRUTHER begged leave to say a few words as to what had fallen from Mr Sheridan respecting himself. The honourable gentleman he said, had seemed to accuse him of having given an opinion as the law officer of the Prince of Wales, against the claim of the Prince, this he denied to be the case. He had given no opinion upon the point. He had only said in the House, that he had not heard any thing which could induce him to advise the Prince to urque this claim. That Royal Personage had never asked him for his opinion on that head—whenever he did so, be his opinion good or bad, he would give it to the best of his knowledge and judgment. The honourable gentleman had said, that those who were the law officers of the Prince before him, had given their decided opinion in favour of the Prince's claim. It might be so, but he had never heard it before. It had been asked why he, as the law officer, had not advised the Prince to assert this claim. He had said before, his opinion had never been asked by his Royal Highness, but why did not the learned gentlemen who had been mentioned to have given their opinion, as it was so favourable to the claim, why did not they advise the Prince to assert it? It was certainly as much their duty as it was his, especially as they had made up their minds decidedly in favour of it, and he had not.

Mr. SHERIDAN was much surprised at what had just been said by the learned gentleman as to his not having given an opinion on the subject of this claim. He said, as far as he was competent to judge of what was an opinion, he thought the learned gentleman had entered very much at large into the subject, had boasted that he had opportunities of greater and better information than other Members had; that he had very much at large entered into the construction, both of the letter and spirit of the ... the Third, of the nature of the different feudal tenures ... it might be supposed ... be guided and affected ... Charles the First, and the act of Charles the Second ... descanting so much at large on the whole field ...

[illegible] ſubject, the learned gentleman had ſaid, [illegible] from [illegible] and read on the ſubject, " he could not ſee any thing [illegible] him to adviſe the Prince to riſque this claim." If this [illegible] not giving an opinion, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he was at a loſs to [illegible] what was meant by an opinion, and, if it was an opinion, as [illegible] contended it was, he felt but little heſitation in ſaying, that to [illegible] mind it appeared to be an opinion bearing pretty ſtrongly againſt [illegible] of his Royal Highneſs.

[illegible] honourable gentleman had aſked, " why the learned gentlemen who had preceded him in office had not adviſed his Royal Highneſs to aſſert his claim?" The anſwer was extremely obvious. [illegible] would have been looked upon as an officious and a very invidious [illegible] in them to have given any ſuch advice at that time, ſituated as [illegible] Prince then was. It was very different now—that Houſe were now acting as truſtees for his Royal Highneſs, as well as for the [illegible], and it behoved them to look ſeriouſly to what was due to [illegible], as much as to what was due from him. He aſſerted, that [illegible] arrears were, in his opinion, the Prince's juſt right; as ſuch, [illegible] ought to be paid to him. If they had been paid to him before, [illegible] would venture to ſay, Miniſters would have had no occaſion to come now to Parliament for the payment of his debts. He was happy in being able to ſtate to the Houſe, that both the learned [illegible] he had alluded to, were decidedly of opinion, that theſe arrears of the Dutchy of Cornwall were due to the Prince, and, [illegible] had no doubt, that if they were now in the offices they formerly [illegible] under the Prince, they would adviſe his Royal Highneſs im[illegible] to aſſert his claim.

Mr. JOLLIFFE ſaid a few words in explanation: when the [illegible] being called for, a diviſion took place, the numbers of [illegible] were,

For the third reading, 54; Againſt it, 10.—Majority, 44.

Colonel STANLEY preſented a clauſe to be made part of the [illegible] to empower the Commiſſioners to pay the 5000l. given to [illegible] Princeſs of Wales, to her Royal Highneſs herſelf, without be[illegible] to any diſpoſition of the Prince. On a diviſion it was [illegible]

[illegible] Ayes, 12.—Majority, 39.

[illegible] appointed to act under the bill, are the [illegible] the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. [illegible] Rolls (Sir P. Arden), the Maſter of the [illegible] Strachey, Eſq.) [illegible] Surveyor of the [illegible] Eſq.)

*Thurſday, 18th June.*

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR moved that the Board of Agriculture do lay before the Houſe a copy of the minutes of their proceedings relative to the beſt mode of draining lands. Agreed.

Sir John brought up the minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Agriculture, relative to the drainage of lands.—Ordered to be printed for the uſe of the Members.

Mr. ROSE gave notice that he ſhould move to-morrow an addreſs to His Majeſty, praying him to give directions for the iſſuing of a ſum not exceeding 1000l. to reward perſons who had made diſcoveries in the draining of land, and another addreſs for a reward to the Commiſſioners, who had beſtowed much time and labour in inquiring into woods and foreſts.

Mr. HUSSEY ſaid he meant to bring forward a propoſition to ſtop all diſtillery from corn until after the next meeting of Parliament. They uſually ſtopped about this time, but from the preſent ſituation of the country, ſomething ſhould be done by Parliament to prohibit theſe diſtilleries. We looked forward with ſome hopes to our approaching harveſt, and he would not have its produce improvidently conſumed in diſtillery. At the ſame time, if there ſhould be an abundant harveſt, meaſures might be taken by which the revenue might be ſupported, but that of preventing the diſtillery, he had mentioned, appeared to him to be a meaſure of prudence.

Mr. ROSE ſaid, he held in his hand a motion for the very purpoſe which the honourable gentleman had in view. It was his object to prevent theſe diſtilleries taking place until the middle of January, at the ſame time to grant His Majeſty in council a power to allow this diſtillery, if it ſhould be deemed adviſeable. He therefore moved for leave to bring in a bill to prohibit, for a time to be limited, the mode of making low wines and ſpirits from wheat, barley, and other grain.—Ordered. Mr. Roſe and Mr. Huſſey were directed to prepare and bring it in.

The order of the day for the third reading of the bill, for allowing to the Princeſs of Wales a jointure of 50,000l. a year, being read,

Sir. W. PULTENEY propoſed a clauſe in bar of [illegible] Royal Highneſs.

General SMITH oppoſed it.

A ſhort converſation took place, and the debate was [illegible]

It being moved that the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole Houſe on the bill for enabling His [illegible]

issue Exchequer bills to a certain amount for the relief of persons trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent's,

Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON expressed his disapprobation of the bill, as tending to increase influence, and establish a precedent that ought to be avoided.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY contended that the bill would shew that Parliament were attentive to the interests of the country. Many principal towns in the kingdom, especially Liverpool and Manchester, would have suffered much, had not the bill been brought forward, so much was their mercantile interest connected with that of the islands for which relief was required. As to the influence it might create for the Minister, it ought not to be taken into consideration, or put in competition with the general advantage likely to be derived from the bill.—Manchester, in particular, he thought, would have suffered, had not a remedy been undertaken to be applied.

Mr. ROSE and Colonel STANLEY supported the bill.

General SMITH had no doubt but that this bill would increase the influence of the Crown, but that he thought a less evil than leaving these merchants without the aid proposed in the bill.

The bill then passed the Committee, and was ordered to be read a third time to morrow, if then engrossed.

*Friday, 19th June.*

The order of the day on the adjourned debate on the clause proposed yesterday to be introduced by Sir William Pulteney in the Princess's jointure bill relative to the bar of the dower, being read,

General SMITH said, as he did not see the honourable Baronet (Sir William Pulteney) rise in support of the clause proposed to be introduced by him, and as he saw some gentlemen present, who were not in the House yesterday when the clause was proposed, he would then move that the clause be read—which being read accordingly by the clerk at the table, General Smith, after having stated the arguments adduced yesterday by Sir W. Pulteney for the introduction of the clause, contended that the first law authority had asserted that the title was dubious; would then the honourable Baronet propose to take away that right which was dubious?—The House however ought [illegible] on such a subject—if such a thing was done, it would [illegible] with injustice, and would establish a very bad precedent.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER replied to the arguments of General Smith; the contract between the parties touching the business before the House (which he then read) ought, he said, to put an end to the [illegible], and justify in every respect the introduction of the clause in-

to the bill. The question being then put, "that the clause be added to the bill," it passed in the affirmative.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR rose, he said, agreeably to what had passed in the House on the preceding night, to make a motion respecting a matter which highly concerned the agricultural interests of the kingdom. It was a matter acknowledged, that very great advantages were derived from the drainage of lands; and in the investigation of this subject, very important discoveries had been made, particularly by a Mr. Elkinton. The Board of Agriculture, therefore, thought proper to lay the matter before the House. He then recited the names of some gentlemen who had made experiments in drainage, according to Mr. Elkinton's plan, and who bore testimony of its utility. It appeared that land, which before was worth only 2s. 6d. per acre annually, was, by this mode, improved to such a degree, as to be worth 25s. and that it succeeded where all other modes failed. He would therefore move, "That it be recommended to His Majesty to grant the sum of 1000l. to Mr. Elkinton, in order to enable him to make farther experiments, in a manner most likely to promote beneficial discoveries."

Mr. HUSSEY was against the motion. He could not consent that the public money should be granted for a matter that was known and practised by most people for many years back. No man, he thought, had a right to come to that House for 1000l. above his pay. Mr. Elkinton, he thought, had met with sufficient compensation from those who employed him.

Sir WATKIN LEWES thought, as Mr. Elkinton had done it at a sixth part of the expence that would be otherwise incurred, he ought to be encouraged, and his plan be made public.

Mr. ROSE said, his reason for seconding the motion of the honourable Baronet was, that he thought the mode of drainage would be very advantageous to the Public, and that the knowledge of it should be general, and not confined to Mr. Elkinton's own family, which it otherwise would be. After a few observations made by General Smith, Lord William Russell, and Sir Edward Knatchbull, on the advantage that was likely to accrue from the adoption of the mode of drainage of Mr. Elkinton, the House divided on the motion.

For it 34; Against it 10.

The Masters in Chancery brought down the Austrian loan bill from the Lords, to which they had agreed without any amendment.

*Monday, 22d June.*

The SPEAKER stated, that he had attended in the

Peers, where the royal assent had been given by commission to the Imperial loan bill, and several other public and private bills.

On the order of the day being read for reading a third time the bill for the better recovery of small debts in the city of London,

Mr. JEKYLL objected to the bill, as taking all cases of debt, where the sum was upwards of forty shillings to five pounds, out of the hands of a jury, in order to give an additional influence to Common Council men. He could not help objecting to every thing which in the smallest degree tended to infringe upon the privilege of trial by jury. He understood that the judges had given their opinion in favour of the bill, but that was no consideration for the House in its legislative capacity.

Mr. Alderman LUSHINGTON defended the bill, upon the ground that five pounds now, from the different value of money, was a sum not more than 40s. 250 years since, when the regulation as it now stood with respect to small debts, was originally instituted. He enforced the argument of the judges having given their opinion in favour of the bill, as the present mode of prosecuting for small debts under five pounds was attended with much vexatious proceeding.

Mr COURTENAY moved that the third reading of the bill be postponed to this day three months.

This was opposed by Sir Watkin Lewes, and Mr Alderman Le Mesurier, when in order to prevent a division, by which the House would have been counted out, it was agreed that the debate should be adjourned till after the other orders of the day had been disposed of.

The order of the day was read for going into a Committee on the bill to prevent distilleries, &c. It was proposed in the Committee, that the distilling in England should cease from the 10th of July, 1795, to the 1st of February, 1796, and in Scotland from the 17th of July, to the 1st of February.

The Report was received, and agreed to by the House.

On the adjourned debate on the third reading of the bill for the better recovery of small debts in the city of London, Mr. Jekyll moved, that it be postponed to this day three months. After a slight opposition from the supporters of the bill, there not being forty Members in the House, the motion was carried without a division. Adjourned to Wednesday.

*Wednesday, 24th June.*

There being only twenty-seven Members present at four o'clock, the Speaker adjourned the House till to-morrow.

*Thursday, 25th June.*

A message was received from the Lords, stating, that their Lordships had agreed to the bill for preventing any future Prince of Wales from contracting debts, and the bill for stopping distilleries till the 1st of February, 1796.

Mr. M. ROBINSON adverted to the great extension of influence, in consequence of loans, contracts, &c. He gave notice, that he should make a motion next session, that no contractor for a foreign loan should hold a seat in that House.

General SMITH said, that he was not at all satisfied with the answer that had been given to his argument respecting the right of the Prince to the arrears of the Dutchy of Cornwall. He gave notice, therefore, of his intention to bring forward the question every session, till some decision should be made on the subject.

Adjourned.

*Friday, 26th June.*

The SPEAKER stated that he had been in the House of Peers, where the royal assent had been given by a commission to several public and private bills.

A message was received from the Lords, stating that their Lordships had agreed to the bill granting an establishment to the Prince of Wales, and to the bill granting a jointure to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, without any amendment.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that an act had been passed during the session, requiring all boats on rivers, or navigable canals, to be registered. This regulation certainly was not intended to operate as a tax, yet he understood from good authority, that 7s. 6d. was demanded as the price of registration, an exaction which was exceedingly inconvenient and oppressive to poor fishermen. He was sorry that there was no Minister in the House, but he trusted that proper steps would be taken to remedy the evil of which he complained.

Adjourned.

*Saturday, 27th June.*

The following message from His Majesty was delivered by Sir Francis Molyneux, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod:

Mr. Speaker,

*The King commands this Honourable House to attend His Majesty immediately, in the House of Peers.*

Accordingly Mr. Speaker, with the House, went up [illegible]

His Majesty; when Mr. Speaker addressed the Throne in a Speech, of which the following is a copy:

" Most Gracious Sovereign,

" Your faithful Commons humbly attend your Majesty with the bills which close the supply for the public service of the year.

" Impressed with a due sense of the nature and importance of the contest in which your Majesty is engaged, your Commons have thought it necessary to make the most ample provision for the several branches of the public service. In discharging the painful but indispensible duty of imposing additional burdens on their constituents, they have derived just consolation and satisfaction from the state of the credit, the commerce, and resources of the country, and they are encouraged and gratified by the hope that the liberality and exertions of your faithful subjects will be rewarded by the restoration of peace, on such a foundation as will give increased security to the unexampled blessings so long experienced by these kingdoms.

" Other objects, not less interesting to the feelings of your Majesty and of the nation, have also employed the deliberations of your Commons. In consequence of your Majesty's most gracious message on the nuptials of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, your Commons proceeded to take into their consideration the several points to which your Majesty was pleased to direct their attention, with as much dispatch as their peculiar importance would allow: and they trust that their conduct has manifested the cordial satisfaction which they derive from an event intimately connected with the happiness of your Majesty, and the welfare of your people. Some of the provisions and regulations which have been adopted on this occasion, arose from circumstances, which, painful as they undoubtedly were, would be a subject of deeper regret to your Commons, if they had not produced that gracious communication of the sentiments and wishes of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, which could not fail to confirm the hopes and gratify the feelings of a generous and loyal people. In discharging their duty on this important occasion, your Commons have been actuated by the persuasion, that the true interests of your Majesty's illustrious family are not to be separated from those of the nation; a principle which animates the loyalty of all classes of your Majesty's subjects, and which binds their duty and affection to a Constitution which they love and revere.

" Another bill, which it is my duty to present to your Majesty, is for the purpose of providing such a jointure for her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, as is suited to her rank, her dignity, and her virtues. In approaching your Majesty with this bill, your

Commons are impressed with the most earnest and anxious hopes, that if ever the provision should be rendered effectual, it may not become so, until, under the favour of Divine Providence, a long and uninterrupted continuance of happiness has been experienced from an union, not more calculated to promote the domestic comforts of your Majesty, and of your illustrious family, than to give additional security to those liberties, and that Constitution, which were preserved by your Majesty's ancestors, which have been maintained and cherished by your gracious care and protection, and which it is the fervent wish and prayer of your Majesty's faithful subjects, that this country may continue to enjoy to the latest posterity under your Majesty's Royal descendants.

"The bills which I have in my hand are severally entitled, 'An act for enabling His Majesty to settle an annuity on His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales during the joint lives of His Majesty and of his said Royal Highness, for making provision out of his revenues for the payment of any debts that may be due from his Royal Highness, for preventing the accumulation of debts in future, and for regulating the mode of expenditure of the said revenues.'

"An act for better enabling His Majesty to make provision for a sure and certain jointure for her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales for the term of her life.'

"An act for allowing a further annuity to the subscribers to the sum of eighteen millions, authorised to be raised for the service of the year 1795."

"An act for enabling His Majesty to direct the issue of Exchequer bills to a limited amount, for the purposes, and in the manner therein mentioned."

The royal assent was then given to the bills, after which, His Majesty was pleased to make a most gracious speech from the Throne, to both Houses of Parliament, as followeth, viz.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

*THE zealous and uniform regard which you have shewn to the general interests of my people, and particularly the prudent, firm, and spirited support which you have continued to afford me, in the prosecution of the great contest in which we are still unavoidably engaged, demand my warmest acknowledgements.*

*The encouragement which my allies must derive from the knowledge of your sentiments, and the extraordinary exertions which you have enabled me to make, in supporting and augmenting my naval and military forces, afford the means most likely to conduce to the [illegible]*

*to these kingdoms, and to the re-establishment of general tranquillity, on a secure, an honourable, and a lasting foundation.*

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

*I have to return you my hearty thanks for the liberal and ample supplies which the resources of the country have enabled you to provide, beyond all former example, for the various exigencies of the Public service.*

*I have also to acknowledge, with peculiar sensibility, the recent proof which you have given me of your attachment to my person and family, in the provision which you have made for settling the establishment of the Prince and Princess of* Wales, *and for extricating the Prince from the incumbrances in which he was involved.*

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

*It is impossible to contemplate the internal situation of the enemy with whom we are contending, without indulging an hope, that the present circumstances of* France *may, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as may be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace with other powers.*

*The issue, however, of these extraordinary transactions is out of the reach of human foresight.*

*Till that desirable period arrives, when my subjects can be restored to the secure enjoyment of the blessings of peace, I shall not fail to make the most effectual use of the force which you have put into my hands.*

*It is with the utmost satisfaction that I have recently received the advices of an important and brilliant success obtained over the enemy, by a detachment of my fleet under the able conduct of Lord* Bridport.

*I have every reason to rely on the continuance of the distinguished bravery and conduct of my fleet and armies, as well as of the zeal, spirit, and perseverance, of my people, which have been uniformly manifested through the whole course of this just and necessary war.*

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by His Majesty's command, said,

*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

It is His Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Wednesday, the 5th day of August next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Wednesday, the 5th day of August next.

*The Reader is requested to substitute the following in the Report of the Proceedings of the 20th of May, as being a more correct statement of the Speech of Mr.* DENT *on that occasion.*

Mr. DENT said, as Chairman to the Committee appointed to inquire into the frauds and abuses in relation to the sending and receiving letters, packets, and parcels, free of postage, he was instructed to ask leave of the House that a copy of the minutes of their proceedings be laid upon the table, and as he was not aware that an opposition would be made to the request, he should briefly state such reasons as the Committee presumed warranted the measure; at the same time he hoped for the indulgence of the House, if any opposition unexpectedly arose, should he then wish necessarily to go more into a detail of the business. In the first place, he observed, the difference of opinion in the Committee was very great upon almost every question; that much more evidence was yet to be gone through, which, at the advanced period of the session, rendered a full report being made very improbable, and almost impossible for a bill to be founded on such report afterwards; that one report, indeed, had been ordered and rejected, when the evidence filled only about fifty pages, and now the evidence taking up near four hundred pages, he feared would proportionably widen the difference of opinion. He therefore moved, without farther troubling the House, "That there be laid upon the table a copy of their proceedings."

[Mr. LONG and Mr. DUNDAS opposing the motion,]

Mr. Dent rose again, and said he really was sorry his motion had been objected to, for not having heard any reason why it should; not expecting it would be opposed, he was unprepared to go so fully into the merits of the application as he wished, still he would, to the best of his recollection, state, in addition to what he before had stated, other reasons, as also some answers, to what had fallen from his honourable friend (Mr Long). He intimated, that one objection to the minutes being laid on the table, was the quantity of matter therein contained being irrelevant to the order under which the Committee sat. If the honourable gentleman meant, by irrelevant matter, the production of a book from the General Post Office, called the Dead Letter Book, he must materially differ with him; and if he also alluded to Mr. Bonnor's evidence, he still feared they should not even in that particular agree; before he told the House his reason for differing in opinion, he begged leave to explain the contents of this Dead-Letter Book; in this book, he said, were entered all applications for letters containing money, bank [illegible]

of exchange, &c. which have been put into the Office, but not reached the party to whom they were addressed, it has, if he remembered right, five ruled columns in each page, the first containing the name of the party applying, and place of abode, the second column, the direction of the missing letter, the third, the name of the writer, the fourth, the contents of the letter; and the fifth, an account of the missing letter being found, (when such one instance happened) and of its being restored to the owner, with its contents, stating also the cause of its detention, upon this last column, Mr. Dent observed, he should chiefly ground his future remarks concerning the amount, as it there appeared, of property lost to the Public, as few instances, indeed, occurred in that column of money, &c. to any great amount, being recovered. He was sorry, he said, to inform the House, that the grievance he complained of, was of the most alarming nature, as it appeared a property, identified by the book in question, had not been found, to the amount of 14,000l. in the last four months, which would be at the enormous rate of 42,000l. per annum: this sum was composed of notes and bills, from five pounds to one, two, and three hundred, besides many guineas and half guineas, which latter being chiefly sent from and to poor and indigent people, such as men and maid servants, was a cruel and severe disappointment; and the more vexatious was it, as it appeared by examination that many of the half guineas are found loose in the letter bags at the Post Office, (owing to the careless manner in which they are put under the seals) of which no account is taken. It was true, a new Office had lately been established, to insure the safe carriage of money, on payment of a certain per centage, but Government derived no advantage from it; the clerks in this Office need not care how much money was lost in the common mode of letters going through the Post Office, and the reason was evident; some one or other benefited by the advanced rate of this new conveyance; and they wished naturally to increase that benefit, by driving all the money remittances into that channel. In regard to the loss of bills, &c. in the General Post Office, Mr. Dent said, he had seen letters addressed to the Post Office, stating the "loss of considerable property, and [illegible] was not the first time the same party had suffered, that if the Public were made acquainted with such circumstance, it would [illegible] greatly discredit the manner of conducting the Post Office, [illegible] of the most infinite consequence to that great national con[illegible]. As to the impropriety the honourable Member (Mr. Long) [illegible] in producing this book to the Committee, Mr. Dent [illegible] was within the order under which the Committee sat;

the order appoints the Committee to inquire into the frauds and abuses in relation to the sending and receiving letters, packets, and parcels, free of postage. Was it possible, he said, there should not be a very large number of letters franked by Members of both Houses of Parliament, and clerks and others in public offices, many of the latter coming and going free of postage, included, amongst those whose contents by this dead letter book amounted to so large a sum as 14,000l. in four months, the truth is, upon examination, many were found, some of which, if occasion required, he could particularize to the House. As to any objection being raised to Mr. Bonnor's evidence, he should of that gentleman briefly say, that he seemed to be a man of great information and ability, and that the evidence he had given appeared to him (Mr. Dent) to be clear, honest, and decisive, Mr. Bonnor was exonerated from the duties of his office as Deputy Comptroller, upon some dispute in the Post Office, and still received a salary of 700l. a year, though the place was nearly a sinecure, this, indeed, might be one reason why the honourable Member (Mr. Long) did not wish for his evidence, an evidence given without care to whom it was agreeable, yet Mr. Bonnor is not the only person exonerated from official duty receiving a salary, for he understood Mr. Palmer had a salary of 3000l. a year from the Post Office, and did even less than Mr. Bonnor, for the latter did occasionally attend. Mr. Dent then remarked, though Mr. Bonnor was exonerated from the duties of his office, still he was Deputy Comptroller, and was considered as such in the Post Office, having always had recourse to any books or papers in the Post Office he wished for, till he *once* had been examined by the Committee; for a day or two after that examination, being desirous of making an extract from some particular book, for the information of the Committee, he was refused the book, by an order of one of the Presidents. Mr. Dent observed, this was not the only instance in which the Post Office might be considered to have interfered with the authority of the Committee: a gentleman of acknowledged integrity and ability, who had been in the Post Office between twenty and thirty years, and was a Vice President, had given a few days since his evidence in regard to certain abuses in the Post Office, which evidence, Mr. Dent said, did him great credit; this gentleman had, within a day or two afterwards, been dismissed from his situation as Vice President, and was returned to the station he was taken from, viz. amongst the sorting clerks, if, therefore, it were true, which Mr. Dent said he had little doubt, that the evidence extracted by the Committee from this gentleman, was the occasion of his dismissal, he called on the House to assert its own dignity [illegible]

ſcandalous breach made on its privilege, which, if permitted to paſs unnoticed, from this period there *might* be an end to its authority; but *certainly* a concluſion there would be to the orders of the Houſe for promoting any good effects, by a Committee of Inquiry. He then adverted to the mode of ſending newſpapers by the poſt, and in particular by the Clerks of the Roads in the General Poſt Office, in which there was a monſtrous abuſe in their ſuppoſed privilege, for he could not find by any act of Parliament they were entitled to ſend newſpapers, free of poſtage, from this circumſtance aroſe an occaſion of great complaint amongſt many gentlemen in the country, not receiving regularly their newſpapers put into the General Poſt Office; it appeared the only competitors the Clerks of the Roads had in ſending newſpapers, were the news-dealers, who forwarded their papers under the ſanction of ſome Member's name, it was not unuſual, on the report of any great debate in that Houſe, or on receiving important intelligence from abroad, that gentlemen found themſelves diſappointed of their newſpapers the following poſt, they of courſe applied to the Provincial Poſtmaſter, he uſually expreſſed his ſorrow at the event, but being in the ſecret, and underſtanding the nature of the buſineſs, by way of friendly advice, adviſed the parties complaining to take their papers from ſome particular Clerk of the Poſt Office, and then they might be ſure of, and depend upon, a regular remittance. One of theſe Clerks of the Roads, it came out in examination, had cauſed many of his private letters to paſs free of poſtage, though not entitled to ſuch privilege, and it was underſtood the contents were directed to the country Bookſellers, informing them, if they took the town publications, ſuch as magazines, pamphlets, &c. through certain perſons, they would not only be ſent free of poſtage, but alſo at the London prices. Upon inſpection, it appeared that certain newſpapers were ſent unſtamped, many old ones bought at Coffee Houſes, for an halfpenny a piece, for the ſole purpoſe of incloſing letters, and, under the ſanction of the newſpaper, avoiding the poſtage; on the margin alſo of other newſpapers, a ſort of correſpondence was continually carried on, to the detriment of the Revenue; and one newſpaper, in particular, it came out in evidence, had theſe words written on the margin—"I am ſorry I could not ſend this letter before; but I have not been able to get an old newſpaper ſooner." Mr. Dent ſaid, he ſhould now conclude with obſerving, that the abuſes in franking, in the Cuſtom Houſe in particular, and the Excise Office, muſt be [illegible], as the poſtage of the former amounted to between five and [illegible] thouſand pounds a year, there being no cheque; the latter to upwards of three thouſand pounds. Government, indeed, had, ſince

notice was given in the House of an intended inquiry, issued very strong orders to hinder improper franking in all Public Offices, but he much feared it would only have a temporary effect, and that nothing short of an act of Parliament for each offence would cut up the abuse by the roots, he lamented much the Committee had been opened for all who came to have voices, as he believed it was the first instance of a Committee of Inquiry not being a secret one.—The bad effect in delay, &c. had been visibly felt, as gentlemen, not acquainted with the former evidence, frequently dropt in, and, by their questions, had repeated to them over and over again, what other gentlemen, who had attended from the beginning and daily, had debated at length, and settled Mr. Dent faithfully declared he meant nothing personal by this inquiry, that his only wish was (a duty incumbent on every Member in that House) to see justice done to individuals, the public mind satisfied as to public reports of abuses, and the revenue of the country properly collected, and as properly applied.

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The following Papers were laid on the table, for the perusal of the Members:

An Account of the PUBLIC DEBTS, as they stood at the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, on the 5th Day of January, 1795, with the Annual Interest, and other Charges, payable thereon.

| | Principal Debt. | | | Principal Debt exclusive of Stock purchased by Commissioners. | | | Interest of Debt, exclusive of what has been purchased by Commissioners | | | Charges of Management | | | Total of annual Interest and Management, exclusive of Stock purchased by Commissioners | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **EXCHEQUER.** | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| Annuities for long terms, 14l. per cent. expired anno 1792 | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | |
| 2-7th Excise, expired anno 1792 | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | |
| 3,700l. per week Excise | — | | | — | | | 30400 | 0 | 0 | 1,30 | 6 | 8 | 31830 | 6 | 8 |
| Anno 1706 | — | | | — | | | 2,254 | 11 | 6 | 1470 | 0 | 0 | 24724 | 11 | 6 |
| 1707 | — | | | — | | | 7770 | 10 | 0 | 375 | 12 | 2 | 815- | 2 | 2 |
| Per 1st act, anno 1708 | — | | | — | | | 4710 | 10 | 0 | 208 | 2 | 7 | 4918 | 12 | 7 |
| 2d act, anno 1708 | — | | | — | | | 10181 | 0 | 0 | 416 | 5 | 3 | 10597 | 5 | 3 |
| Annuities for 2 and 3 lives | — | | | — | | | 8095 | 12 | 0 | — | | | 8195 | 12 | 0 |
| single lives, anno 1745 | — | | | — | | | 10505 | 15 | 0 | — | | | 10565 | 15 | 0 |
| 1746 | — | | | — | | | 15125 | 0 | 0 | — | | | 15125 | 0 | 0 |
| 1757 | — | | | — | | | 10835 | 17 | 6 | — | | | 19835 | 17 | 6 |
| 1778 | — | | | — | | | 2648 | 0 | 0 | — | | | 2648 | 0 | 0 |
| 1779 | — | | | — | | | 4658 | 18 | 7 | — | | | 4658 | 18 | 7 |
| Annuities on lives, with benefit of survivorship, anno 1766 | — | | | — | | | 540 | 0 | 0 | — | | | 540 | 0 | 0 |
| anno 1789 | — | | | — | | | 18233 | 9 | 10¾ | 880 | 0 | 0 | 19113 | 9 | 10¾ |
| **CHIEF CASHIER OF THE BANK.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Annuities 3l. per cent. consolidated | 107399696 | 5 | 1¼ | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Additional capital, per act 33d Geo. III. | — | 6250000 | 0 | 0 | 117712696 | 5 | 1¼ | 3533180 | 17 | 9 | 48568 | 16 | 3 | 3581749 | 14 | 0 |
| per act 34th Geo. III. | — | 11000000 | 0 | 0 | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | |
| Annuities 3l. per cent. reduced — | — | 37340073 | 16 | 4 | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | |
| East-India additional capital, added per act 33d Geo. III. — — | — | 4200000 | 0 | 0 | 37580273 | 16 | 4 | 1127408 | 4 | 3 | 17084 | 4 | 10 | 1144492 | 9 | 1 |
| Annuities 4l. per cent. consolidated | — | 32750000 | 0 | 0 | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | |
| Additional capital, per act 34th Geo. III. | — | 2750000 | 0 | 0 | 35500000 | 0 | 0 | 1420000 | 0 | 0 | 14737 | 10 | 0 | 1434737 | 10 | 0 |
| Annuities 5l. per cent. consolidated | — | 17869993 | 9 | 10 | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | |
| Additional capital, per act 34th Geo. III. | — | 1926525 | 7 | 5 | 19796518 | 17 | 3 | 989825 | 19 | 0½ | 8908 | 8 | 7½ | 998734 | 7 | 8 |
| Long annuities 99 years, granted anno 1761 | — | — | | | — | | | 128250 | 0 | 0 | 1442 | 16 | 3 | 129692 | 16 | 3 |
| 98 — 1762 | — | — | | | — | | | 120000 | 0 | 0 | 1350 | 0 | 0 | 121350 | 0 | 0 |
| 80 — 1780 | — | — | | | — | | | 217500 | 0 | 0 | 2446 | 17 | 6 | 219946 | 17 | 6 |
| 78 — 1782 | — | — | | | — | | | 118125 | 0 | 0 | 1328 | 18 | 1½ | 119453 | 18 | 1½ |
| 77 — 1783 | — | — | | | — | | | 80000 | 0 | 0 | 900 | 0 | 0 | 80900 | 0 | 0 |
| 75½ — 1784 | — | — | | | — | | | 16500 | 0 | 0 | 185 | 12 | 6 | 16685 | 12 | 6 |
| 69¼ — 1790 | — | — | | | — | | | 24365 | 0 | 0 | 274 | 2 | 2 | 24639 | 7 | 2 |
| 66¼ — 1794 | — | — | | | — | | | 62791 | 13 | 4 | — | | | 62791 | 13 | 4 |
| Short annuities, 10 years, granted anno 1777, expired anno 1787 | — | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | | — | | |
| 30 years, granted anno 1778 | — | — | | | — | | | 147150 | 7 | 0 | 1655 | 8 | 10 | 148805 | 15 | 10 |
| 29 — 1779 | — | — | | | — | | | 257181 | 1 | 5 | 2893 | 5 | 8½ | 260074 | 7 | 1½ |
| 18¾ — 1789 | — | — | | | — | | | 14001 | 12 | 6 | 157 | 10 | 4 | 14159 | 2 | 10 |
| BANK OF ENGLAND. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Purchase of the South-Sea Company | — | 4000000 | 0 | 0 | 4000000 | 0 | 0 | 120000 | 0 | 0 | 1898 | 3 | 5 | 121898 | 3 | 5 |
| Circulating Exchequer bills — | — | 500000 | 0 | 0 | 500000 | 0 | 0 | 15000 | 0 | 0 | — | | | 15000 | 0 | 0 |
| Annuities 3l. per cent. anno 1714 | — | 1250000 | 0 | 0 | 1250000 | 0 | 0 | 37500 | 0 | 0 | — | | | 37500 | 0 | 0 |
| 1719 | — | 1750000 | 0 | 0 | 1750000 | 0 | 0 | 52500 | 0 | 0 | — | | | 52500 | 0 | 0 |
| 1743 | — | 3200000 | 0 | 0 | 3200000 | 0 | 0 | 96000 | 0 | 0 | 4000 | 0 | 0 | 100000 | 0 | 0 |
| 1746 | — | 986800 | 0 | 0 | 986800 | 0 | 0 | 29604 | 0 | 0 | — | | | 29604 | 0 | 0 |

| | Principal Debt. £ s. d. | Principal Debt, exclusive of Stock purchased by Commissioners £ s. d. | Interest of Debt, exclusive of what has been purchased by Commissioners. £ s. d. | Charges of Management. £ s. d. | Total of Annual Interest and Management, exclusive of Stock purchased by Commissioners £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] per cent. on 6,250,000l. 3l. per cent. consolidated annuities, created by act 33d Geo. III | — | — | — | — | — |
| ditto on 11,000,000l. ditto, 34th Geo. III. — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ditto on 2,750,000l. 4 per cent. ditto — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ditto on 1,926,525l. 5l. per cent. ditto — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ditto on the future actual value of the annuity of 1l. 5s. 5d. per cent, on the sum of 11,000,000l granted for 66 years and three months by the act of 34th Geo. III. at the end of 45 years, reckoning the same at 3l. per cent per annum | — | — | — | — | — |
| SOUTH-SEA COMPANY. | | | | | |
| On their present capital — — | 24065084 13 11½ | 20407484 13 11½ | 614024 10 9 | 14022 3 2 | 628046 13 11 |
| CHIEF CASHIER of the SOUTH-SEA COMPANY. | | | | | |
| Annuities 3l. per cent. anno 1751 — | 1919600 0 0 | 1441600 0 0 | 43?48 0 0 | 1079 15 6 | 44327 15 6 |
| | 259157773 12 7¾ | 244[illegible]4537[illegible] 12 7¾ | 9423341 15 6¼ | 127713 19 10½ | 9551055 15 4¾ |

The amount of Stock purchased by the Commissioners for liquidating the Public Debt, to the 5th day of January, 1795 £ 14,912,400 0 0

The interest of Debt purchased by the Commissioners, Annuities fallen in, and 1 per cent. on the capital borrowed, to 5th January, 1795 — — — — — — — 765,992 15 0

Memorandum.—No management has been yet allowed by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury upon 11,000,000l. 3 per cent Consolidated Annuities, nor upon 2,750,000l. 4 per cent. Consolidated Annuities, funded by act 34th Geo. III.

Exchequer,
[illegible]h day of February, 1795.

JAMES FISHER.

# REPORT.

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The COMMITTEE, to whom the Petition of the Merchants connected with, and trading to, the Islands of GRENADA and ST. VINCENT, was referred, have, pursuant to the Order of the House, considered the matter of the said Petition: To prove the allegations whereof,

YOUR Committee proceeded to examine several merchants of eminence connected with the islands of Grenada and Saint Vincent.

The concurring accounts received from these gentlemen fully substantiated the first allegation of the petition, respecting the nature and causes of the calamities sustained by those islands. From the situation in which the islands stood at the time when the last accounts came away, it was impossible that any particular detail could be given of the whole loss which has been incurred, but it appeared that in both the islands a large proportion of the estates had been laid waste, their manufactured produce plundered, and the cattle driven away, and in many of them the crops upon the ground, and the buildings and works, entirely destroyed. The necessary absence of the owners and Managers at the season of the crop was also represented as occasioning a material loss, even to those estates which might have escaped actual devastation.

In consequence of these events, not only a great part of the crop which would have been remitted home in the course of the present year has been lost, but even, on the supposition of a speedy restoration of tranquillity, the crop of the succeeding year must be materially affected; and a very considerable expence incurred in the interval, for repairing the works, and replacing the stock on the different estates, and in Grenada the interruption of the trade carried on with the free port established there must be considered as an addition to the distress of that island, and a farther diminution of its means of remittance.

On comparing the calculations from such materials as were in the possession of the gentlemen who attended your Committee, there appeared good reason to believe, that the amount of the loss in the remittances of the present year, together with the expence to be incurred in restoring the plantations to a state of cultivation, can hardly

be eſtimated at a leſs ſum than between 6 and 700,000l. in each of theſe iſlands.

It alſo appeared that the merchants connected with theſe iſlands, were under pecuniary engagements to a great extent upon the credit of the crop, which would have been remitted to them if theſe calamities had not happened, and that conſequently, under the preſent circumſtances, theſe engagements could not be punctually diſcharged by them without ſome extraordinary aſſiſtance. The ſame circumſtances would prevent the merchants from continuing the uſual advances for the ordinary cultivation of the iſlands, and muſt ſtill more diſable them from furniſhing the additional ſums which would be required in conſequence of the late devaſtation.

It was ſtated, to the conviction of your Committee, that no aſſiſtance would be effectual to obviate very ſerious inconveniencies, both to individuals and to the Public, in reſpect both to commerce and revenue, which did not afford the means of procuring an advance of money equal to a conſiderable proportion of the loſſes and expences above ſtated; and which advance, from the nature of the caſe, could not come into a courſe of repayment till after the crop of the next year ſhould have been remitted to this country, and could not be wholly made good in a leſs period than from two years and an half to three years.

Your Committee alſo found that there was reaſon to believe, that to a very large extent, unexceptionable ſecurity could be given for ſuch advantages, but nevertheleſs, that the length of the period for which they were neceſſary, rendered them, in the opinion of the perſons concerned, impoſſible to be procured by the exertions of private credit. One of the gentlemen examined, engaged in a moſt extenſive ſcale of buſineſs, and poſſeſſing a great capital, as well as ſubſtantial ſecurities unconnected with the Weſt Indies, pointedly ſtated this, from his own recent experience, and added, that the difficulties proceeded not from money being valuable; that it was eaſily procured for periods of two or three months; but that, even with good credit, and on the beſt ſecurities, it was at all times difficult, and at this moment impoſſible, to procure ſo large a ſum for ſo long a period as was neceſſary in the preſent caſe.

Your Committee were ſtrongly confirmed in this opinion by the information they received from Mr. Alderman Curtis, Mr. Alderman [illegible]hington, and Mr. Thornton, Members of the Committee; [illegible] alſo from ſome gentlemen who had been Commiſſioners [illegible] the act, paſſed in the year 1793, for the relief of commer- [illegible] credit

Your Committee feel it their duty to submit to the House, as the result of their examination, that the allegations in the petition referred to them have been fully proved, and particularly that the engagements which have been contracted on the credit of the expected remittances cannot be fulfilled, nor those supplies furnished which are necessary for the future cultivation of the islands, unless, on a consideration of the special circumstances of the case, Parliament should in its wisdom think fit to adopt such measures as may render the credit and resources of the parties interested effectual for the purpose of relieving them from their present embarrassments.

An ACCOUNT, shewing how the Money given for the Service of the Year 1794 has been disposed of, distinguished under the several Heads, until the 14th Day of April, 1794, and the Parts remaining unsatisfied, with the Deficiency thereupon.

| SERVICES. | £. s. d. | Sums voted or granted. £. s. d. | Sums paid. £. s. d. | Remains to be paid. £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **NAVY.** | | | | |
| For wages, and wear and tear of the Navy, and the victualling thereof for 85,000 men, including 12,115 marines, from the 1st day of January, 1794 — | 4,199,000 0 0 | | | |
| For the ordinary of the Navy, including half pay to sea and marine Officers, for the year 1794 — | 558,021 11 3 | | | |
| Towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of ships of war, in His Majesty's yards, and other extra works, over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of Wear and Tear, and Ordinary, for the year 1794 — — | 547,310 0 0 | 5,304,331 11 3 | 3,946,222 19 0 | 1,358,108 12 3 |
| **ORDNANCE.** | | | | |
| For Ordnance sea service — — | 221,000 0 0 | | | |
| For Ordnance land service — — | 701,736 3 8 | | | |
| For the expence of services performed by the Office of Ordnance for land service, previous to the 31st day of December, 1783, and not provided for by Parliament — — — | 576 19 5 | | | |
| For defraying the expence of services performed by the | | | | |

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Office of Ordnance for land service, and not provided for by Parliament, in 1792 ——— | 925 | 4 | 3 | | | | | | |
| For defraying the expence of services performed by the Office of Ordnance for land service, and not provided for by Parliament, in 1793 —— | 611,419 | 11 | 8 | | | | | | |
| For defraying the expence of services performed by the Office of Ordnance for sea service, and not provided for by Parliament, in 1793 ——— | 30,350 | 3 | 6 | | | | | | |
| | | | | 1,566,008 | 2 | 6 | 1,566,008 | 2 | 6 |

## FORCES, &c.

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| For defraying the charge of 60,244 effective men, for guards, garrisons, and other His Majesty's Land Forces, including those in Guernsey, and Jersey, in Flanders on an expedition under the command of the Earl of Moira, and on board the Fleet, including the charge of pay of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and private men, the charge of cloathing of non-commissioned officers and private men, the charge of agency, and the charge of allowances to be made to Captains, Paymasters, Surgeons, Riding Masters, and for Serjeants, from the 25th day of December, 1793, to the 24th day of December, 1794, both inclusive ——— ——— | 1,452,812 | 12 | 2 | | | | | | |
| For maintaining His Majesty's Forces in the plantations, including those at Gibraltar, and a corps of foot in New South Wales, including the charge of the pay of the commissioned officers, non-commissioned of- | | | | | | | | | |

| | £. | s. | d. | Sums voted or granted. £. s. d. | Sums paid. £. s. d. | Remains to be paid. £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ficers and private men, the charge of cloathing of the non-commissioned officers and private men, the charge of agency, and the charge of allowances to be made to Captains, Paymasters, Riding-masters, Surgeons, and Serjeants, from the 25th day of December, 1793, to the 24th day of December, 1794, both inclusive | 677,682 | 12 | 4 | | | |
| For defraying the difference between the charge of the British and Irish establishments of 5 regiments of foot, serving in the West Indies, at Gibraltar, and on board the Fleet, from the 25th of December, 1793, to the 24th day of December, 1794, both inclusive | 50,279 | 13 | 4 | | | |
| For the pay necessary to be advanced to one regiment of Light Dragoons, and 9 battalions of foot, for service in East India, for the year 1794 ——— | 8,323 | 17 | 10½ | | | |
| For defraying the charge of recruiting, contingencies, and of the allowances of bread and necessaries for His Majesty's Land Forces, of the allowance of extra feed to the cavalry in Great Britain, and of the charge of poundage to be returned to the infantry, for the year 1794 ——— ——— | 219,500 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of levy money, and of horse furniture, and accoutrements, for the augmentation to be made to His Majesty's Forces, in the year 1794 ——— ——— | 210,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of General and Staff Officers, and Officers of the Hospitals, serving with the Forces | | | | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, in Flanders, and under the command of Earl Moira, for the year 1794 | 97,389 | 1 | 1 |
| For defraying the charge of the embodied Militia in South Britain, of several corps of Fencible men in North Britain, and of a corps of Fencible men in the Isle of Man, from the 25th day of December, 1793, to the 24th day of December, 1794, both inclusive | 687,420 | 14 | 0 |
| For defraying the charge of contingencies, of the allowance of bread, and necessaries, and of poundage for embodied militia, and corps of fencible men, in the year 1794 | 160 000 | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the charge of cloathing for the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1794 | 93,653 | 3 | 9 |
| For defraying the charge of regiments, and 40 troops of fencible cavalry, to be raised for service in Great Britain, from the 25th day of April, 1794, to the 24th day of December following, both inclusive | [illegible]00,1[illegible]7 | 16 | 6 |
| For defraying the charge of full pay to supernumerary officers of His Majesty's Forces, including the officers of independent companies, from the 25th day of December, 1793, to the 24th of December, 1794, both inclusive | 39,118 | 16 | 7 |
| For the allowance of the Paymaster General of His Majesty's forces, to the Secretary at War, to the Commissary General of the Musters, to the Judge Advocate General, to the Comptrollers of the accounts of the army, and of the amount of Exchequer | | | |

| | £. s. d. | Sums voted or granted. £. s. d. | Sums paid. £. s. d. | Remains to be paid. £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] paid by the Paymaster General, for the [illegible] 1794 | 64,790 18 3 | | | |
| For the reduced officers of His Majesty's land forces, and marines, for the year 1794 | 146,843 10 10 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of allowances to several private gentlemen of the late troop of Horse Guards, for the year 1794 | 156 9 2 | | | |
| For the several officers, late in the service of the States General, for the year 1794 | 3,000 0 0 | | | |
| For the reduced officers of His Majesty's British American forces, for the year 1794 | 55,092 10 0 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of allowances to several reduced officers of His Majesty's British American forces, for the year 1794 | 4,907 10 0 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of pensions to be paid to the widows of commissioned officers, and expences attending the same, for the year 1794 | 9,931 19 3 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of the in and out pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, and the expences of the said Hospital, for the year 1794 | 151,742 5 10 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of corps transferred from the Irish to the British establishment, and of augmentations to His Majesty's forces for several periods, in the year 1793 | 185,667 15 6 | | | |
| Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of His Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred from | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| the 25th day of December 1792, to the 24th day of December 1793 | 808,805 | 14 | 4 | | | | | | |
| For defraying the charge of 18,000 Hanoverians in the pay of Great Britain, for the year 1794 | 538,874 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | |
| For defraying the charge of 12,000 men, of the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy for the year 1794, pursuant to treaty | 304,209 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | |
| For defraying the charge of 3,000 men, of the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy for the year 1794, pursuant to treaty | 102,073 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | |
| For defraying the charge of 754 men, of the troops of the Margrave of Badin, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy for the year 1794, pursuant to treaty | 24,067 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | |
| To enable His Majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Sardinia | 200,000 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | |
| | | | | 6,636,560 | 0 | 9½ | 6,636,560 | 0 | 7½ |
| For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the Province of Nova Scotia, from the 1st day of January 1794, to the 1st day of January 1795 | | | | 5,315 | 0 | 0 | 5,315 | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of New Brunswick in America, from the 24th day of June 1794, to the 24th day of June 1795 | | | | 4,400 | 0 | 0 | 4,400 | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the province of Upper Canada, from the 31st day of December 1793, to the 31st day of December 1794 | | | | 6,450 | 0 | 0 | 6,450 | 0 | 0 |

| | Sums voted or granted. | | | Sums paid. | | | Remains to be paid. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| For defraying the charge of the civil eſtabliſhment of the iſland of St. John in America, from the 1ſt day of January 1794, to the 1ſt day of January 1795 | 1,900 | 0 | 0 | 1,900 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of the civil eſtabliſhment of the iſland of Cape Breton in America, from the 24th day of June 1794, to the 24th day of June 1795 | 1,800 | 0 | 0 | 1,800 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of the ſalaries of the Governor and civil officers of the iſland of Newfoundland, from the 1ſt day of April 1794, to the 1ſt day of April 1795, and alſo of a patent under the Great Seal, creating a Court of Civil and Criminal Juriſdiction | 1,344 | 1 | 6 | 1,344 | 1 | 6 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of the civil eſtabliſhment of the Bahama iſlands, in addition to the ſalaries now paid to the public officers out of the duty fund, and other incidental charges attending the ſame, from the 1ſt day of January 1794, to the 1ſt day of January 1795 | 4,250 | 0 | 0 | 4,250 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of the ſalary to the Chief Juſtice of the Bermudas, or Somers iſlands, from the 24th day of June 1794, to the 24th of June 1795 | 580 | 0 | 0 | 290 | 0 | 0 | 290 | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the charge of the ſalary to the Chief Juſtice of the iſland of Dominica, from the 1ſt day of January 1794, to the 1ſt day of January 1795 | 600 | 0 | 0 | 600 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For defraying the charge of the civil eſtabliſhment of New South Wales, from the 10th day of October 1793, to the 10th day of October 1794 | 4,795 | 8 | 2 | 4,795 | 8 | 2 | | | |
| To be employed in repairing, maintaining, and ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa | 13,000 | 0 | 0 | 13,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For the expences of the new roads of communication, and building bridges in the highlands of Scotland, for the year 1794 | 4,500 | 0 | 0 | 3,500 | 0 | 0 | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| For defraying the extraordinary expences of His Majesty's Mint, in the year 1793 | 18,844 | 12 | 4 | 18,844 | 12 | 4 |
| For the purpose of defraying the expences of the Board of Agriculture, for the year 1794 | 3,000 | 0 | 0 | 3,000 | 0 | 0 |
| To be advanced to the Governor and Company of Merchants of England trading to the Levant seas, to be applied in assisting the Company in carrying on their trade | 5,000 | 0 | 0 | 5,000 | 0 | 0 |
| To be issued and paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the accompt of the Commissioners for the reduction of the national debt | 200,000 | 0 | 0 | 200,000 | 0 | 0 |
| To John Farhill, Esq. Secretary to the Commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, for salaries of the officers, and incidental expences of the said commission | 1,435 | 10 | 0 | 1,435 | 9 | 6 |
| To make good the like sum which has been issued by His Majesty's orders, in pursuance of the addresses of the House of Commons | 46,619 | 13 | 7 | 46,619 | 13 | 7 |
| To make good the like sum issued to James Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household, for the expence of rendering the House of Peers more commodious, by warming and ventilating the same, pursuant to their address | 465 | 11 | $10\frac{1}{2}$ | 465 | 11 | $10\frac{1}{2}$ |
| To make good the like sum issued to sundry persons, on account of the suffering refugee Clergy, and Laiety of France | 27,692 | 4 | $6\frac{1}{2}$ | 27,692 | 4 | $6\frac{1}{2}$ |
| To make good the like sum issued to Sir William Chambers, on account of works at the Fleet prison | 3,376 | 8 | 0 | 3,376 | 8 | 0 |
| To make good the like sum issued to ditto, on account of works at Somerset place, and for fixtures at the Signet and Privy Seal offices, and the offices of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall | 9,255 | 6 | 9 | 9,255 | 6 | 9 |
| To make good the like sum issued to Joseph White, Esq. to pay the sum [illegible] the salaries of the Commissioners for auditing the public accounts and their officers, for land-tax, for the year [illegible], and to John | | | | | | |

| | Sums voted or granted. | | | Sums paid. | | | Remains to be paid. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| Wrigglesworth, Esq. to pay arrears to sundry persons from the office for auditing the public accompts, to the 30th day of July 1793 | 1,814 | 15 | 4 | 1,814 | 15 | 4 | | | |
| To make good the like sum issued to William Chinnery Esq. for the discharge of debts contracted by Master-Tully, late Agent, and Consul General at Tripoli | 2,111 | 1 | 0 | 2,111 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| To make good the like sum issued to John Marsh and John Sprange, Esqs. as a compensation for their trouble in inquiring into, and reporting upon the cases of persons who sustained losses on evacuating the Mosquito Shore, in consequence of the Convention entered into by His Majesty with the King of Spain, in the year 1786 | 1,084 | 15 | 0 | 1,084 | 15 | 0 | | | |
| To make good the like sum issued to Patrick Rooney Nugent, Esq. acting Surveyor General of lands at Cape Breton, on account of surveys, and other services | 669 | 9 | 11 | 669 | 9 | 11 | | | |
| To make good the like sum issued to the Bishop of Quebeck for expences in proceeding to his see; to Alexander Davison, Esq. to reimburse expences, in purchasing stationary for the Surveyor Generals, and printing offices, in Upper Canada; to John Reeves, Esq. for expences in the Administration of Justice at Newfoundland; to William Chinnery, Esq. to discharge sums due to the late Attorney General of Nova Scotia, for grants of lands to the Royalists; and to the representatives of Philip Yonge, Esq. for salary due to him as late surveyor of lands in Georgia | 1,504 | 10 | 6 | 1,504 | 10 | 6 | | | |
| To make good the like sum issued to William Pollock, Esq. as the balance due to him on account of the Commissioners appointed for inquiry into the laws, &c. of the isle of Jersey | 537 | 12 | 6 | 537 | 12 | 6 | | | |
| To make good the like sum issued to William Chinnery, Esq. to reimburse to Samuel Starbuck, jun. who carried on the whale fishery in Nova Sco- | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ...ia, and who arrived at Milford Haven in order to settle in this kingdom, the losses sustained by him in consequence of the loss of his property by such removal, and for his passage | 248 | 18 | 0 | 248 | 18 | 0 |
| To make good the like sum issued to Thomas Cotton, Esq. for defraying the expence of allowances for the relief of American civil officers, and others who have suffered on account of their attachment to His Majesty's Government | 19,500 | 0 | 0 | 19,500 | 0 | 0 |
| To make good the like sum issued for His Majesty's service abroad, between the 5th day of January 1793, and the 5th day of January 1794 | 14,585 | 10 | 6 | 14,585 | 10 | 6 |
| To make good the like sum issued to the late Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and land revenues belonging to the Crown, and their officers | 2,043 | 0 | 0 | 2,043 | 0 | 0 |
| To make good the like sum which has been issued in consequence of the expences incurred in carrying on the prosecution against Warren Hastings, Esq. | 10,749 | 3 | 8 | 10,749 | 3 | 8 |
| To make good the like sum which has been issued for the expences of sending provisions, and sundry articles to the settlement in New South Wales, and of the amount of bills drawn, and of other expences incurred on account of the convicts at that settlement, and which have not been made good by Parliament | 19,820 | 8 | 10 | 19,820 | 8 | 10 |
| To make good the like sum issued to Duncan Campbell, Esq. for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the river Thames, and which has not been made good by Parliament | 11,393 | 4 | 8 | 11,393 | 4 | 8 |
| To make good the like sum issued to James Bradley, Esq. for the expence of maintaining, and guarding convicts in Langston and Portsmouth harbours, and which has not been made good by Parliament | 13,576 | 17 | 8½ | 13,576 | 17 | 8½ |
| To make good the like sum which has been issued out of His Majesty's civil list to sundry persons, between the 14th day of February 1794, and the 5th day of April following | 15,277 | 9 | 7¾ | 15,277 | 9 | 7¾ |

| | Sums voted or granted. | | | Sums paid. | | | Remains to be paid. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| For the payment of such part of the principal and interest thereupon, as shall become due on or before the 10th day of October, 1794, on all the orders made out pursuant to an act of the 28th year of his present Majesty's reign, for giving relief to such persons as have suffered in their rights and properties, during the late unhappy dissentions in America, and for making compensation to such persons as have suffered in their rights, in consequence of the cession of the province of East Florida to the King of Spain — — — | 211,295 | 6 | 8½ | 209,673 | 4 | 2 | 1,622 | 2 | 6½ |
| For the payment of such part of the principal and interest thereupon, as shall become due on or before the 10th of October 1794, on all the orders made out pursuant to an act of the 30th year of his present Majesty's reign, for granting relief to such persons as have suffered in their rights and properties, during the late unhappy dissentions in America, and for making compensation to such persons as have suffered in their rights, in consequence of the cession of the province of East Florida to the King of Spain — — — | 56,796 | 7 | 6 | 53,145 | 6 | 6 | 3,651 | 1 | 0 |
| To John Wilmot, Esq. late one of the Commissioners for American claims, for a clerk employed to deliver out certificates signed by the said late Commissioners — — — | 242 | 19 | 6 | 242 | 19 | 6 | | | |
| For rewards to the officers of the Exchequer, for managing, directing, and paying the orders made out for the relief of the American sufferers, &c. — — — | 1,160 | 0 | 0 | 1,160 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| To Thomas Marsham, Esq. Secretary to the Commissioners appointed for issuing Exchequer bills to a limited amount, by an act 33d Geo. III. Cap. 29, for the purposes therein mentioned, for expences incurred in the execution of the said act — — — | 3,000 | 0 | 0 | 3,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |

| | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Robert Jennings, Esq. to be applied for the trouble and expences of himself, and other officers of the Exchequer, in making out and paying off the Exchequer bills, issued pursuant to an act 33d Geo. III. Cap. 29, for the purposes therein mentioned | 1,500 0 0 | 1,500 0 0 | |
| To the Usher of the Exchequer, for necessaries furnished the office, for making out, issuing, and paying off, the said Exchequer bills | 1,188 15 10½ | 1,188 15 10½ | |
| To make good the deficiency of the malt duty, granted for the service of the year 1792, at lady day 1794 | 216,822 5 10 | 216,822 5 10 | |
| To make good the deficiency of the land tax, granted for the service of the year 1793 | 286,683 7 10 | 286,683 7 10 | |
| To make good the deficiency of the grants, for the service of the year 1793 | 475,022 13 10½ | 475,022 13 10½ | |
| To pay off, and discharge the principal sum of 2,000,000l. in Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act 33d Geo. III. and charged upon the first aids to be granted in Parliament, for the service of the year 1794; together with the interest and charges attending the same | 2,085,617 0 5 | 2,085,617 0 5 | |
| To pay off, and discharge the principal sum of 2,000,000l. in Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of one other act 33d Geo. III. and charged farther upon the first aids to be granted in Parliament, for the service of the year 1794, together with the interest, and charges attending the same | 2,077,764 6 3 | 2,077,764 6 3 | |
| To pay off, and discharge the principal sum of 1,500,000l. in Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act 33d Geo. III. for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, and charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of Parliament, together with the interest and charges attending the same | 1,553,492 14 2 | 1,553,492 14 2 | |
| To the Usher of the Exchequer, for necessaries furnished the Exchequer and offices | 848 2 9¾ | 779 2 6½ | 69 0 3¼ |

To the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for receiving,

| | Sums voted or granted. | | | Sums paid. | | | Remains to be paid. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| paying, and accounting for 11,000,000l. raised by annuities, for the service of the year 1794 | 8,863 | 14 | 2 | 8,863 | 14 | 2 | | | |
| To ditto, for discounts on prompt payments to the contributors of the said 11,000,000l. | 184,465 | 13 | 0 | 184,465 | 13 | 0 | | | |
| To ditto, to be by them distributed, and paid to and amongst the proprietors of the several fortunate tickets in a lottery, granted for raising 740,666l. 13s. 4d. for the service of the said year 1794 | 500,000 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 500,000 | 0 | 0 |
| To ditto, for receiving the contributions to the said lottery; paying the prizes &c. and for discounts on prompt payment to the several contributors | 1,573 | 12 | 9 | 1,573 | 12 | 9 | | | |
| For the charges and expences in preparing and drawing the said lottery: and for taking in tickets, and delivering out certificates in lieu thereof | 11,300 | 0 | 0 | 7,800 | 0 | 0 | 3.500 | 0 | 0 |
| To enable His Majesty to defray any extraordinary expences which may be incurred for the service of the year 1794, and to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require | 2,500,000 | 0 | 0 | 2,500,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | 24,164,077 | 18 | 9 | 22,295,837 | 2 | 8¼ | 1,868,240 | 16 | 0¾ |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Whereof has been issued at the Exchequer to the Paymaster of the forces for army services, &c. — — | 2,440,000 | 0 | [illegible] |
| To the Treasurer of the Navy, 60,000l. to be advanced for the value of the prizes taken by the fleet under the command of Lord Howe, which being a naval service was therefore paid over to the Paymaster of the forces, and applied likewise for army services — — | 60,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | 2,500,000 | 0 | 0 |

Towards satisfying the same.

| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| There remains in the Exchequer of contributions to a lottery 1794 — — — | 27,230 | 11 | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | | | |
| To be raised by Exchequer bills on the malt duty | 248,037 | 9 | $5\frac{1}{2}$ | | | |
| | | | | 275,268 | 0 | 9 |
| Deficiency of Ways and Means to satisfy the services — | | | | 1,592,972 | 15 | $3\frac{3}{4}$ |

## WAYS and MEANS for answering the same.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By 4s. per pound land tax | 2,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| By the duty on malt, continued anno 1794 | 750,000 | 0 | 0 |
| By the surplus of the Consolidated Fund, on the 5th of April, 1794 | 231,841 | 16 | 10 |
| By the surplus of the Consolidated Fund, arisen between the said 5th of April 1794, and the 5th of April 1795, being 848.915l. 4s. 2¼d. short of the sum of 2,697,000l. for which the same was given by Parliament | 1,848,084 | 15 | 9¾ |
| By Exchequer bills, charged upon the first aids granted for the service of the Year 1795 | 2,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| By Exchequer bills charged farther upon ditto | 1,500,000 | 0 | 0 |
| By Exchequer bills charged upon the first aids granted for the service of the Year 1795 | 2,500,000 | 0 | 0 |
| By annuities | 11,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| By a lottery | 740,666 | 13 | 4 |
| Profit by forfeiture on not completing the whole payments on 50 Lottery Tickets which were returned into the Exchequer, and were sold for 13l. 19s. 2d. less than the amount of the subscription price of 12l. 10s. 4d. per ticket | 511 | 17 | 6 |
| | 22,571,105 | 3 | 5¼ |
| Deficiency of the Ways and Means. | 1,592,972 | 15 | 3¾ |
| | 24,164,077 | 18 | 9 |

MEMORANDUM.

The ARREARS of former Supplies remaining unpaid, for which Money is provided, are as follow, viz.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| For the late African Company's creditors | 900 | 12 | 10 |
| For Georgia bills, remainder of 15,496l. 19s. 1¾d. | 570 | 17 | 7½ |
| To make good the deficiency of the duty at 4½ per cent. granted anno 1785 | 810 | 13 | 5½ |
| To complete 600l. granted anno 1788, for the salary of the Chief Justice of Dominica | 177 | 1 | 0 |
| To pay principal and interest of orders made out pursuant to an act 28 Geo. III. for relief of American Officers, and persons who have suffered by the cession of East Florida, and charged on the supplies for the year 1789 | 733 | 4 | 4½ |
| To pay ditto, made out pursuant to the said act, and charged on the supplies for the year 1790 | 396 | 17 | 9¾ |
| To pay ditto, made out pursuant to an act 30 Geo. III. and charged on ditto | 163 | 14 | 10½ |
| To pay ditto, made out pursuant to an act 28 Geo. III. and charged on the supplies for the year 1791 | 529 | 0 | 2¼ |
| To pay ditto, made out pursuant to an act 30 Geo. III. and charged on ditto | 5014 | 10 | 10 |
| To pay ditto, made out pursuant to an act 28 Geo. III. and charged on the supplies for the year 1792 | 662 | 18 | 7½ |
| To pay ditto, made out pursuant to an act 30 Geo. III. and charged on ditto | 3200 | 12 | 3¼ |
| To pay ditto, made out pursuant to an act 28 Geo. III. and charged on the supplies for the year 1793 | 910 | 18 | 9¼ |
| To pay ditto, made out pursuant to an act 30 Geo. III. and charged on ditto | 2133 | 5 | 2½ |
| For the civil establishment of Cape Breton, charged on the supply for the year 1791 | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| For salaries to the Officers of the Bahama Island, ditto | 2314 | 0 | 0 |
| For ditto to the Chief Justice of Dominica, charged on the supplies, 1793 | 115 | 1 | 5 |
| | 21,049 | 9 | 3½ |

Presented the 14th day of April, 1795, by

W. SPEER.

## SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1795.

### NAVY.

January 8, 1795.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. That 100,000 men be employed for the sea service, for the year 1795, including 15,000 marines. | | | |
| 2. That a sum, not exceeding 4l. per man per month, be allowed for maintaining the said 100,000 men, for 13 months, including ordnance for sea service — — — | 5200000 | 0 | 0 |
| February 17. | | | |
| 1. For the ordinary of the Navy, including half pay to sea and marine officers, for the year 1795 — | 589613 | 3 | 9 |
| 2. Towards the buildings, re buildings, and repairs of ships of war in His Majesty's and the Merchants' yards, and other extra works, over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of Wear and Tear and Ordinary, for the year 1795 — — | 525840 | 0 | 0 |
| Note.—March 4, it was resolved, That provision be made for enabling His Majesty to satisfy all the bills payable in course of the Navy and Victualling Offices, which were made out on or before the 30th day of September, 1793, amounting to the sum of 1,863,016l. 3s. 2d. | | | |
| | 6314523 | 3 | 9 |

### LAND SERVICE.

January 22, 1795.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. That a number of land forces, including 3,882 Invalids, not exceeding 119,380 effective men, commissioned and non-commissioned Officers included, be employed for the year 1795. | | | |
| 2. For defraying the charge of 119,380 effective men for guards, garrisons, and other His Majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey, on the Continent, and on board the fleet — | 2777534 | 19 | 1 |
| 3. For maintaining His Majesty's forces in the Plantations, including those serving at Gibraltar, and in Corsica, and a corps of foot in New South Wales, for the year 1795 — — | 091307 | 15 | 7 |
| 4. For defraying the difference between the British and Irish pay of six regiments of foot for service in the West Indies, for the year 1795 — — | 40096 | 9 | 9 |
| 5. On account for the pay necessary to be advanced to one regiment of light dragoons, and nine battalions of foot, for service in East India, for the year 1795 | 8323 | 17 | 10½ |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6. For defraying the charge of recruiting, contingencies, and of the allowance of bread and necessaries for His Majesty's land forces, of the allowance of extra feed to the cavalry in Great Britain, and of the charge of poundage to be returned to the infantry, for the year 1795 | 385000 | 0 | 0 |
| 7. For defraying the charge of levy-money and subsistence, and of the allowance for clothing and accoutrements for the augmentations to be made to His Majesty's land forces, in the year 1795 | 480000 | 0 | 0 |
| 8. For the pay of General and Staff Officers, and Officers of the Hospitals, serving with the forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, and on the Continent, for the year 1795 | 115820 | 0 | 3 |
| 9. For defraying the charges of full pay to supernumerary Officers of His Majesty's forces, including the Officers of independent companies, and of regiments disbanded, or to be disbanded, for the year 1795 | 79978 | 4 | 4 |
| 10. For the allowance to the Paymaster General of His Majesty's forces, to the Secretary at War, to the Commissary General of the Musters, to the Judge Advocate General, to the Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army, their deputies and clerks, including the contingent expences of their respective offices, and for the amount of Exchequer fees to be paid by the Paymaster General, for the year 1795 | 110820 | 18 | 3 |
| 11. Upon account of the reduced Officers of His Majesty's land forces and marines, for the year 1795 | 128864 | 3 | [illegible] |
| 12. For defraying the charge of allowances to the several Officers and private Gentlemen of the late troops of Horse Guards, for the year 1795 | 135 | 16 | 3 |
| 13. On account of the several Officers late in the service of the States General, for the year 1795 | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| 14. Upon account of the reduced Officers of His Majesty's British American forces, for the year 1795 | 52500 | 0 | 0 |
| 15. For defraying the charge of allowances to several reduced Officers of His Majesty's British American forces, for the year 1795 | 7500 | 0 | 0 |
| 16. Upon account for defraying the charge of pensions to be paid to the widows of commissioned Officers, and expences attending the same, for the year 1795 | 10387 | 13 | 3 |
| 17. Upon account of expences of the new roads of communication, and building bridges, in the Highlands of North Britain, in the year 1795 | 4500 | 0 | 0 |
| 18. For defraying the charge of the embodied militia in South Britain, and of several corps of fencible infantry in Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man, for the year 1795 | 930047 | 12 | [illegible] |
| 19. For defraying the charge of contingencies, of the allowance of bread and necessaries, and of poundage for the embodied militia, and corps of fencible infantry in Great Britain, for the year 1795 | 210000 | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 20. For defraying the charge of clothing for the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1795 | 107[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21. For defraying the charge of several corps of fencible cavalry, for service in Great Britain, for the year 1795 —— —— | 280018 | 8 | 3 |
| 22. For defraying the charge of the allowance of bread and necessaries, and of extra feed for the several corps of fencible cavalry in Great Britain, for the year 1795 —— —— | [illegible] | 0 | 0 |
| 23. For defraying the charge of 18,000 Hanoverians, in the pay of Great Britain, for the year 1795 | 495655 | 0 | 0 |
| 24. For defraying the charge of 12,531 men of the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy for the year 1795, pursuant to treaty — — | 233253 | 0 | 0 |
| 25. For defraying the charge of 3000 men of the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy for the year 1795, pursuant to treaty —— | 76076 | 0 | 0 |
| 26. For defraying the charge of 2,289 men of the troops of the reigning Duke of Brunswick, together with the subsidy for the year 1795, pursuant to treaty | 92242 | 0 | 0 |
| **February 23.** | | | |
| 1. Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of His Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred, from the 25th day of December, 1793, to the 24th day of December, 1794 —— | 3063968 | 12 | 4 |
| 2. For the charge of several regiments and corps to be raised for the service of Great Britain, in pursuance of an act passed in the last session of Parliament, for enabling subjects of France to enlist as soldiers in regiments to serve on the Continent of Europe, &c. | 427269 | 1 | 6 |
| **February 26.** | | | |
| To enable His Majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Sardinia —— | 200000 | 0 | 0 |
| **March 3.** | | | |
| 1. To the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, for extraordinaries incurred during the late war in America, by the Hessian troops employed in His Majesty's service, pursuant to the treaty with his Serene Highness | 68850 | 12 | 0¾ |
| 2. For monies due to the representatives of the late Richard Oswald, Esq. as Contractor for supplying bread and waggons to the allied army in Germany, under the command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, between September 1758 and March 1763, and as Commissary of Bread and Forage, from the 19th of February, 1759, to the 8th of June, 1760, and as Superintendant of English and Hessian Waggon Trains, from the 1st of June, 1762, to the 1st of January, 1763 —— —— — | 41688 | 14 | 6¾ |
| **April 27.** | | | |
| 1. For defraying the charge of several augmentations to the embodied militia, in the year 1794 | 23806 | 11 | 5 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. For defraying the charge of corps transferred from the Irish to the British establishment, for several periods, in the year 1794 — — | 246877 | 15 | [illegible] |
| 3. For defraying the charge of the in and out pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, and the expences of the said Hospital for the year 1795 — — — | 149856 | 15 | 1 |

Note.—On the 23d of February it was resolved, That provision be made for the pay and cloathing of the militia, for the year 1795.

17th March, Resolved, That provision be made for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern Officers of the militia, in time of peace.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 11720547 | 12 | [illegible] |

## ORDNANCE.

January 22, 1795.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. For defraying the expence of services performed by the Office of Ordnance, for land service, and not provided for by Parliament in 1793 — | 34155 | 1 | 9 |
| 2. For defraying the expence of services performed by the Office of Ordnance, for sea service, and not provided for by Parliament in 1793 — — | 25357 | 14 | 5 |
| 3. For defraying the expence of services performed by the Office of Ordnance, for land service, and not provided for by Parliament in 1794 — | 1045305 | 19 | 8 |
| 4. For defraying the expence of services performed by the Office of Ordnance, for sea service, and not provided for by Parliament in 1794 — — | 39387 | 0 | [illegible] |
| 5. For the charge of the Office of Ordnance, for land service, for the year 1795 — | 1176804 | 17 | 9 |
| | 2321010 | 13 | 10 |

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

February 19, 1795.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the province of Upper Canada, for the year 1795 — — | 7175 | 0 | 0 |
| 2. For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the province of Nova Scotia, for the year 1795 — — — | 4415 | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 3. For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the province of New Brunswick, from the 24th day of June, 1795, to the 24th day of June, 1796 | 4550 | 0 | [illegible] |
| 4. For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the island of Saint John, in America, for the year 1795 — — | 1900 | 0 | [illegible] |
| 5. For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the island of Cape Breton, from the 24th day of June, 1795, to the 24th day of June, 1796 | | | |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6. For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the island of Newfoundland, from the 1st day of April, 1795, to the 1st day of April, 1796 — | 1232 | 10 | 0 |
| 7. For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the Bahama Islands, in addition to the salaries now paid to the public Officers out of the duty fund, and other incidental charges attending the same, for the year 1795 —— — | 1050 | 0 | 0 |
| 8. For defraying the charge of the salary of the Chief Justice of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, from the 24th day of June, 1795, to the 24th day of June, 1796 — —— — | 580 | 0 | 0 |
| 9. For defraying the charge of the salary of the Chief Justice of the island of Dominica, for the year 1795 —— - —— — | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| 10. For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of New South Wales, from the 10th day of October, 1794, to the 10th day of October, 1795 — | 5241 | 0 | 6 |
| 11. For defraying the extraordinary expences of His Majesty's Mint, from the 1st day of January to the 27th day of July, 1794, both inclusive —— | 5602 | 2 | 4 |
| 12. For defraying the extraordinary expences of His Majesty's Mint, from the 28th day of July to the 31st day of December, 1794 — — | 1386 | 2 | 6 |

February 23.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. To make good the like sum, which has been issued by His Majesty's orders, in pursuance of the Addresses of this House —— | 47649 | 1 | 5 |
| 2. For the payment of such part of the principal and interest thereupon, as shall become due on or before the 5th day of April 1795, on all the orders made out, pursuant to an act of the 28th year of his present Majesty's reign, for granting relief to American and East Florida sufferers —— —— | 204549 | 6 | 1 |
| 3. For the payment of such part of the principal and interest thereupon, as shall become due on or before the 5th day of April 1795, on all the orders made out, pursuant to an act of the 30th year of the reign of his present Majesty, for granting relief to American and East Florida sufferers —— —— | 55091 | 17 | 6 |
| 4. To make good the like sum, which has been issued in consequence of the expences incurred in carrying on the prosecution against Warren Hastings, Esq. and which has not been made good by Parliament | 4794 | 6 | 6 |
| 5. To make good the like sum, which has been issued for the expence of sundry articles sent to the settlement in New South Wales, and of the amount of bills drawn, and of other expences incurred, on account of the Convicts at that settlement, and which has not been made good by Parliament — - — | 6958 | 8 | 4 |

6. To make good the like sum, which has been issued to Duncan Campbell, Esq. for the expence of [illegible], maintaining, and employing Convicts --

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| the river Thames, and which has not been made good by Parliament — — | 11463 | 13 | 8 |
| 7. To make good the like sum, which has been issued to James Bradley, Esq. for the expence of maintaining and guarding Convicts in Langstone and Portsmouth harbours, &c. and which has not been made good by Parliament — — | 15440 | 5 | 11¼ |
| 8. To make good the like sum, which has been issued to [illegible] Caton, Esq. out of His Majesty's Civil List Revenues, for [illegible] to the expence of allowance to the [illegible] American Civil Officers, and others, who have suffered on account of their attachment to His Majesty's Government — — | 24,500 | 0 | 0 |
| 9. To make good the like sum, which has been issued at the receipt of the Exchequer to [illegible] Chinnery, Esq. out of His Majesty's Civil List Revenues, to [illegible] of the Island of [illegible] — | 1059 | 14 | 0 |
| 10. To make good the like sum, which has been issued at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of His Majesty's Civil List Revenues, to John Wilmot, Esq. Robert Banks Jenkinson, Esq. Sir William Pepperell, Baronet, and Philip Metcalfe, Esq. Members of the Committee for the relief of the suffering Clergy and Laity of France — — — | 98410 | 0 | 0 |
| 11. To make good the like sum, which has been issued at the receipt of the Exchequer, from His Majesty's Civil List Revenues, for His Majesty's service abroad, between the 5th day of January 1794, and the [illegible]th day of January, 1795 — — — | 24335 | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 12. To make good the like sum, which has been issued to William Chinnery, Esq. at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of His Majesty's Civil List Revenues, to enable him to discharge claims for fees on escheats and forfeitures in the province of Nova Scotia, and for other services — — | 468 | 16 | 1 |
| 13. To make good the like sum, which has been issued to William Pollock and William Huskisson, Esqrs. at the Receipt of the Exchequer, out of His Majesty's Civil List Revenues for an allowance to a superintendant appointed to attend the business arising out of an act passed in the last session of Parliament, intituled, "An act for establishing Regulations respecting Aliens "arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein, in certain cases," from the 10th day of January 1793, to the 11th day of July 1794; and for expences of printing, in consequence of the above-mentioned act, from the [illegible] day of January 1793, to the 30th day of April following — — | 1089 | 6 | 2¼ |

14. To make good the like sum, which has been issued at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of His Majesty's Civil List Revenues, to Thomas Evance, Esq. as an allowance to himself, and Thomas Brodie, gen-

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| tleman, for continuing and perfecting the index to the Journals of the House of Lords — — | 869 | 19 | 0 |
| 15. To make good the like sum, which has been issued at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of His Majesty's Civil List Revenues, to the representatives of William Blackburne, Esq. as a compensation for his trouble in making designs for the Penitentiary Houses intended to have been built at the public expence, and for a variety of other business done relative thereto, and to Jeremy Bentham, Esq. to enable him to make preparations for the custody and care of the Convicts proposed to be confined in the Penitentiary Houses | 2823 | 10 | 5 |
| 16. For the Board of Agriculture, for the year 1795 | 3000 | 0 | 0 |
| **February 26** | | | |
| To the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt | 250000 | 0 | 0 |
| **March 3.** | | | |
| To be employed in repairing, maintaining, and supporting, the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa — — — | 20000 | 0 | 0 |
| **April 27.** | | | |
| To Thomas Baucutt Mash, for the like sum advanced by him for the five first payments, towards the lottery for the year 1794, and which became forfeited to the Public, by omitting to make the future payments — — — | 525 | 16 | 3 |
| **May 14** | | | |
| 1. To make good the like sum, issued at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of His Majesty's Civil List Revenues, to James Willis, Esq. to be applied with a view to the forming an establishment in Africa, for the purpose of opening a commercial intercourse with the interior parts of that continent. — — | 4069 | 2 | 0 |
| 2. To make good the like sum, issued to John Wilmot, Esq. the honourable Robert Banks Jenkinson, Sir William Pepperell Baronet, and Philip Metcalfe, Esq. at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of His Majesty's Civil List Revenues, from the 13th day of February 1795, for the support, clothing, maintenance, &c. of the suffering Clergy and Laity of France, and to sundry persons, formerly officers of marine, or in the magistracy of France, and which have not been made good by Parliament — — | 37500 | 0 | 0 |
| **June 10.** | | | |
| To be applied in support of an institution, called the Veterinary College — — | 1,500 | 0 | 0 |

June 15.

1. Towards defraying the expence of making preparation for the marriage of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales — — 27500 0

2. For defraying the expence of completing the works at Carlton-house — — 25000

857210 16

LOANS DISCHARGED.

January

1. For paying off and discharging the Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act passed in the last session of Parliament, intitled, "An act for raising a certain sum of money, by loans or Exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1794," and charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of Parliament 2000000

2. For paying off and discharging the Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act, passed in the last session of Parliament, intituled, "An act for raising a farther sum of money, by loans or Exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1794," and charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of Parliament — — 1500000 0

3. For paying off and discharging the Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act, passed in the last session of Parliament, intitled, "An act for enabling "His Majesty to raise the sum of 2,500,000l. for the "uses and purposes therein mentioned," and charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of Parliament — — 2500000

6000000 0

DEFICIENCIES.

April 20, 1795.

1. To make good the deficiencey of the grants for the service of the year 1794 — — 744057 1

2. To complete the sum of 2,697,000l. granted to His Majesty out of the consolidated fund for the service of the year 1794 — — 848915 4

1592972

March 30, 1795.

To enable His Majesty to defray any extraordinary expences which may be incurred for the service of the year 1795, and to take all such measures as the exigency of affairs may require — — 25000 0 0

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To enable His Majesty to defray any extraordinary expences which may be incurred for the service of the year 1795, and to take all such measures as the exigency of affairs may require — — | 25000 | 0 | 0 |
| Total of Supplies — | [illegible]147265 | 1 | 10½ |

## WAYS and MEANS for raising the above SUPPLIES, granted to His Majesty, for the service of the year 1795.

January 8th, 1795.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which, by an act of Parliament of the 34th year of his present Majesty's reign, have continuance to the 24th day of June 1795, be further continued, and charged upon all malt which shall be made, and upon all mum which shall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry which shall be made for sale within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the 23d day of June 1795, to the 24th day of June 1796 — | 750000 | 0 | 0 |
| 2. That the sum of four shillings in the pound, and no more, be raised within the space of one year, from the 25th day of March 1795, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices, and personal estates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that a proportionable cess, according to the ninth article of the treaty of Union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland — — | 2000000 | 0 | 0 |

February 24.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| That, towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, the sum of eighteen millions be raised by annuities, in manner following, that is to say, that every contributor to the said sum of eighteen millions shall, &c. — — | 18000000 | 0 | 0 |

March 9.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. That, towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, the sum of two millions be raised by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of Parliament, and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April 1796, to be exchanged and received in payment in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment — — | 2000000 | 0 | 0 |

2. That towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, the farther sum of [illegible],000l. be raised by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first

aids to be granted in the next session of Parliament, and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April 1796, to be exchanged and received in payment in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment — —— 1500000 0 0

March 26.

That, towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, the sum of seven hundred and fifty eight thousand five hundred and forty-one pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, be raised by way of lottery, such lottery, &c. (vide Paper marked B) —— 758541 13 4

March 31.

That, towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, the sum of 2,500,000l. be raised by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of Parliament —— 2500000 0 0

April 23.

That, towards making good the supply granted to His Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of 2,895,000l. out of the monies that shall arise of the surplus of the consolidated fund ——— 2895000 0 0

Note—March 9, it was resolved, That all persons interested in, or intitled unto, any bills payable in course of the Navy or Victualling Offices, which were made out on or before the 30th day of September 1793, who shall on or before the 1st day of May 1795, carry the same, (after having had the interest due thereupon computed and marked upon the said bills at the navy or victualling offices respectively, to the 10th day of March 1795) to the Treasurer of His Majesty's navy, to be marked or certified by him, or his paymaster and cashier, to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, shall be entitled, in respect of the same, to one hundred and eight pounds capital stock, for every one hundred pounds contained in such certificates, and so in proportion for any greater or lesser sum, such capital stock to be attended with annuities, after the rate of 5l. per centum per annum, to commence from the 5th day of January 1795, to be payable half-yearly, in lieu of all other interest, the said annuities to be added to, and made one joint stock with, and to be redeemable at the same time, and in like manner, as the annuities established by the acts of the 24th, 25th, and 34th years of his present Majesty's reign, for granting annuities to [illegible], victualling, and transport bills, and ordnance [illegible]tures; and that the said annuities shall be charged upon, and payable out of, the consolidated fund.

March 19.

Resolved, That the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia, in that part of Great Britain called England, for one year, beginning the 25th day of March 1795, be defrayed out of the monies arising by the land tax, granted for the service of the year 1795.

Also resolved, that the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace; for the year 1795, be defrayed out of the monies arising by the land tax granted for the service of the year 1795.

June 10.

Resolved, That every person, who has contributed towards the loan of eighteen millions, granted by an act of this session of Parliament shall also be entitled, for every sum of 100l. contributed and paid, to a farther annuity of one shilling, to commence from the 10th day of October 1794, and to continue for the term of sixty-five years and a quarter, and then to cease, which shall be added to, and made one joint stock with, the annuity of eight shillings and sixpence, granted by the said act.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total of Ways and Means | £. | 29903541 | 13 | 4 |
| Deficiency of Ways and Means | £. | 1403723 | 8 | 6½ |

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(A.) Referred to in page 656. Feb. 24.

That, towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, the sum of eighteen millions be raised by annuities, in manner following; that is to say,

That every contributor to the said sum of eighteen millions shall, for every 100l. contributed and paid, be entitled to the principal sum of 100l. in annuities, after the rate of 3l. per centum, to commence from the 5th day of January, 1795, and to be added to, and made one joint stock with, the 3l. per centum annuities, consolidated by the acts of the 25th, 28th, 29th, 32d, and 33d years of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Second, and by several subsequent acts, and to be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England, at the same time, and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by Parliament, as the said 3l. per centum consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there.

That every contributor shall also be entitled to the farther principal sum of 33l. 6s. 8d. in annuities, after the rate of 4l. per centum, to commence from the 10th day of October, 1794, and to be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain annuities after the rate of 4l. per centum, which were consolidated by the acts of the 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, and 24th [illegible] present Majesty, and to be payable and trans-

ferrable at the Bank of England, at the same time, and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by Parliament, as the said 4l. per centum consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there.

That every such contributor shall likewise be entitled to an annuity of eight shillings and six pence per centum, to commence from the 10th day of October, 1794, and to continue for the term of sixty-five years and a quarter, and then to cease, over and above the principal sums of 100l. after the rate of 3l. per centum per annum, and 33l. 6s. 8d., after the rate of 4l. per centum per annum, in respect of every 100l. to be contributed and paid towards raising the said sum of eighteen millions, which annuity of eight shillings and sixpence per centum, so to continue for sixty-five years and a quarter, shall be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain annuities payable at the Bank of England, which were granted for the several terms of ninety-nine, ninety-eight, eighty, seventy-eight, seventy-seven years, seventy-five years and a half, sixty-nine years and a quarter, and sixty-six years and a quarter, and were, by the acts of the 4th, 20th, and 22d years of the reign of his present Majesty, and by several subsequent acts, consolidated, and made one joint stock of annuities, and shall be paid, payable, and transferrable, at the same time, and in the same manner, as the said annuities, so consolidated by the acts of the 4th, 20th, and 22d years of the reign of his present Majesty, are payable and transferrable at the said Bank of England.

That the several annuities, after the rate of 3l. per centum, 4l. per centum, and 8s 6d per centum, so to be payable as aforesaid, shall be charged and chargeable upon, and payable out of, the consolidated fund.

That every contributor shall, on or before the 27th day of this instant February, make a deposit of 10l. per centum on such sum as he or she shall chuse to subscribe towards raising the said sum of eighteen millions, with the Chief Cashier or Cashiers of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, as a security for making the future payments on or before the days or times hereinafter mentioned, that is to say,

10l. per centum on or before the 17th day of April next.
10l. per centum on or before the 12th day of June next.
10l. per centum on or before the 17th day of July next.
15l. per centum on or before the 28th day of August next.
15l. per centum on or before the 23d day of October next.
15l. per centum on or before the 27th day of November next
15l. per centum on or before the 15th day of January, 1796.

That all the monies, so to be received by the said Cashier or Cashiers of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, shall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to such services as shall then have been voted by this House, in this session of Parliament; that every contributor, who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the said sum of eighteen millions at any time on or before the 20th day of March, 1795, shall be allowed an interest, by way of discount, after the rate of 3l. per centum per annum on the sum so completing his or her contribution respectively, to be computed from the 23d day of January, 1795, to the 15th day of January, 1796; and that every contributor, who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money, as aforesaid, at any time subsequent to the 20th day of March, 1795, and previous to the 27th day of November, 1795, shall be allowed the like interest, by way of discount, after the rate of 3l. per centum per annum, on the sum so completing his or her contribution [illegible] to be computed [illegible] completing the same [illegible]

the 15th day of January, 1796: That every contributor towards raising the said sum of eighteen millions shall, in proportion to every 100l. so contributed and paid, be at liberty to contribute the sum of thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence to any loan, not exceeding six millions sterling, for the service of the Emperor, which shall be made under the guarantee of Parliament for the payment of the dividends thereupon, by virtue of any act to be passed in the present session of Parliament:— That in case provision shall not be made by any act to be passed in the present session of Parliament for such guarantee of the payment of the dividends on a loan for the service of the Emperor, every contributor to the said sum of eighteen millions shall, for every 100l. contributed and paid, be entitled to a farther annuity of four shillings per centum, to commence from the 10th day of October, 1794, and to continue for the term of sixty-five years and a quarter, and then to cease, which shall be added to, and made one joint stock with, the annuity of eight shillings and six pence, herein before mentioned.

That in case provision shall be made by any act to be passed in the present session of Parliament for such guarantee for the payment of the dividends on the loan for the service of the Emperor, to an amount less than six millions sterling, every contributor to the said loan of eighteen millions shall be entitled to a further annuity on every 100l. so contributed to the said loan of eighteen millions, in the proportion of six pence per centum for every seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, by which such loan shall fall short of the said sum of six millions sterling, and shall also be at liberty to contribute to such loan, for the service of the Emperor, a sum which shall bear the same proportion to every one hundred pounds contributed by such contributor to the said loan of eighteen millions, as the whole amount of such loan for the service of the Emperor shall bear to the said sum of eighteen millions.

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(B.) referred to in page 657.

That towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, the sum of seven hundred and fifty-eight thousand, five hundred and forty-one pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence, be raised by way of Lottery, such Lottery to consist of fifty-five thousand tickets, at thirteen pounds fifteen shillings and ten pence each: and that the contributors towards the same shall, on or before the 27th day of this instant March, make a deposit with the Cashiers of the Bank of England of one pound five shillings and ten pence, in respect of the monies to be paid for every such ticket, as a security for making the future payments to the said Cashiers on or before the times herein after limited; that is to say,

1l. 10s. on or before the 22d day of May next.
2l. on or before the 31st day of July next.
2l. on or before the 11th day of September next.
2l. on or before the 30th day of October next.
2l. on or before the 4th day of December next.
3l. on or before the 22d day of January, 1796.

And that tickets, as soon as the same can be prepared, shall be delivered to the contributors for completing their payments.

That the sum of five hundred thousand pounds shall be distributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the said Lottery, which prizes shall be charged upon the aids and supplies granted in this session of Parliament for the service of the year 1795, and be paid at the Bank of England in money to such proprietors, upon demand, on or at any time after the 1st day of July, 1796, as soon as certificates can be made out, without any deduction whatsoever; and that all the monies to be received by the said Cashiers shall be paid into the receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as shall then have been voted by this House in this session of Parliament. That every contributor, who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the said sum of seven hundred and fifty-eight thousand, five hundred and forty-one pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, at any time on or before the 4th day of December, 1795, shall be allowed an interest, by way of discount, after the rate of 3l. per centum per annum on the sum so completing his or her contribution respectively, to be computed from the day of completing the same to the 22d day of January, 1796.

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An ACCOUNT of EXTRAORDINARY EXPENCES of the ARMY, incurred and paid by the Right Honourable the Paymaster General of His Majesty's Forces, from the 25th of December 1793 to the 24th of December 1794, both inclusive; and not provided for by Parliament.

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. March 7th. | To Thomas Everett, Merchant, on Account for victualling the Garrison of Gibraltar, from the 29th of July, to the 25th of Aug. 1793 | 2962 | 10 | 0 |
| 10th. | To Do. on Account for victualling Do. Garrison, from 8th April to 5th May 1793, and from 3d June to the 28th July 1793 — | 8115 | 2 | 1 |
| | To Do. on Account for victualling Do. Garrison, from 26th August, to 12th October 1793 — | 4338 | 12 | 12 |
| January 15th. | To A. Davison, Esq.; for Provisions purchased for the troops in Canada and Nova Scotia — | 6006 | 13 | [illegible] |
| May 12th. | To Do. for Do. Service — | 9006 | 13 | [illegible] |
| June 4th. | To Do. for Do. Service — | 1093 | 16 | [illegible] |
| Sept. 20th. | To ditto, [illegible] payment for a quantity of [illegible] delivered into stores in [illegible] Lower Canada — | 6006 | [illegible] | [illegible] |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| January 31st. | To Edmund Thornton, on account, for furnishing fresh meat for the army under Sir Charles Grey | 1,500 | 0 | 0 |
| February 25th. | To Messrs. Hubbart and Rowcroft, for 707 firkins of butter, delivered into the army victualling stores | 1541 | 2 | 2 |
| May 20th. | To ditto, for 915 firkins of ditto, delivered into ditto — | 2449 | 8 | 10 |
| | To ditto, for 765 firkins of ditto delivered into ditto — — | 1619 | 8 | 8 |
| March 5th. | To Messrs. Atkinson and Co., for 486 barrels of pork, delivered into ditto ——— — | 1711 | 3 | 0 |
| June 19th. | To Messrs. R. and A. Pott, for sixteen hogsheads of vinegar shipped for the use of the forces at Nieuport ——— —— | 52 | 2 | 8 |
| November 5th. | To Messrs. Wilde, Watts, and Body, for 159 casks of sugar, delivered into the army victualling stores | 1492 | 14 | 0 |
| December 9th. | To John Green, for 1,510 firkins of butter, delivered into ditto — | 3321 | 11 | 5 |
| February 25th. | To Elizabeth Pickstone, on account of provisions kept up in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey —— | 226 | 9 | 7 |
| March 31st. | To ditto, on account, for ditto service in Guernsey ——— | 482 | 18 | 3 |
| | To ditto, on account, for ditto service in Jersey ——— | 482 | 18 | 3 |
| July 22d. | To ditto, on account, for ditto service in Guernsey and Jersey | 226 | 9 | 7 |
| October 16th. | To ditto, on account, for ditto service in Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney —— — | 1047 | 18 | 4 |
| June 4th. | To Mr. William Palgrave, in part of a warrant for 1,394l. 11s. for 500 barrels of flour delivered into the army victualling stores — | 744 | 11 | 5 |
| | | 60428 | 16 | 10 |
| | Deduct the amount of stoppages for provisions from the regiments in America and the West Indies, from December 1793 to December 1794 —— —— | 27375 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 33053 | 16 | 10 |
| March 5th. | To Messrs. Goodw[illegible] Co. for 150 barre[illegible], shipped for the forces [illegible] Indies | 289 | 11 | 0 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| March 6th. | To Messrs. Cox, King, Curtis, and Payne, for 150 barrels of ditto, for ditto service — — | 289 | 11 | [illegible] |
| | | 579 | 2 | [illegible] |
| | To Thomas Allen, for 8,038 casks delivered into the army victualling stores — — | 2200 | 1 | [illegible] |
| May 12th. | To ditto, for 9,079 ditto, delivered into ditto — — | 2501 | 5 | [illegible] |
| July 22d. | To ditto, for 9,023 ditto, delivered into ditto — — | 2485 | 17 | 6 |
| | | 7187 | 4 | 6 |
| | To bills of exchange drawn by Sir R. Boyd, for sundry special contingent services, for the garrison of Gibraltar — — | 1770 | 8 | 7 |
| | To ditto, drawn by L. G. Rainsford, for ditto service — | 1751 | 1 | 3 |
| | | 3521 | 9 | 10 |
| | To bills of exchange drawn by Henry Hamilton, Governor of the Bermuda islands, for public services — — | 19125 | 18 | 9 |
| | | 44341 | 13 | 2 |
| | To bills of exchange drawn by Peter Le Mesurier, Governor of Alderney, for public services — | 1000 | 0 | 9 |
| | To ditto, drawn by J. Eppes, Commissary at Newfoundland, for ditto services — — | 200 | 4 | 6 |
| | To ditto, drawn by Adam Williamson, Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, for ditto services — | 230073 | 10 | 6 |
| | To ditto, drawn by William Macarmick, Lieutenant Governor of Cape Breton, for ditto services | 839 | 9 | 11 |
| | To ditto, drawn by the Earl of Balcarres, Commander in Chief at Jersey, for ditto services — | 54002 | 17 | 7 |
| | To ditto, drawn by J. Wentworth, Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, for ditto services — | 1835[illegible] | 16 | 4 |
| | To ditto, drawn by [illegible] of St. Vincent, for [illegible] | 4683 | 4 | 10 |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To bills of Exchange, drawn by the Earl of Dunmore, Governor of the Bahama islands, for public services — — | 43878 | 0 | 4 |
| To ditto, drawn by the Earl of Moira, for ditto services — | [illegible]60 | 5 | 0 |
| To ditto, drawn by J. H. Craig, Commandant at Guernsey, for ditto services — — | 710 | 0 | 0 |
| To ditto, drawn by James Bruce, Lieutenant Governor of Dominica, for ditto services — — | 2750 | 0 | 0 |
| To ditto, drawn by Edmund Fanning, Lieutenant Governor of St. John's, for ditto services — | 305 | 12 | 10 |
| To ditto, drawn by P. F. Thorne, Commandant of St. Peter's, for ditto services — | 828 | 18 | 0 |
| To ditto, drawn by John Stanley, President of the Council at Antigua, for ditto services — | 1802 | 4 | 0 |
| To ditto, drawn by Alex. Brymer, Deputy Paymaster at Nova Scotia, for ditto services — | 8063 | 13 | 5 |
| To ditto, drawn by John Robinson, Deputy Paymaster at New Brunswick, for ditto services — | 9064 | 12 | 6 |
| To ditto, drawn by William Anstruther, Commandant at Guernsey, for ditto services — — | 1275 | 4 | 11 |
| To ditto, drawn by Niniam Home, Lieutenant Governor of Grenada, for public services — | 1786 | 10 | 2 |
| To ditto, drawn by Alured Clarke, Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, for ditto services — | 1796 | 5 | 3 |
| To ditto, drawn by John Small, Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey, for ditto services — | 5420 | 0 | 0 |
| To ditto, drawn by G. P. Ricketts, Governor of Barbadoes, for ditto services — — | 418 | 4 | 8 |
| To ditto, drawn by W. Bishop, Commandant at ditto, for ditto services — — | 216 | 6 | 11 |
| To ditto, drawn by John Jaffary, Commissary General in the West Indies, for ditto services — | 2100 | 5 | 8 |
| To ditto, drawn by Philip Fall, Lieutenant Governor of Jersey, for ditto services — | 2324 | 0 | [illegible] |
| To ditto, drawn by Brook Watson, Esq. Commissary General on the continent, for ditto services | 1181116 | 8 | 1 |

| | £. | s. | [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|
| To bills of exchange, drawn by the late Commissioners for managing civil affairs at Toulon, for public services — — | 139621 | 0 | 0 |
| To ditto, drawn by John Erskine, Commissary General of ditto, for ditto services — — | 91251 | 17 | 0 |
| To ditto, drawn by Mr. Drake, late Minister at Genoa, for ditto services — — | 9158 | 0 | 11 |
| To ditto, drawn by Alex. Davison, Commissary to the forces under the command of the Earl of Moira, for ditto services — | 143678 | 6 | 2 |
| | 1956210 | 7 | 9 |
| To cash paid by Mr. Winslow, Acting Deputy Paymaster in Canada towards the expences of the civil department of that province, for six months, to 24th December 1793 — — | 6088 | 10 | 11 |
| To ditto, paid by ditto, towards ditto, for six months, to 24th June 1794 | 13073 | 1 | 6 |
| To ditto, paid by ditto, for the Extraordinary expences of the army in Canada, for one quarter, to 24th December 1793 — | 7657 | 6 | 3 |
| To ditto, paid by ditto, for ditto, to 24th March 1794 — | 12320 | 5 | 3 |
| To cash paid by Mr. Winslow, Acting Deputy Paymaster in Canada, for the extraordinary expences of the army in that province, for one quarter, to 24th June 1794 | 4987 | 8 | 10 |
| To ditto, paid by ditto, for ditto, to 24th September 1794 — | 21557 | 2 | 4 |
| | 65683 | 15 | 1 |
| To ditto, paid by Mr. Brymer, Acting Deputy Paymaster in Nova Scotia, for the extraordinary expences of the army in that province, for one quarter, to 24th December 1793 — | 4083 | 10 | 2 |
| To ditto, paid by ditto, for ditto, to 24th March 1794 — | 1676 | 18 | 4 |
| To ditto, paid by ditto, for ditto, to 24th June 1794 — | 888 | 13 | 11 |
| To ditto, paid by ditto, for ditto, to 24th September 1794 — | 1632 | 7 | 10 |
| | 8281 | 10 | [illegible] |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | To bills of exchange, drawn by the Acting Deputies in the West Indies, on account of the extraordinary expences of the army there, in the year 1794 —— | 189000 | 0 | 0 |
| 1794. | | | | |
| May 12th. | To Baron de Alvensleben, to reimburse so much expended on account of the field establishment of the Duke of York, to the 21st October 1793 —— | 14022 | 0 | 0 |
| January 8th. | To A. Davison, Esq. for the purchase, &c. of flannel shirts, drawers, and socks for the forces abroad | 14334 | 19 | 9 |
| February 15th. | To ditto, for the purchase of sundry stores shipped on board the British Queen and Bourdeaux Packet, &c. | 12340 | 18 | 3 |
| April 30th. | To ditto, for the purchase of cloathing shipped on board the George and Mary Ann, for particular services —— —— | 7972 | 5 | 5 |
| May 20th. | To ditto, for shingles, sent to Barbadoes —— —— | 806 | 8 | 11 |
| | To ditto, for shoes and musquet flints, sent to Southampton — | 267 | 15 | 7 |
| June 14th. | To ditto, for shingles, sent to Barbadoes —— — | 289 | 8 | 10 |
| 23d. | To ditto, for expences incurred in the purchase of blankets for the use of the forces serving abroad — | 4184 | 8 | 9 |
| August 11th. | To A. Davison, Esq. for the keep, &c. of 40 horses, intended for public service in Barbadoes, in consequence of an embargo in America —— — | 85 | 19 | 4 |
| 16th. | To ditto, for shingles, scantlings, and horses, sent to Barbadoes | 2226 | 11 | 10 |
| | | 42508 | 16 | 8 |
| February 26th. | To Ja. Poole, Waggon Master General to the army on the Continent, to carry on this service | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| March 17th. | To ditto, for ditto service | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| April 5th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| 29th. | To ditto, for cloathing, forge carts, tools, &c. for the use of his department —— —— | 3351 | 6 | 0 |
| May 19th. | To ditto, for the balance of his account —— — | 370 | 5 | 9 |
| | | 5221 | 11 | 9 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1792. August 31ſt. | To Captain John Baines, for the balance of his account, as Deputy Quarter Maſter General in Canada between 25th December 1785, and 24th December 1786 — | 10 | 5 | 11 |
| 1793. June 11th. | To the repreſentatives of Colonel G. Johnſon, for two articles ſurcharged in his account as late ſuperintendant of Indian affairs in America ——— — | 28 | 8 | 4 |
| November 4th. | To Colonel Geo. Forſter, for the balance of his account, as Commanding Officer of the forces at Oſwagatchi, and on an expedition to the Cedres, in the year 1776 | 28 | 17 | 0 |
| 1794. February 18th. | To R. Walpole, Miniſter at Liſbon, to reimburſe ſo much expended by him in the purchaſe of ſtraw and barley, for the uſe of part of the 12th regiment of dragoons, who put into that port in diſtreſs | 26 | 11 | 5 |
| 20th. | To Meſſrs. R. and J. Miles, and others, for certain articles of cloathing for French priſoners to Britiſh forces in Flanders ——— | 2964 | 2 | 8 |
| | To Colonel William Spry, for the balance of his account as Commanding Engineer in North America, from 15th September 1774, to 31ſt December 1782 —— | 1374 | 4 | 8 |
| March 5th. | To Major John Cambel, for the balance of his account, as late Commanding Engineer in North America, between 20th April, 1779, and 31ſt Auguſt, 1794 | 846 | 2 | 4 |
| | To Sir William Medows, for ditto of his account of money received and expended for the uſe of the troops under his command on a ſecret expedition to the Eaſt Indies, between 17th January, 1781, and 16th January, 1783 — | 24 | 7 | 6 |
| 6th. | To M. G. Dundas, for his travelling expences in going to Toulon, as one of the Commiſſioners of that place ——— — | 131 | 5 | 0 |
| 28th. | To Sir R. Boyd, K. B. for extra contingent expence of the regiments | | | |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | at Gibraltar, from 25th June to 24th December, 1793 — | 96 | 7 | 4 |
| 1794. March 31st. | To W. Smith, Esq. Treasurer of the Ordnance, for sundry entrenching tools, delivered for the use of the troops on the Continent — | 172 | 3 | 1 |
| April 4th. | To William Devaynes, Esq. for the balance of his account, as contractor for victualling 3250 men in North America, in the year 1782 — | 21 | 19 | 4 |
| | To John Nugent, Esq. for the balance of his account, as Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Leeward and Caribbee Islands, between 16th June, 1788, and 1st December, 1789 | 46 | 4 | 0 |
| | To Ensign Charles Smith, of the 14th regiment of foot, being His Majesty's bounty, in consideration of the loss of his leg on service in Flanders — — | 66 | 18 | 4 |
| 5th. | To Captain H. Smith, for subsistence and other expences of an independent company raised at Toulon | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| | To Jos. Dornford, Esq. Commissary of Accounts of the forces on the expedition under the Earl of Moira, on account of the contingencies of his office — — | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| 29th. | To Thomas Hislop, Esq. Deputy Adjutant General to the forces in Corsica, for expences incurred by him in bringing dispatches from thence to England — | 139 | 11 | 0 |
| May 1st. | To H. Minchin, Esq. for his contingent expences incurred to enable him to undertake and discharge the duties of the office of Deputy Paymaster of the troops at Toulon, to which he had been appointed — — | 67 | 18 | 0 |
| 14th. | To Captain R. Duer, late Lieutenant in the 14th regiment of foot, for the expence attending the cure of his wound received at the siege of Valenciennes — — | 83 | 3 | 0 |
| 19th. | To William Smith, Esq. Treasurer of the Ordnance, for sundry entrenching tools, delivered for the use of the troops on the Continent | 290 | 16 | 8 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. May 19th. | To J. D. Mitchell, Assistant Commissary of the forces at Toulon, for the travelling and other expences incurred in consequence of being ordered to join the said forces | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| 28th. | To Captain H. Smith, for subsistence and other expences attending an independent company raised at Toulon — — | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| 29th. | To Robert Hunter, Esq. Attorney to the executrix of Richard Murray, for the balance of his account, as Commissary of Prisoners at Quebec, from 25th of June, 1778, to the 24th December, 1782 — | 105 | 12 | 0 |
| June 2d | To Major F. Mason, for bringing dispatches of the surrender of the island of St. Lucia —— | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| | To Captain T. Grey, for bringing ditto of the surrender of the island of Guadaloupe — — | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| | To Lieutenant Colonel H. G. Grey, for bringing dispatches of the surrender of the island of Martinico | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| | To Major John Murray, for bringing ditto of the defeat of the French near Cateau, by the forces under the Duke of York — — | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| 10th. | To V. P. Malouet, for his expences relative to the affairs of St. Domingo, from 1st March to 4th April, 1794 — — | 44 | 0 | 0 |
| 13th. | To Sir G. Elliot, Bart. in lieu of plate, on his appointment as one of the Commissioners at Toulon | 2600 | 9 | 7 |
| 18th. | To Captain Henry Smith, for slop cloathing and necessaries for his 2d independent company of Chasseurs raised at Toulon — | 206 | 17 | 0 |
| July 2d. | To C. Mason, Esq. Commissary of accounts of the army on the Continent, for the contingencies of his office — — | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| 4th. | To M. G. Ainslie, for sundry expences incurred at the Hague, and for travelling expences to and from Dort, &c. — — | 204 | 4 | 0 |
| 25th. | To Major Coote Manningham, for his expences on his passage and journey from Guadaloupe to Lon- | | | |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | don, with dispatches from Sir Charles Grey — — | 112 | 3 | 0 |
| 1794. July 28th. | To the representatives of Val. Morris, Esq. late Governor of St. Vincent's, in part of the balance of his account — — | 5000 | 0 | 0 |
| | To Captain F. Nagle, of the ship Active, for the freight of 300,000l. in silver, from Woolwich to Hamburgh — — | 375 | 0 | 0 |
| 30th. | To John Turner, Esq. for sundry articles for presents to the Indians in Canada — — | 5[illegible]21 | 9 | 4 |
| August 11th. | To C. Mason, Esq. Commissary of Accounts of the Army on the Continent, for the contingencies of his office — — | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| | To Captain J. M[illegible], of the ship Syren, for the freight of 300,000l. in silver, from Long Reach to Hamburgh — | 375 | 0 | 0 |
| 28th. | To Lieutenant Colonel Whitelocke, for bringing dispatches of the capture of Port au Prince, in St. Domingo — — — | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| September 2d. | To John Turner, Esq. for clothing for the use of the Nova Scotia Provincial regiments — — | 971 | 6 | 2 |
| October 7th. | To Sir John Vaughan, to provide himself with an equipage as General and Commander in Chief in the West Indies — | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| 16th. | To John Turner, Esq. for Indian presents, iron ware, cloathing for two companies of Royal waggoners on the Continent, and blankets for the corps of emigrants — | 4352 | 15 | 0 |
| November 5th. | To Lieutenant G. Rainsford, for the extra contingent expences of the regiments at Gibraltar, from 25th December, 1793, to 24th June, 1794 — — | 47 | 17 | 9 |
| December 9th. | To J. Dornford, Esq. Commissary of Accounts of the Forces under the command of the Earl of Moira, for the contingencies of his office | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| 12th. | To Colonel William Fullarton, in repayment of the sums disbursed by him in the year 1780, in raising a corps of 1200 men, and other services relative to a secret expedition | 15750 | 17 | 3 |
| | | 48576 | 16 | [illegible] |

| Dates of Warrants. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. | | | | |
| February 20th. | To W. Adams and James Hodge, on account for supplying bread, forage, wood, and straw, to the forces encamped in the summer 1793 — — — | 8768 | 7 | 5 |
| May 23d. | To ditto, for ditto service, 1794 — | 20000 | 0 | 0 |
| July 2?d | To ditto, for ditto service — | 25000 | 0 | 0 |
| September 1st. | To ditto, for troops destined for the army under the command of the Earl of Moira, at Netley — | 7006 | 13 | 0 |
| [illegible] | To ditto, for supplying bread, wood, forage, and straw to the forces encamped in the summer 1794 — | 35,000 | 0 | 0 |
| October [illegible] | To W. Adams and James Hodge, on account, for supplying bread, forage, wood, and straw to the forces encamped in the summer 1794 | 20006 | 13 | 0 |
| November 13th | To ditto, [illegible] — | 20004 | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| September 2?th | [illegible] for [illegible] straw, [illegible] camp [illegible] | 6000 | 0 | 0 |
| October 14th | [illegible] — | 2000 | 0 | 0 |
| November 17th | To ditto, [illegible] — | 10000 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 153786 | 4 | 5 |
| January 15th | To M. G. [illegible] days [illegible] Major General, with one Aid de Camp — | 133 | 0 | 0 |
| | To [illegible] General and Staff Officers, in consideration their not having drawn forage from the magazine during the campaign, from 1st July to 7th November 1793 — | 759 | 1? | 6 |
| March 28th. | To Sir G. Osborne for baggage and forage money for 40th regiment of foot, having orders to embark for service — | 453 | 15 | 0 |
| April 16th. | To L. G. Dalrymple, for an allowance to the officers of the 47th regiment of foot, in consideration of their being encamped in the Bahama islands in the years 1790 and 1791 — — | 542 | 10 | 0 |
| | To L. G. Picton, for baggage and forage money for the 12th regiment of foot, ordered on foreign service — — | 543 | 15 | [illegible] |
| | To [illegible] bit and blanket horses [illegible] regiment — | 210 | 0 | [illegible] |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. | | | | |
| April 30th. | To M. G. Trigge, for 200 days forage as a Major General, with one Aide de Camp — — | 133 | 0 | 0 |
| May 9th. | To M. G. Garth, for extra expences of forage, as a Major General in the year 1793 ——— | 37 | 12 | 0 |
| May 23d. | To the Colonels of two regiments of fencible men, for baggage horses for their respective corps, being ordered to take the field —— | 793 | 16 | 0 |
| | To ditto, for baggage and forage money for ditto - —— | 907 | 10 | 0 |
| June 6th. | To the Colonels of sundry regiments of foot, for ditto for their respective corps, being ordered on foreign service — — | 2693 | 15 | 0 |
| | To ditto, for bat horses ——— | 2929 | 10 | 0 |
| | To the Colonels of sundry corps for additional bat horses for the companies serving in Flanders, to carry the camp kettles ——— | 1360 | 16 | 0 |
| 20th. | To the Colonels of sundry corps of militia, for baggage horses for their respective corps, being ordered to take the field —— — | 17747 | 2 | 0 |
| | To the Colonels of sundry ditto, for an allowance for their respective corps, having been ordered to take the field, being the second year of their encampment — | 8496 | 14 | 0 |
| July 4th. | To the General and Staff Officers, and officers of hospitals, for forage money, on taking the field in the year 1794 — —— | 5704 | 15 | 0 |
| 30th. | To the Colonels of sundry regiments of foot, for bât horses for their respective corps —— —— | 1757 | 14 | 0 |
| | To the Colonels of sundry regiments for additional bât horses to carry the camp kettles of their respective corps serving on the Continent | 1247 | 8 | 0 |
| | For baggage horses for the detachments of sundry regiments of dragoon guards and dragoons | 302 | 8 | 0 |
| | For bât horses for ditto detachments | 907 | 4 | 0 |
| August 6th. | To Sir G. Osborne, for forage money for the additional companies to the 40th regiment of foot | 690 | 0 | 0 |
| August 13th. | For additional bât horses, to carry the blankets of the foot guards serving on the continent — | 604 | 10 | 0 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £ | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. August 13th. | For bât horses for the companies of foot guards, lately ordered on foreign service — — | 226 | 16 | 0 |
| | For baggage and forage money for ditto companies —— — | 180 | 0 | 0 |
| October 15th. | To the Colonels of sundry corps serving on the continent, for additional bât horses for the conveyance of the tents and blankets of the troops and companies of their respective regiments ——— — | 5670 | 0 | 0 |
| | To L. G. Sloper, for bât horses for the 14th regiment of light dragoons ——— — | 113[illegible] | 8 | [illegible] |
| | | 54546 | 14 | 6 |
| January 15th. | To Messrs J. and S. Trotter, for providing hammock bedding for the use of the forces —— | 3575 | 4 | 4 |
| February 14th. | To ditto, for hospital bedding, tents, and stores for the army under Lord Moira — — | 4873 | 7 | 0 |
| | To ditto, for ditto, for the forces under Sir Charles Grey —— | 2440 | 16 | 0 |
| | To ditto, for ditto, for the forces on the continent — — | 1810 | 6 | 11 |
| | To ditto, for hospital stores, for ditto forces ——— — | 1407 | 8 | 3 |
| | To ditto, for ditto, for the forces in Great Britain — — | 94 | 0 | 11 |
| | To ditto, for ditto, for the forces in Jamaica —— — | 148 | 5 | 3 |
| March 28th. | To ditto, for hospital bedding, &c. for the use of the forces —— | 24081 | 11 | 9 |
| | To ditto, for camp necessaries for the use of the forces — — | 3689 | 13 | 6 |
| June 6th. | To ditto, for ditto service —— | 42672 | 19 | 0 |
| August 11th. | To ditto, for camp necessaries sent to Ostend for the use of the forces on the continent — — | 4513 | 4 | 8 |
| 13th. | To ditto, for camp necessaries, hospital bedding, &c. for the use of the forces — — | 63786 | 17 | 4 |
| October 14th. | To ditto, for camp necessaries for the use of foreign corps on the continent — | 5856 | 11 | 9 |
| | | 158950 | 3 | [illegible] |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1793. August 7th. | To the Earl of Uxbridge, for providing camp necessaries for the Stafford militia, for the year 1793. | 238 | 14 | 4 |
| December 27th. | To General Hodgson, for providing ditto for the 11th regiment of dragoons, for ditto year | 638 | 12 | 10 |
| | To Lord Dorchester, for providing ditto, for 15th ditto, for ditto year | 637 | 16 | 10 |
| 1794. January 8th. | To Field Marshal Conway, for providing ditto for the Royal regiment of horse guards, for ditto year | 630 | 19 | 8 |
| | To Lord Grey, for providing for ditto for the Cheshire militia, for ditto year | 238 | 14 | 4 |
| February 26th. | To L. G. Grant, for providing ditto for the 11th regiment of foot, for ditto year | 254 | 14 | 4 |
| March 12th. | To the Duke of Richmond, for providing ditto for the Sussex militia, for ditto year | 328 | 13 | 10 |
| May 30th. | To the representatives of the Earl of Pembroke, for providing ditto for the 1st regiment of dragoons, for ditto year | 629 | 9 | 2 |
| | To General Johnston, for providing ditto for the 6th regiment of ditto, for ditto year | 622 | 16 | 6 |
| June 6th. | To Field Marshal Sir G. Howard, for providing ditto for the 1st regiment of dragoon guards, for ditto year | 847 | 5 | 4 |
| | To Sir W. Fawcett K. B. for providing ditto for 3d regiment of ditto, for ditto year | 618 | 5 | 10 |
| | To G. Johnston, for providing ditto for 2d regiment of dragoons, for ditto year | 635 | 17 | 6 |
| | To L. G. Harcourt, for providing ditto for the 16th regiment of ditto, for ditto year | 640 | 3 | 6 |
| | To Major Lewis, for providing ditto for the Cardigan militia, for ditto year | 62 | 6 | 2 |
| June 18th. | To Major Beavan, for providing ditto for the Radnor ditto, for ditto year | 62 | 11 | 2 |
| | | 708[illegible] | 1 | 4 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1793. December 18th. | To Sir James Murray, Bart. for 181 days pay, for having acted as Secretary to the Duke of York, to 22d August 1793 —— | 514 | 7 | 2 |
| 1794. January 8th. | To Sir W. Fawcett, K. B. for 183 days additional pay, as Adjutant General, to 24th December 1793 | 693 | 7 | 11 |
| | To R. Harborne, Esq. Deputy Commissary of Musters, for his extra trouble and expence, in consequence of the unusual number of troops stationed in the district which he has been appointed to muster in the year 1793 —— | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| | To Thomas Keate, Esq. for 69 days pay, as Inspector of regimental hospitals, to 24th December 1793 | 32 | 13 | 7 |
| | To L. G. Morrison, for 183 days additional pay, as Quarter Master General, to ditto —— | 693 | 7 | 11 |
| | To ditto, for 365 days pay of his two assistants, as ditto, to ditto — | 172 | 17 | 6 |
| | To the representatives of the late John Hunter, Esq. for 296 days pay, as Inspector General of hospitals, to 16th October 1793 | 560 | 15 | 6 |
| | To John Gunning, Esq. for 69 days pay, as Surgeon General to the forces, to 24th December 1793 | 98 | 0 | 10 |
| 15th. | To L. G. Townsend, Inspector General of recruiting, for six months pay, &c. of Staff Officers at Duncannon fort, to ditto —— | 436 | 2 | 5 |
| | To ditto, for his pay as ditto, for six months, to ditto —— | 260 | 0 | 6 |
| 24th. | To Sir James Murray, for 119 days pay, for having acted as Secretary to the Duke of York, to 19th December 1793 —— | 338 | 3 | 5 |
| February 7th. | To Lieutenant R. Weeks, for pay and forage, as Major of Brigade, from 2d July to 5th December 1793 —— | 93 | 7 | 2 |
| 12th. | To sundry persons, for half pay, to various periods, for their services on the rivers and lakes in Canada | 164 | 6 | 0 |
| 21st. | To Herbert Taylor, Esq. for 305 days pay, for having acted as Assistant Secretary to the Duke of York, to 24th December 1793 | 255 | 18 | 8 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. March 1st. | To Daniel Frazer, late Captain in the Queen's American Rangers, for one year's allowance, to 31st December 1793, for his long services prior to the late war — | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| 7th. | To Adam Murray, for 133 days pay, as Surgeon to the Garrison of Tobago, to 24th December 1793 | 62 | 19 | 10 |
| 19th. | To M. G. Carleton, for half a year's allowance, to 24th December 1793, as Governor of the Province of New Brunswick ——— | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| 31st. | To Alexander Wishirt, for 184 days half pay, for his services as late Second Lieutenant on the rivers and lakes in Canada, to 25th December 1793 —— — | 9 | 4 | 0 |
| | To Brook Watson, Esq. for 182 days pay, as Superintendant and Director of forage, provisions, necessaries, and extraordinaries of the army on the continent, to 1st March 1794 — — | 728 | 0 | 0 |
| April 14th. | To Major Samuel Moore, for half a year's allowance, to 24th March 1794, for his long services, particularly during the siege of Gibraltar ——— — | 75 | 0 | 0 |
| 16th. | To sundry General Officers, for their trouble and expences in reviewing the land forces, for 31 days, to 24th January 1793 ——— | 220 | 4 | 9 |
| May 12th. | To J. D. Michell, for 152 days pay, as Clerk to John Erskine, Esq. Commissary General at Toulon, to 31st March 1794 ——— | 37 | 15 | 0 |
| | To James Lawrie, for half a year's allowance, to 21st December 1793, for his services, as late Superintendant, &c. on the Mosquito Shore ——— | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| | To G. Townsend, for 365 days pay, as Assistant Commissary of the army in America, to 31st December 1793 —— — | 182 | 10 | 0 |
| 23d. | For the pay of the General and Staff Officers serving with the forces under the command of the Earl of Moira, to 24th December 1793 | 1325 | 3 | 1 |
| June 13th. | To Sir R. [illegible], K. B. for 131 days [illegible], as Governor of | | | |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Fort La Malgue, in the Port of | | | |
| 1794. | Toulon, to 31st December, 1793 | 393 | 0 | 0 |
| July 2d. | To sundry persons, for half pay, from 25th June to 25th December, 1793, for their services on the rivers and lakes in Canada — | 87 | 8 | 0 |
| | To sundry persons, for their pay as Assistant Commissaries to the army under the Duke of York, to 24th December, 1793 ——— | 745 | 0 | 0 |
| 4th. | To Sir William Fawcett, K. B. for 182 days additional pay, as Adjutant General, to 24th June, 1794 | 689 | 12 | [illegible] |
| | To L. G. Morrison, for [illegible] days additional ditto, as Quarter Master General to ditto ——— | 689 | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| | To the representatives of Lieut. Gen. Townsend, for his pay for superintending the recruiting service, from 25th December, 1793, to 17th May, 1794 ——— | 204 | 12 | 0 |
| | To ditto, for the pay, &c. of Staff Officers at Duncannon Fort, for six months, to 24th June, 1794 | 443 | 10 | 3 |
| 22d. | To James Lawrie, Esq. for half a year's allowance, to 21st June, 1794, as late Superintendant, &c. on the Mosquito Shore — | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| | To sundry persons, for their pay as Commissaries of the Forces at Toulon, to 24th December, 1793 — | 301 | 15 | 0 |
| 28th. | To the representatives of P. Sinnott, for 362 days allowance, to 30th April, 1794, as late Lieutenant Governor of Niagara — | 148 | 15 | 4 |
| 31st. | To sundry persons, for their pay as Assistant Commissaries, &c. to the army under the Duke of York, to 24th June, 1794 ——— | 811 | 15 | 0 |
| August 11th. | To G. Brinley, Esq. for 386 days pay, as Commissary of the Army at Halifax, to 21st June, 1794 | 289 | 10 | 0 |
| | To ditto, for 386 days additional ditto, as ditto to ditto — | 96 | 10 | 0 |
| 22d. | To sundry persons for half pay, from 26th December, 1793, to 24th June, 1794, for their services on the rivers and lakes in Canada | 76 | 18 | 6 |
| | To M. [illegible], Esq. for 170 days pay, [illegible] of Accounts of the [illegible], to 12th June, [illegible] | 340 | 0 | 0 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. Sept. 18th. | To A. M. Brown, for 3 years and 45 days pay, as Parrack Master of the island of St. Vincent, to 19th August, 1794 — — | 342 | 6 | 0 |
| | To R. Michell, father of the late Jos. Dunwell Michell, for 79 days pay, to 18th June, 1794, as clerk to John Erskine, who was appointed Commissary General at Toulon — — | 19 | 15 | 0 |
| October 15th. | For the pay of the Staff Officers of the garrison of Tobago, to 24th December, 1793 — | 129 | 9 | 2 |
| 26th. | To Lt. G. Rainsford, for 90 days pay, as a Lieutenant General, with two Aides de Camp, to 24th December, 1793 — — | 426 | 5 | 4 |
| November 14th. | To Major W. Gunn, for 547 days pay, as Commissary for mustering the Hanoverian troops in the pay of Great Britain, to 31st August, 1794 — — | 1094 | 0 | 0 |
| 26th. | To R. J. Smith, for 484 days pay, as Assistant Commissary of the Army in America, to 27th October, 1794 — — | 242 | 0 | 0 |
| | To B. Watson, Esq. for 183 days pay, as Superintendant and Director of Forage, Provisions, Necessaries, and Extraordinaries of the Army on the Continent, to 31st August, 1794 — | 732 | 0 | 0 |
| December 10th. | To Lieut. J. Lyons Nixon, for pay and forage, as a Major of Brigade, to 13th November, 1794 — | 86 | 5 | 1 |
| | | 16184 | 4 | 1 |
| | To pay a bill of Exchange drawn by the Royal Bank of Scotland, for one year's allowance, to Christmas 1793, for furnishing specie to the troops in Scotland, &c. — | 634 | 0 | 10 |
| January 8th. | To Lord A. Gordon, for so much expended for the good of His Majesty's service in North Britain, in the year 1793 — | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| February 7th. | To John Geddes, Esq. for necessaries for the forces in North Britain — — | 1427 | 9 | [illegible] |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. March 28th. | To R. B. Henderson, Esq. for oatmeal, firing, candles, &c. furnished for the forces in the several garrisons in North Britain and the out-posts in their neighbourhood, from the 1st July to 31st December, 1793 — — | 1202 | 6 | 10 |
| | | 3563 | 16 | 10 |
| 1793. December 27th. | To Lord Elphinstone, for providing coals, candles, &c. for the forces in Edinburgh Castle, from 16th March to the 14th June, 1793 | 164 | 7 | 11 |
| 1794. January 8th. | To Lieutenant Governor Singleton, for providing ditto for the forces in Landguard Fort, from 25th of December, 1792, to 24th June, 1793 — — | 163 | 13 | 3 |
| | To Lord Elphinstone, for providing ditto for the forces in Edinburgh Castle, from 15th June to 13th September, 1794 — | 169 | 17 | 10 |
| | To James Moneypenny, for providing divers utensils for the barracks at Knightsbridge, in the year 1793 — | 210 | 5 | 0 |
| 15th. | To W. B. Clinton, for providing coals, candles, &c. for the troops in the citadel of Plymouth, St. Nicholas Island, &c. from 25th June to the 24th December, 1793 | 83 | 3 | 9 |
| | To ditto, for providing and repairing utensils, &c. for the barracks at Plymouth Dock, from 25th December, 1792, to 24th December, 1793 — — | 155 | 1 | 10 |
| | To James Moneypenny, for coals, candles, &c. for additional companies and recruits, &c. of the foot guards, in the barracks at Knightsbridge, supplied between 24th June and 25th December, 1793 — — | 344 | 0 | 4 |
| 24th. | To Edward Kent, Esq. for providing coals, candles, &c. for the forces in Chatham Barracks, from ditto to ditto — — | 720 | 7 | 11 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. | | | | |
| February 7th. | To Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Commandant of the forces at Chatham barracks, for the general account of expenditures for pay, contingencies, &c. for six months, to 24th December, 1793 — | 1497 | 11 | 4 |
| 14th. | To William Patriarche, for providing coals, candles, &c. for the forces in the island of Jersey, from 25th June to 24th December, 1793 — — | 1036 | 2 | 10 |
| March 7th. | To William Merry, Esq. for His Majesty's proportion of 854¼ chaldrons of coals received at Gibraltar — — | 1524 | 1 | 9 |
| 12th. | To M. G. Tugge, for providing and repairing utensils, and for furnishing coals and candles for the barracks at Hilsea, Portsmouth, &c. from 25th June to 24th December, 1793 — — | 620 | 12 | 4 |
| | To James Boucher, Esq. for providing coals, candles, &c. for the troops in Tynemouth Barracks and Clifford's Fort, from ditto to ditto — — | 77 | 11 | 8 |
| | To G. Leith, junior, for providing ditto for the barracks at Deal, from ditto to ditto — — | 261 | 7 | 8 |
| 19th. | To William Merry, Esq. for His Majesty's proportion of 531 chaldrons of coals received at Gibraltar — — | 823 | 1 | [illegible] |
| April 5th. | To Lord Elphinstone, for providing coals, candles, &c. for the forces in Edinburgh Castle, from 14th September to 13th December, 1793 — — | 217 | 12 | 1[illegible] |
| 16th. | To Lord Amherst, for supplying ditto for the forces in Guernsey, from 25th June to 24th December, 1793 — — | 1247 | 6 | 7 |
| 30th. | To William Merry, Esq. for the extra charge of freight, &c. on 1,3[illegible]¼ chaldrons of coals sent to Gibraltar — — | 3941 | 19 | 2 |
| | To [illegible] Cathcart, for the expence of coals for the use of the sick of the [illegible]9th regiment of foot at Windsor, in the year 1791 — | 27 | 14 | 0 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. | | | | |
| April 30th. | To Lord Cathcart, for the expence of coals for the use of the sick of the 29th regiment of foot at Windsor, in the year 1791 —— | 32 | 2 | 0 |
| May 14th. | To Colonel Yorke, for necessaries furnished for the use of the forces in the Tower, for six months, to Lady Day 1794 — — | 764 | 12 | 0 |
| June 27th. | To Lieutenant Governor Singleton, for providing coals and candles for the forces in Landguard Fort, from 25th June, to 24th December, 1793 — —— | 168 | 2 | 0 |
| November 12th. | To Governor P. .F. Irving, for providing ditto for the forces in Upnor Castle, from 25th December, 1792, to 24th December, 1793 | 24 | 2 | 8 |
| | | 14072 | 17 | 8 |
| 1793. | | | | |
| November 8th. | To James Johnson, on account, for building new stables for the 1st regiment of Life Guards — | 2000 | 0 | 0 |
| 1794. | | | | |
| January 31st. | To ditto, on account of ditto service | 2000 | 0 | 0 |
| May 9th. | To ditto, on account of ditto service | 3000 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 7000 | 0 | 0 |

| Dates of Deputy Secretary at War's Letters. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. | | | | |
| January 3d. | To Messrs. Cox and Co. to answer a bill drawn by an Officer of the 3d regiment of dragoons, towards the expence of erecting barracks | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| 6th. | To ditto, to answer ditto drawn by ditto, for ditto service — | 336 | 12 | 10 |
| 8th. | To ditto, to answer ditto drawn by Colonel De Lancey, Deputy Adjutant General, for ditto service | 4500 | 0 | 0 |
| 9th. | To ditto, to answer ditto drawn by an Officer of the 3d regiment of dragoons, for ditto service — | 531 | 17 | 3 |
| 17th. | To ditto, to answer ditto drawn by ditto of the 7th regiment of dragoons, for ditto service — | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| | To ditto, to answer ditto drawn by ditto of the 16th regiment of dragoons, for ditto service —— | 500 | 0 | 0 |

| Dates of Deputy Secretary at War's Letters. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. January 23d. | To Messrs. Cox and Co. to answer a bill drawn by Colonel De Lancey, Deputy Adjutant General, towards the expence of erecting barracks — | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| 26th. | To ditto, to answer ditto drawn by an Officer of the 3d regiment of dragoons, for ditto service — | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| February 18. | To ditto, to answer ditto drawn by Colonel De Lancey, Deputy Adjutant General, for ditto service | 908 | 4 | 5 |
| March 3d | To ditto, to answer ditto drawn by an Officer of the 3d regiment of dragoons, for ditto service — | 1000 | 0 | 0 |

| Dates of Secretary at War's Letters. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. January 18th. | To Colonel De Lancey, Barrack Master General, for the erection of barracks, for the supply of stores, &c., and for procuring storage for the troops therein — | 5000 | 0 | 0 |
| February 18th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 20000 | 0 | 0 |
| April [illegible]d. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 17000 | 0 | 0 |
| May 8th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 20000 | 0 | 0 |
| 27th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 20000 | 0 | 0 |
| July 3d. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 25000 | 0 | 0 |
| 28th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 20000 | 0 | 0 |
| August 26th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 20000 | 0 | 0 |
| October 8th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 75000 | 0 | 0 |
| November 13th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 13000 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 245486 | 14 | 6 |
| 1789 August 7th | To Captain F. A. Weatherall, for providing knapsacks for his independent company of foot — | 31 | 16 | 0 |
| 1793. October 23d. | To General Murray, for providing ditto for the 21st regiment of foot | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| | To M. G. Gunning, for providing ditto for the 65th do. — | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| | To L. G. Elphinstone, for providing ditto for the 53d ditto — | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| 30th. | To M. G. Powell, for providing ditto for the 69th ditto — | 55 | [illegible] | [illegible] |

3

| Dates of Secretary at War's Letters. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1793. November 13th. | To L. G. Brown, for providing knapsacks for the 6[illegible]th regiment of foot — — | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| Dates of Warrants. | To M. G. Abercromby, for providing ditto for the 6th ditto — | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| December 27th. | To L. G. Moulton, for providing ditto for the 4th ditto — | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| | To his Royal Highness Prince Edward, for providing knapsacks for the 7th regiment of foot — | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| | To Sir William Erskine, for providing ditto for the 26th ditto | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| | To the Earl of Eglintoune, for providing ditto for the 51st ditto | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| | To L. G. Morris, for providing ditto for the 61st ditto — | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| | To M. G. Smith, for providing ditto for the 43d ditto — — | 55 | 8 | 0 |
| | To M. G. Leland, for providing ditto for the 64th ditto - | 55 | 8 | 0 |
| | To L. G. Hall, for providing ditto for the 3d ditto — | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| | To L. G. Hyde, for providing ditto for the 20th ditto — | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| | To General Frederick, for providing ditto for the 54th ditto - - | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| | To the representatives of General Tayler, for providing ditto for the 24th ditto — — | 82 | 18 | 0 |
| 1794. January 31st | To Sir James Grant, for providing ditto for his regiment of fencibles | 229 | 13 | 0 |
| February 1st. | To Colonel Wemyss, for providing ditto for his regiment of ditto | 229 | 13 | 0 |
| | To Colonel Montgomerie, for providing ditto for his regiment of ditto — — - | 229 | 18 | 0 |
| 14th. | To the Earl of Hopetoun, for providing ditto for his ditto - - | 229 | 18 | 0 |
| | To the Marquis of Lorne, for providing ditto for his ditto - | 187 | 18 | 0 |
| | To the Earl of Breadalbane, for providing ditto for the first battalion of his ditto — — | 229 | 13 | 0 |
| | To ditto, for providing ditto for the second battalion of his ditto | 229 | 13 | 0 |
| | To the Duke of Gordon, for providing ditto for his regiment of fencibles — — | 229 | 18 | 0 |

| Dates of Warrants | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. | | | | |
| March 12th. | To Sir John Wodehouse, for providing knapsacks for the East Norfolk militia — — | 181 | 0 | 0 |
| May 14th. | To M. G. B[illegible], for providing ditto for the 81st regiment of foot | 378 | 18 | 0 |
| May 14th. | To Lieutenant Colonel Doyle, for providing ditto for the 87th regiment of foot — — | 378 | 18 | 0 |
| | To M. G. Cuyler, for providing ditto for the 86th regiment of ditto | 378 | 18 | 0 |
| | To M. G. De Burgh, for providing ditto for the 88th ditto — | 378 | 18 | 0 |
| | | 4851 | 8 | 0 |
| January 24th. | To James Window, Esq. Agent to the Inspector General of regimental infirmaries, on account of contingent disbursements for hospitals, &c. — — | 2000 | 0 | 0 |
| March 19th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| April 16th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 2000 | 0 | 0 |
| June 6th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 1500 | 0 | 0 |
| October 8th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 3000 | 0 | 0 |
| November 19th. | To ditto, for ditto service — | 2000 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 11500 | 0 | 0 |
| March 28th. | To Messrs. T. and J. Carleton, for expences in the embarkation, &c. of troops at different ports in Ireland, in the years 1792 and 1793 | 1082 | 0 | 0 |
| July [illegible]th. | To Messrs. J. and G. F. Carleton, for expences in the embarkation, &c. of ditto, from 27th January, to 12th March 1794 — | 3049 | 13 | 0 |
| | To ditto, for ditto service, from 12th September 1793, to 5th of January 1794 — — | 561 | 7 | 0 |
| 23d. | To ditto, for ditto service, in the month of May 1794 — | 5222 | 19 | 4 |
| October 8th. | To ditto, for ditto service, from 16th May, to the 8th of July 1794 | 9928 | 16 | 0 |
| November 19th. | To ditto, for ditto service, from 29th May, to 19th August 1794 | 13795 | 16 | 9 |
| | | 3324[illegible] | 12 | 1 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1789. August 7th. | To Captain F. A. Wetherall, for marches, &c. of his Independent Company, from 25th December 1780, to 24th December 1781 | 53 | | |
| | To ditto, for the allowance of bread money for ditto Company, in the year 1781. | 109 | 13 | 7 |
| 1790. February 10th | To Lord F. Cavendish, for cloathing sundry Supernumeraries of the 34th regiment of foot — | 112 | 7 | 0 |
| 1794. January 8th. | To Sir William Fawcett, K. B. for the contingent expences of the Office of Adjutant General, from 25th June to 24th December 1793 | 265 | 5 | 0 |
| | To L. G. Morrison, for his ditto, as Quarter Master General, from ditto to ditto — — | 224 | 4 | 0 |
| | To Lieutenant Colonel Morrison, for his ditto, as Deputy Quarter Master General, from 15th May, to 24th December 1793 — | 124 | 10 | 3 |
| 15th. | To L. G. Townsend, Inspector General of the recruiting service, for his ditto, from 25th June, to 24th December 1793 — — | 153 | 6 | 0 |
| 24th. | To the Duke of Argyll, for slop cloathing for the augmentation to the 3d regiment of foot guards | 263 | 12 | 6 |
| | To the Duke of Gloucester, for ditto, for the 1st regiment of ditto | 524 | 2 | 0 |
| | To the Duke of York, for ditto, to the 2d regiment of ditto — | 263 | 12 | 6 |
| 31st. | To the Rev. W. Wilmot, for one year's rent of the Minister's house in the Savoy, hired for the use of the forces, to 24th December 1793 — — | 42 | 2 | 0 |
| | To Mrs. Fisher and Thresher, for half a year's rent of the barracks at Knightsbridge, to Michaelmas 1793 — — | 140 | 18 | 0 |
| | To L. G. Lascelles, for sundry extra expences while attending the forces in Great Britain, in 1793 — — | 102 | 17 | 10 |
| | To the representatives of Colonel J. Moncrief, for his contingent disbursements, as Deputy Quarter | | | |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. | Maſter General, from 25th December 1792, to 24th February 1793 — — | 27 | 2 | 0 |
| February 7th. | To L. Moiſe, Eſq. Secretary to Lord Amherſt, for contingent diſburſements, from 25th June, to 24th December 1793 —— | 584 | 17 | 8 |
| 14th. | To Sir R. Sloper, for his extra expences as a Lieutenant General, while attending the forces in the year 1793 —— — | 1,7 | 19 | 8 |
| | To L. G. Morriſon, for extra contingent expences, as Quarter Maſter General, in ditto year — | 396 | 19 | 0 |
| | To B. Chapman, Eſq. late Lieutenant Colonel of the 18th regiment of foot, to reimburſe the expences of a ſuit brought by him againſt John Peter De Lancey, Eſq. late a Captain in the ſaid regiment, for an aſſault ——— — | 53 | 15 | 1 |
| 15th. | To Meſſrs. Fiott de Cruchy and Co. for 3,400 ſtand of Arms, ſent to Portſmouth — — | 4773 | 8 | 2 |
| March 1ſt. | To ſundry perſons, as a compenſation for loſſes ſuſtained in conſequence of an embargo being laid on all veſſels laden with corn, &c. | 5144 | 9 | 8 |
| 12th. | To M. G. Smith, for his extra expences as a Major General, while attending the forces in the year 1793 ——— —— | 459 | 6 | 3 |
| 19th. | To L. Moiſe, Eſq. for the actual expence he incurred in removing from the apartments he occupied at the horſe guards —— | 376 | 6 | 0 |
| | To Sir G. Howard, for expences of defending Serjeant Sagar, of the 1ſt regiment of dragoon guards, tried for murder in the execution of his duty, and acquitted | 39 | 4 | 0 |
| 28th. | To the Duke of Richmond, to be paid over to ſundry perſons, for expences incurred during the encampments in the year 1793 | 2060 | 4 | 7 |
| | To Sir W. Medows, for his extra expences, while attending the forces in Great Britain as a Major General, in 1793 — — | 110 | 4 | 0 |
| | To L. G. Grant, for his ditto, while | | | |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | attending the forces in Great Britain as a Lieutenant General, in 1793 — — | 260 | 13 | 3 |
| 1794 March 28th. | To M. G. Hotham, for his extra expences, while attending ditto as a Major General, in ditto year — | 208 | 7 | 5 |
| | To M. G. Bruce, for sundry expences incurred on account of the augmentation to the 16th regiment of foot, in the year 1790 — | 171 | 16 | 10 |
| 31st. | To Messrs. J. and T. Steppen, for freight of provisions for the forces in the East Indies from London to Gravesend — — | 104 | 0 | 8 |
| | To William New, for beams, scales, and weights — — | 143 | 4 | 6 |
| | To John Garden, for sadlery, horse furniture, and accoutrements, provided by orders from the Secretary of State — — | 5572 | 11 | 0 |
| April 5th. | To T. Rice, Esq. Surveyor of the guard, for work done in repairs of the horse and foot guards, in the year 1792 — — | 2700 | 14 | 1 |
| | To the Marquis of Salisbury, on account of expences incurred for the new guard room, kitchen, &c. erected at St. James's | 1337 | 8 | 8 |
| | To Marquis Townshend, to be paid over to sundry persons for expences incurred during the encampments in the year 1793 — — | 416 | 17 | 9 |
| 14th. | To G. Garnier, Esq. Apothecary General, for medicines delivered for the use of the army in the year 1793 — — | 22862 | 12 | 3 |
| 30th. | To Messrs. Galton and Whately, for furnishing 4,820 arms — | 5940 | 0 | 6 |
| May 9th. | To M. G. Musgrave, for extra expences, while serving in Great Britain as Major General, in the year 1793 — — | 147 | 14 | 7 |
| | To Mrs. Fisher and Thrasher, for half a year's rent, to lady day 1794, for the barracks at Knightsbridge — — | 140 | 18 | 0 |
| 12th. | To Messrs. Sinclair and Williamson, as a compensation for the loss sustained by them in consequence of the order of Council for restraining the exportation of wheat and wheat flour — — | 515 | 10 | 5 |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. May 19th. | To Rear Admiral Macbride, to be paid over to the Captains of ſundry ſhips, for the accommodation of the Earl of Moira, and the Staff attending his expedition — | 850 | 0 | 0 |
| June 25th. | To L. Morſe, Eſq. for carrying on for one year, to Midſummer 1794, a progreſſive liſt of the Commiſſiones of all the officers in the army — — | 103 | 3 | 0 |
| 27th. | To L. G. Morriſon, for his contingent expences, as Quarter Maſter General, from 25th December 1793 to 24th June 1794 — | 224 | 4 | 0 |
| July 2d. | To William Cotton, Eſq. for providing a table for the Officers of the foot guards and horſe guards on duty at St. James's, to the 24th June 1794 — — | 3773 | 6 | 9 |
| July 4th. | To repreſentatives of L. G. Townſend, for his contingent expences, as Superintendant of the recruiting ſervice, from 25th December 1793 to 25th June 1794 — | 150 | 5 | 0 |
| 8th. | To Thomas Wright, Printer of "The Hue and Cry, and Police Gazette," for advertiſing deſerters, between 28th March, and 22d June 1794 — | 174 | 1 | 7 |
| | To L. Morſe, Eſq. Secretary to Lord Amherſt, for his contingent diſburſements, from 25th December 1793, to 24th June 1794 — | 586 | 18 | 4 |
| 23d. | To Sir William Fawcett, K. B. for the contingent expences of the office of Adjutant General, from ditto to ditto — — | 265 | 5 | 0 |
| 26th. | To ſundry perſons, for loſſes ſuſtained by the detention of ſundry cargoes of pot and pearl aſh — | 2483 | 15 | 9 |
| Auguſt 9th. | To ſundry perſons, for the loſs ſuſtained by them by the ſale of Exchequer bills iſſued to them for army ſervices — | 892 | 15 | 0 |
| 22d. | To P. Lothian, for the expences incurred by General Mack, the Count Merveldt, and their ſuite, during their ſtay in London | 125 | 12 | 10 |
| September 15th. | To William Mitford, Eſq. to enable him to pay for certain premiſes at | | | |

| Dates of Warrants. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1794. | Whitehall, for an office for the Commissioners for managing the transport service of the army | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| October 8th. | To Messrs. Mount and Johnson, for expences in the purchase and fitting up a galliot for the reception of deserters at Chatham — | 383 | 18 | 2 |
| | To William Gorton, Esq. for providing a table for the Officers of the foot and life guards on duty at St. James's, from the 25th June, to 23d September 1794. — | 2041 | 8 | 6 |
| November 5th. | To sundry persons, as a compensation for their losses sustained in consequence of stopping the exportation of corn — | 6123 | 4 | 8 |
| 12th. | To Thomas Wright, Printer of "The Hue and Cry, and Police Gazette," for advertising deserters between 28th June, and 27th September 1794 | 225 | 8 | 5 |
| 26th. | To Messrs. Muilman and Co. Agents to Messrs. Piasca, Zenaglio, and Co. as a compensation for their losses on part of a cargo of wheat on board a Genoese vessel, which was taken by a frigate, and carried into Toulon, and delivered to the director of provisions for the navy, by order of Lord Hood | 3337 | 19 | [illegible] |
| | | 3163968 | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| | Towards which may be applied a Sum received of Claude Scott, Esq. | 100000 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 3063968 | 12 | 4 |

War Office,
13th February 1795.

W. WINDHAM.

## COPY of the REPORT of the Commissioners for the issue of certain Exchequer Bills.

### To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

THE Commissioners appointed by the act 33d Geo. III. Cap. 29th, for enabling His Majesty to direct the issue of Exchequer bills, to a limited amount, for the purposes, and in the manner therein mentioned, in obedience to the 42d section of the said act, which directs that the said Commissioners shall, as soon as possible after the determination of their proceedings, give an account of the same, in writing, to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, have the honour to represent to your Lordships,

That on the day following the passing of the said act (viz.) the 9th of May 1793, they met, and commenced their proceedings, and from that time continued to sit, from day to day, until they had considered and decided upon all the applications made to them for loans under the said act.

The whole number of applications made to the Commissioners for loans was 332.

The whole amount of the sums applied for was £. 3,855,624.
Of these applications 238, amounting to 2,202,200 were granted, viz.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| On personal security | — | — | £. 2,015,000 |
| On deposit of goods | — | — | 187,200 |
| | | Total | £. 2,202,200 |

Of the remaining ninety-four applications, forty-five, for the sum of 1,215,100l. were withdrawn, or not pursued by the parties, the knowledge that the loans might have been obtained having, in several instances, sufficed to render them unnecessary; and forty-nine applications, for the sum of 438,324l. were rejected, either as not coming within the view and purpose of the act, or on account of the circumstances of the parties, or from their inability to give satisfactory security.

The profit arising from the difference between the interest paid by the borrowers, viz. five pounds *per centum per annum*, and the interest due on the Exchequer bills, twopence halfpenny *per centum per diem*, or three pounds sixteen shillings *per annum*, as per Schedule,

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. 1, amounts to | — | £. 13,033 | 14 | 6¼ |
| The expence of the commission, as per Schedule, No. 2, amounts to | — | 8,685 | 12 | 4 |
| Clear profit remaining, paid into the Exchequer, at the disposal of Parliament | — | £. 4348 | 2 | [illegible] |

Two neceſſary proviſions in the act prevented the profit from being greater. By one of them the loans were directed to be repaid fifteen days before the Exchequer bills became due; and by the other the borrowers were permitted to repay their loans at any period, prior to the ſtipulated time, that might ſuit their convenience, of which many were happily able to avail themſelves, conſequently the intereſt on their loans ceaſed, whilſt the intereſt on the Exchequer bills continued. And if the Court of Directors of the Bank of England had not favoured the operations of the Commiſſioners, by purchaſing the Exchequer bills, and holding them until the Commiſſioners were enabled, from their own funds, to become the purchaſers, the profit would have been conſiderably leſs.

The whole ſum advanced on loan has been repaid; a very conſiderable part before it became due, and the remainder regularly at the ſtated periods, without apparent difficulty or diſtreſs. It appears that, with the exception of two only, who have become bankrupt, the parties aſſiſted have been ultimately ſolvent, and, in many inſtances, poſſeſſed of great property.

It was with the higheſt ſatisfaction that the Commiſſioners obſerved the almoſt immediate effect of this well-timed meaſure. Its advantages were evinced by a ſpeedy reſtoration of confidence in mercantile tranſactions, which produced a facility in raiſing money that was preſently felt, not only in the metropolis, but through the whole extent of Great Britain.

The difficulties in which many conſiderable commercial houſes were involved have been thus removed, and the fatal effects of thoſe difficulties on other Houſes, who were dependent on them, have been prevented. Nor was the operation of the act leſs beneficial with reſpect to a variety of eminent manufacturers in different parts of the kingdom, who having, in a great degree, ſuſpended their works, were enabled to reſume them, and to afford employment to a number of workmen, who muſt otherwiſe have been thrown on the public for ſupport, and, perhaps, in ſome caſes, with the loſs of the manufacture.

The proceedings of the Commiſſioners have been, in every inſtance, founded on affidavits taken in writing, and atteſted by three of their own body. In many caſes, the information received was unavoidably ſuch as to lay open the private circumſtances of reſpectable individuals. The Commiſſioners have, throughout their proceedings, given the utmoſt attention to the preſervation of ſecreſy, and have cauſed all affidavits, letters, minutes, and other papers, which contain the names of perſons connected with the buſineſs of the commiſſion, to be deſtroyed. For the ſame important purpoſe it is obvious that every book and paper, in which the names of the parties occur, ſhould alſo be deſtroyed; but as the books contain thoſe entries, which by the act are conſtituted the evidence of the payments, it may in the opinion of the Commiſſioners be expedient that the Legiſlature ſhould paſs an act declaring the full repayment of the loans, empowering the Commiſſioners to deſtroy the books, and limiting the periods within which the different parties to the ſecurity bonds may be releaſed, whether by Exchequer proceſs or otherwiſe. In the mean time the Commiſſioners have ordered the books to be ſealed up and depoſited under the care of the Secretary.

The Commissioners are happy in being thus able to state the result of an extraordinary measure, which, although it might not be recommended, except on the pressure of an extreme public necessity, has been fully justified by its effect and success.

Sheffield.
Grey Cooper.
William Pulteney.
R. M. Trench Chiswell.
John Sinclair.
John William Anderson.

S. Bosanquet.
Thomas Boddington.
William Manning

John Whitmore.
F. Baring.
E. Forster.
William Raikes.
Robert Darell.
Robert Barclay.
Charles Grant.

Jeremiah Harman.
James Brogden.

Mercers Hall,
16th July, 1794.

SCHEDULE, No. 1, referred to in the foregoing REPORT.

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ACCOUNT of LOANS in Exchequer Bills, made by the Commissioners appointed by the Act of the 33d Geo. III. Cap. 29.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Amount of 332 applications for loans — — — | | £.3,855,624 |

ISSUED.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 238 Loans, viz.—On personal security — — — | £.2,015,000 | |
| On deposit of goods — — — | 187,200 | |
| | £.2,202,200 | |

NOT GRANTED.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 45 Applications, withdrawn, or not pursued by the parties — | £.1,215,100 | |
| 49 ———— rejected — — — | 438,324 | |
| | | 1,653,424 |
| 332 Applications, amounting, as above, to — — | | £.3,855,624 |

RE-PAYMENTS.

| | 1st Instalment. | | | 2d Instalment. | | | 3d Instalment. | | | 4th Instalment. | | | TOTALS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| Amount of the instalments paid | 546500 | 0 | 0 | 551850 | 0 | 0 | 551850 | 0 | 0 | 552000 | 0 | 0 | 2202200 | 0 | 0 |
| Interest received | 6478 | 9 | 10¼ | 12628 | 15 | 1 | 19316 | 10 | 2¼ | 25293 | 1 | 0¾ | 63716 | 16 | 2¼ |
| Total [illegible] | 552978 | 9 | 10¼ | 564478 | 15 | 1 | 571166 | 10 | 2¼ | 577293 | 1 | 0¾ | 2265916 | 16 | 2¼ |
| Received in [illegible] | 79503 | 15 | 9¼ | 43759 | 14 | 11½ | 35789 | 10 | 4¾ | 34036 | 18 | 3¾ | 193089 | 19 | 5¼ |
| Cash | 473474 | 14 | 1 | 520719 | 0 | 1¼ | 535376 | 19 | 9½ | 543256 | 2 | 9 | 2072826 | 16 | 9 |
| Exchequer bills purchased | 79264 | 10 | 10 | 320452 | 19 | 3½ | 348699 | 19 | 10 | 334184 | 11 | 9½ | 1082602 | 1 | 9 |
| | 394210 | 3 | 0 | 200266 | 0 | 10 | 186676 | 19 | 11½ | 209071 | 10 | 11½ | 990224 | 15 | 0 |
| Bills and interest payable at the Exchequer when due | 393365 | 4 | 10¾ | 197789 | 13 | 8¼ | 182537 | 17 | 9½ | 203398 | 4 | 1¼ | 977190 | 0 | 5¾ |
| Profit | 744 | 18 | 4¼ | 2476 | 7 | 1½ | 4139 | 2 | 2 | 5673 | 5 | 10¼ | 13033 | 14 | 6¼ |

SCHEDULE, No. 2, referred to in the foregoing REPORT.

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ACCOUNT of ALLOWANCES, CHARGES, and EXPENCES paid by the Commissioners, in the Execution of the Act of the 33d Geo. III. Cap. 29.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Salaries to Secretary and Officers, and Allowances to Officers of Customs and Excise, and to Brokers | 7,148 | 0 | 10 |
| Office Furniture | 169 | 3 | 6 |
| Printing, Stationary, and Advertisements | 582 | 9 | 2 |
| Law Expences | 76 | 0 | 10 |
| Incidental Expences | 709 | 18 | 0 |
| | 8,685 | 12 | 4 |

## MEMORIAL from Colonel FULLARTON, addressed to His Majesty's Cabinet Ministers in 1787, concerning Claims for the Secret Expedition of 1780.

THE following particulars, in support of claims which have an immediate reference to the orders of a former cabinet, are submitted to the consideration of His Majesty's present Ministers; and it is humbly requested that they will be pleased to permit an appeal to their decision, on the merits of the case.

Authentic information having been received, in the month of January 1780, that the Spanish power in South America had been recently endangered by alarming insurrections, Mr. Fullarton was induced to lay before the Ministers of that period proposals for an expedition against those Spanish settlements.

The proposals contained, not only an offer to raise the number of troops required for the intended service, but also to equip vessels sufficient to convey them, and to provide means of victualling and maintaining them, upon condition that Government would engage to pay a certain monthly sum *per* man, agreeable to the rates that have commonly been given in similar cases.

The particulars of that proposal are expressed in the annexed letter, Number I. which was delivered to Lord North on the 28th January 1780.

His Lordship laid that letter before the Cabinet on the 29th January, and next morning informed Mr. Fullarton, in person, that the plan and proposal were approved of, and the terms agreed to by the Cabinet—He added, that it was resolved to advance £.30,000 for the purpose, and in the mode proposed; but that it was not finally determined whether the money should issue from the Navy Board or from the Treasury. His Lordship, however, directed that immediate measures should be taken for raising the troops; and desired that not a moment might be lost in providing ships, and in procuring stores and other articles necessary to equip them for the expedition.

The notes which accompany the letter were made soon after the conversation took place, and tend to explain the nature of the assurances on which Mr. Fullarton acted.

In consequence of this resolution of the Cabinet, formally communicated by Lord North, the ship Northington was immediately purchased for £.1,800, and repairs were ordered upon that Vessel to the amount of £.900.

The Grand Trimmer and the Little Trimmer privateers were completely manned and kept in readiness for the service.

Mr. Fullarton also took a share in the Golden Eagle privateer, in order to induce the owners to engage in the undertaking; but that ship, on her return to England for the purpose, became a capture to the enemy.

Porter, shoes, stores, and other articles necessary for the voyage, were immediately purchased.—£.3,000 were drawn from Messrs. Hallidays, Duntze, and Company, upon Mr. Fullarton's acceptance, under the express personal assurances of Lord North to Mr. John Halliday, that the monies should be paid out of the first sum to be issued for the service.

proposed. His Lordship added, that the payment would be made as soon as it should be determined from what fund it was to be received.—Various other advances were made by Mr Fullarton, not only from his own funds, but by means of credit given him by Messrs. Mayne and Graham, and others who then assisted him.

The 98th and 100th regiments were raised with unusual dispatch, at a very considerable expence, in the fullest reliance upon the assurances received from the Cabinet, that they were to be employed upon the specific service for which they were levied.

But while these preparations were going forward, during the months of February and March 1780, the doubts concerning the fund from which the advance on the part of Government should issue, still continued and increased.

The Treasury still insisted that the money should be furnished from the funds under the management of the Navy Board.—But, after various consultations with Lord Sandwich, Lord Mulgrave, and Sir Charles Middleton, it appeared that the Navy Board were of a different opinion, and in particular, declined to fulfil the intentions of the Cabinet.

During these discussions war was declared against Holland, and Ministers were thereby induced to change the destination of those corps, and to employ them in the enterprise against the Cape of Good Hope. By this determination Mr Fullarton found himself in the most embarrassing situation—he had relinquished very flattering prospects in the profession to which he had been bred—he was disappointed in the stipulated object that had induced him to become a soldier—and he found himself oppressed with a load of debts, incurred in preparations made under express assurances of being reimbursed by Government. Every particular, however, that could tend to give immediate and complete effect to the undertaking, had, on his part, been punctually fulfilled; nor was any circumstance afterwards omitted, to diminish as much as possible the loss occasioned by the failure of engagement on the part of Government.

The Northington was tendered to the East India Company, and employed in their service. The other vessels were sold off, or employed as privateers against the enemy. Great part of the stores were countermanded or returned, with a moderate loss, to the persons who had agreed to furnish them; and no claim is attempted to be established, except for such sums as have been actually expended, agreeably to vouchers ready to be produced.

The nature and amount of these disbursements will more clearly appear from the annexed extract of a letter, dated 2d November 1780, and addressed to Lord North.

For the truth of the particulars stated in this paper, Mr. Fullarton begs leave to refer to His Majesty's Cabinet Ministers in the year 1780, and to Sir Charles Middleton, whose accuracy is not less conspicuous than his great official talents.

It may not be improper to observe, that Mr Fullarton's departure from England immediately after the transactions took place, and his continuance upon foreign service, rendered it impossible for him till very lately to bring forward these claims. He now submits them to His Majesty's Ministers with the fullest confidence in their equity and justice, knowing that they will not allow an individual to suffer material detriment, by acting with the most earnest exertion to promote an important public service, in obedience to instructions communicated to him by the first official and executive authority under the Crown.

The preceding narrative, and the documents referred to in it, were submitted to Mr. Pitt's consideration, together with letters from Lord North, Lord Stormont, and Sir Charles Middleton, addressed to Colonel Fullarton, and containing their testimony respecting the authority under which he acted. But as no farther progress was made in the business from the year 1787, Colonel Fullarton addressed the following letter to Mr. Pitt.

*Extract of a Letter from Colonel Fullarton to the Right Honourable William Pitt.*

SIR, London, 10th May 1790.

"Although I am aware of the important objects which occupy your time at present, I take the liberty of intruding on you for a moment, to solicit your attention to the statement and vouchers, in support of my claims on Government, which you had the goodness to peruse in August 1788. Mr. Steele, having taken your instructions on the subject in December 1787, had previously directed me to produce sufficient vouchers to prove that the original proposal of an expedition to South America, such as I stated it in my narrative addressed to the Ministers of His Majesty's Cabinet in 1787, had been adopted by the Cabinet in the year 1780—That I had full authority to proceed in the execution of it, and that the terms were finally agreed upon between the Administration of that day and me, on behalf of myself and those for whom I acted.

"In obedience to those instructions, I had the honour of submitting to your perusal explicit declarations from Lord North, Lord Stormont, and Sir Charles Middleton, in confirmation of the claims advanced in my letter addressed to His Majesty's Cabinet Ministers. Sir Charles Middleton expressed his readiness to explain the particulars respecting the transaction in detail, whenever it should be your pleasure to hear him on the subject; and Lord Stormont declared that my original proposal was discussed and approved in Cabinet, and a minute taken upon it, which, his Lordship added, he himself had delivered to the King, and that it would be found among His Majesty's Cabinet papers, dated January 1780. You had the goodness to inform me, at Saint James's, in September 1788, of your intention to have the proposal in question, and the minute on it, referred to, and I thought it my duty to remain in town, in expectation of your farther instructions. During last session of Parliament, I should have felt it extremely unbecoming in me to have presumed to trouble you on such a subject.

"My absence from this country, since that period, prevented me from any farther exertions in respect to this business till my return to London, in January last; when I requested Mr. Steele to entreat that you would honour me with a communication of your sentiments on this transaction; at the same time expressing my anxiety to know whether you thought it necessary for me to bring forward any additional testimony, or other documents, in support of my demands, and whether or not I ought to deliver copies of my letter to the Members of the Cabinet.

"It cannot escape your observation how much the delay, which has occurred in the adjustment of this business, exposes me, not only to the inconvenience arising from so large an advance of money as that stated in my claims, but to the increasing difficulty of substantiating them, in

case any accident should happen to the person by whose testimony my statement is confirmed.

"The death of Lord Sackville has already deprived me of a material evidence, and I rely with perfect confidence on your justice and [illegible] in preventing the injury I may sustain by the loss of other witnesses, which can only be effected by a speedy determination on the business.

"I have the honour, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "W. FULLARTON."

"To the Right Honourable
"William Pitt," &c. &c. &c.

*Proposition delivered to Lord North on the 28th January 1780, by Mr. Fullarton*

THE gentlemen who have proposed the expedition to South America, beg leave to submit the following state of their proposal to the attention of the Cabinet.

They are willing to raise a corps of 1,200 men at their own expence, to serve on this occasion; provided they are allowed full powers to recommend the officers.

Those officers who have not been in the army before will only expect temporary and stipulated ranks, and no half pay.

The men to be subsisted from the date of their attestations.

In order to convey this corps to such places as Government shall direct, they will also furnish (ready manned, armed, and equipped) vessels of the following description, all of which are either now in their possession, or ready to be purchased, viz.

| Ships. | Tons | Guns |
|---|---|---|
| | 800 | 58 |
| | 750 | 50 |
| | 400 | 44 |
| | 360 | 28 |
| | 160 | 24 |
| | 130 | 16 |

If necessary, they will add a frigate, and a Newcastle pink to act as a transport.

The equipment of those ships shall be so arranged as to render it unknown that they belong to the same owners, or that they are intended for the same expedition: They shall sail at different times, and take their departures from different places.

Having conſidered the inconveniencies of receiving the requiſite aſſiſtance in ſtores, ordnance, and proviſions, which cannot be iſſued from the different offices without great danger of diſcovery and delay, the proprietors, inſtead of the advance of the above-mentioned articles on the part of Government, will only aſk an order for cannon to arm ... their largeſt ſhips, provided Government will advance them 30,000l., 10,000l. to be paid immediately—10,000l. more at one month—and the remainder at two months after the date of the agreement. Vouchers to be produced for the expenditure of the firſt ſum, before the ſecond ſhall be advanced. As ſecurity for this advance, the bills of ſale of ſhips, ſtores, and other articles, ſhall be aſſigned to Government.

The veſſels to be fitted out on this occaſion are to act as tranſports, but not to be paid in the common mode of veſſels hired by Government.

The proprietors expect to have the regulation of prize money ſo eſtabliſhed, that no capture by ſea or land ſhall be ſhared until the whole expences of the armament are cleared. They alſo expect, that the ſurplus ſhall be diſtributed to each ſhip, according to the number of men and guns; one half for the owners, and one half for the ſoldiers and ſailors, in ſuch proportion as ſhall be determined.

The proprietors are extremely anxious to bring this buſineſs to an immediate termination, for, at preſent, they loſe the uſe of the ſhips that already belong to them, and they have now an opportunity of purchaſing two other ſhips, ſo well adapted to their purpoſe, that it would be very difficult to ſupply their place.

(Signed) W. FULLARTON.

*Subſtance of a Converſation which took place between Lord North and Mr. Fullarton, on Sunday the 30th January 1780, relative to the preceding propoſition.*

Lord North informed Mr. Fullarton, in preſence of Mr. Brummell, that the Cabinet had accepted his propoſal, and that he would next day lay it before the King, as a meaſure which the Miniſters concurred in thinking ought to be carried into immediate execution. He added, that there remained nothing to be adjuſted, except the mode of advancing the money. Mr. Fullarton mentioned to his Lordſhip the danger that he, and the gentlemen who aſſiſted him, would incur, if they ventured to proceed upon the buſineſs, unleſs under an abſolute certainty that the engagements of Government ſhould be fulfilled to them. At the ſame time he ſtated the neceſſity of diſpatch, in order to render the enterprize effectual. His Lordſhip then gave Mr. Fullarton the moſt poſitive aſſurances that the meaſure ſhould not fail on the part of Government. In conſequence of theſe aſſurances, Mr. Fullarton told him, that, relying on his declarations, and on the reſolutions of the Cabinet, he would immediately proceed to accellerate the preparations expreſſed in his propoſal.

*Extract of a Letter addressed to Lord North.*

November 2d, 1780.

" MY LORD,

" In obedience to your Lordship's commands, I take the liberty to mention some particulars relative to the preparation for the expedition I proposed in January last, and shall state the situation of the two regiments that were raised for that service, and of the augmentation that has been ordered and completed.

" When the original proposal was approved of by the Cabinet, on the 29th January, the impracticability of procuring from the navy board the sum stipulated to be advanced on the part of Government was not foreseen; and the proprietors, being assured that every thing was finally arranged except the mere mode of issuing the money, proceeded immediately to fulfil their part of the engagement.

" The Northington East-India ship, of 750 tons, was purchased for 1,800l. and a large sum was expended in docking and repairs. A much larger sum was to have been laid out on this ship, but was afterwards stopped, when the difficulties arose on the part of Government, which at last rendered the enterprize abortive.

" Several other ships were ordered to be purchased; but, for the same reason, the orders were afterwards countermanded.

" The two Transports were long kept under demurrage, with their stores and men on board. The different articles of expence attending their detention, during 120 days, were stated at 3,100l. besides a considerable sum, which, for want of proper vouchers, has not been stated. 6,000 pair of shoes were bought, at four shillings per pair, amounting to more than 1,200l. porter casks, to the amount of 560—and 1,000 hogsheads of porter, were ordered, both of these articles are yet a burden on the persons for whom they were ordered, except a part of the porter which was afterwards countermanded.

" Mr. Halliday discounted a bill for 3,000l. drawn by me, for which he had personal assurances that Government would advance the money.

" On the failure of the expedition, the bill fell upon me who had signed it, trusting to the advance that was to have been made by Government.

" Captain H. Fraser was kept out of employment for many months on this business, but I have since got him into the East-India service.

" With regard to the regiment, I found, on closing my accounts with my military agents, that I was then debtor for 3,100l. on the recruiting business of the first battalion. The time in which it was thought necessary to raise that regiment, not above nine weeks—the numerous parties I was obliged to send over England and Ireland—the high bounties—the number of supernumeraries and deserters, in all about 200 men—together with the impossibility of disposing of the Lieutenancies to advantage, owing to the late regulations, were the cause of this expence."

*Copy of a Letter from Lord North to William Brummell, Esq.*

"DEAR BRUMMELL,

"As I authorized you in my last letter to declare in my name every thing that appeared to me material, with relation to Mr. Fullarton's business, I did not expect to have heard from you again upon the same subject.

"Having, since I wrote you, carefully re-considered the matter, I can venture with confidence to renew the authority I then gave you to declare, that a secret expedition was projected in the manner stated by Mr. Fullarton.

"That it was approved by the Cabinet. That the approbation of the Cabinet was signified to Mr. Fullarton; but that upon a material alteration having happened in the situation of public affairs, the expedition was laid aside, and Mr. Fullarton, with his regiment, was employed upon another service.

"Although it is not so easy to speak upon memory to a minute detail of facts of so old a date, I can, however, add, that I believe Mr. Fullarton's narrative is true. When the expedition was laid aside, he certainly could not be re-imbursed for the sums he had advanced in the preparations. He will be able to establish the extent of his loss by proper vouchers: and he seems to have a very equitable claim to re-payment.

"I am, dear Brummell,
Most faithfully and sincerely, your's,
(Signed) NORTH."

Tunbridge Wells,
July the 13th, 1788.

*Copy of a Letter from Lord Stormont to Mr. Fullarton.*

Little Grove, Tuesday, Jan. 15th 1788.

"DEAR SIR,

"I know not by what accident it has happened that your's of the 11th instant did not reach me till this morning. That to Lord Sandwich shall be forwarded by this day's post. I perfectly remember the original proposal you mention having been discussed and approved in Cabinet, and a minute taken upon it, but, at this distance of time, and having no papers here to turn to, I can only speak upon that general memory which does not go to the recollection of detail. All that was decided in the Cabinet, will be found in the minute, which you tell me bears date of the 9th of January 1780. I regularly delivered to the King a copy of every minute of Cabinet, and I know His Majesty keeps all those papers with so much order and exactness, that they can be immediately referred to.

"I am, with the sincerest regard, dear Sir,
Your most faithful humble servant,
(Signed) STORMONT."

*Copy of a Note from Sir Charles Middleton.*

"Sir Charles Middleton presents his compliments to Colonel Fullarton. He has perused the memorial, and, although the number of things which have passed through his head since the time it alludes to prevents his remembrance of every particular, yet the substance is fresh in his memory, and particularly as to the sum of 30,000l. and the objections which he stated at the time, of its being advanced by the Navy Board; all which he will readily acknowledge when called on for that purpose."

Hertford Street,
1st May 1787.

The expedition in its original form having proved abortive, in consequence of delays occasioned by difficulties respecting the fund from whence the money, stipulated to be advanced on the part of Government, should issue, the following PROPOSAL for an expedition to South America, by India, dated 3d June 1780, was delivered to Lord North, and by him laid before the Cabinet, by whom the measure was fully approved and ratified on the 11th of August following. In consequence of this the necessary preparations were ordered, but on the declaration of war with Holland the plan was laid aside, and the force employed on the enterprise against the Cape of Good Hope.

The two battalions, that have been raised and completed by Lieutenant Colonels Fullarton and Humberston, were stated in the most positive manner to be intended for a particular service, which has been so long delayed that it cannot now take place with any propriety in the mode at first intended. It therefore remains with the Ministry either to decline the business at an end, and indemnify the parties concerned for the expence in which they have been involved, or to promote a proposal tending to relieve Government from the embarrassment of an abortive enterprize. After the most mature consultation with persons perfectly acquainted with the subject, it appears that a route to the Spanish settlements on the coast of the South sea lies open, by the way of India, with much greater security and prospect of success than could have been expected even from the original proposal.

A body of 2,000 British troops, with 2,000 Lascars, sailing from Madras on board of armed transports or old East-India ships, and supported by a detachment from Sir Edward Hughes's squadron, would be sufficient to ensure success to this undertaking. The object of this force should be to secure one of the small Lucon an islands, and then proceed to some healthy spot in New Zealand, in order to establish means of refreshment, communication, and retreat. From New Zealand the squadron should sail directly to South America, and it is presumed, that there is not one place, from California to Cape Horn, capable of resisting such an equipment, if properly provided and properly conducted.

The Fort of Callao, or some other advantageous post, should be secured, and terms of independence offered to the native Mexicans, Peruvians, and Chilians.

If such a lodgement was effected, it is evident that the trade of South

America would be opened to our East-Indian territories; if it were not effected, still the blow to Spain must be fatal, because her richest possessions would be alarmed, their commerce and remittances interrupted, their ships destroyed, their forts demolished, and the inhabitants incited to revolt. All these transactions may take place in the course of next summer with a degree of precision unknown in other cl[illegible], and an express sent from Madras to England when the equipment sails, would enable Government to arrange a co-operation on this side of South America, so as to distract the offensive exertions of the Spanish Empire. It will be said that ships of war cannot be spared from this country, but, notwithstanding the reluctance of Ministers to send ships of force on distant service, the East-India fleet, which is to sail in September or October, can hardly be safe without a convoy, and that convoy will be sufficient to carry out the troops, and to replace the detachment from Sir Edward Hughes's squadron, which may be necessary to the expedition.

If this plan is adopted by Government, an arrangement should be made with the confidential Directors of the East-India Company, and orders immediately dispatched by land to Bombay, Madras, and Bengal—that ships, stores, and seapoys may be prepared to join the troops to be sent from England. If the troops sail from hence in September, they may arrive at Madras next spring, and in four months from the time the Monsoons permit them to leave India they may reach the coast of South America.

Lieutenant Colonels Fullarton and Humberston will undertake to augment their two battalions to 1,000 men each, or to a greater number if required. To shew their zeal to promote this business, they will, at their own risk, and by the assistance of their friends, if necessary, undertake to furnish conveyance for such part of the troops as cannot be embarked on board the King's ships, that are to act as convoy. This they will do on such terms as the Comptroller of the Navy shall determine.

It is hoped that Government will appoint some person, with powers to direct the necessary preparations for this business, otherwise the same delays, the same difficulties, and the same disappointments, will ensue, that have already rendered the original plan abortive.

(Signed)

W. FULLARTON

ACCOUNT of Sums advanced by Mr. FULLARTON, in preparing for the secret Expedition in 1780, in so far as he has been able to procure Vouchers for the same.

| | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1785. July 9. | To paid Messrs. Hallidays, Duntze, and Company, the balance of my acceptance to them, being 1,200l. in full of the principal sum, and 423l. as the interest due thereon till this date, as per draft retired for — — | 1623 | 0 | 0 |
| No. 1. | The original sum due by the bill was 3000l. but 1,800l. was recovered after the failure of the expedition, by selling the ship Northington to certain owners, who engaged to fit that vessel out, and employ it in the East-India Company's service, under the command of Captain Fraser, on the express condition of Mr. Fullarton's standing a share, which amounted to somewhat more than 1200l. High insurances, long detention, and other circumstances, rendered this a very losing concern; but no more is charged or stated than the nett amount paid to Messrs. Hallidays and Company, besides providing for Captain Fraser, who had been long detained to command the expedition. This transaction relieved Mr. Fullarton from having occasion to charge Government with the very heavy expences which would have been incurred, if so large a ship had remained any longer upon his hands by orders of the Cabinet Ministers. | | | |
| November 1. No. 2. | To paid Messrs. Parkers and Co. Kilmarnock, for 6000 pair shoes, at 4s. per pair, package, freight, wharfage, &c. 1,255l., with 310l. interest, &c. to this date, per draft for —— | 1565 | 0 | 0 |
| | This charge is vouched by receipt from Parkers and Co. | | | |
| No. | To paid Mr. Blanket, for docking and repairing the ship Northington, for the proposed expedition, including other tradesmen's bills, as vouched by account of Mr. Simon Fraser — | 776 | 0 | 0 |
| | The amount charged by Blanket, &c. was 988l., but no more was paid him | | | |

| No. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | than 776l. These charges had no concern with the expence laid out on the ship after it was transferred to the Company's service. | | | |
| No. 4. | To paid Phillips, Simpson, and Company, for loss on beer and casks purchased from them, and returned on the failure of the expedition, vouched by account of Phillips, Simpson, and Co., and by a certified extract from their books — | 672 | 0 | 0 |
| No. 5. | To the loss on a share of the Golden Eagle privateer, vouched by bill of sale and letter from Captain Kilnek — | 155 | 0 | 0 |
| No. 6. | To the demurrage on the Trimmers privateer at Falmouth, during 120 days, and the consequent expences arising from orders to hold these ship in readiness for the expedition —— | 3100 | 0 | 0 |
| | This charge is vouched by a statement in the hand-writing of the late Mr. Mayne. A reference will be made to the books and assignees of Mr. Mayne, if required; but the absence of the gentlemen entrusted with these books has hitherto prevented Mr. Fullarton from having recourse to them. | | | |
| No. 7. | To paid Mr. Jover, for thirty rifles furnished for the expedition, vouched by Mr. Jover's receipt —— | 153 | 0 | 0 |
| | As these articles could neither be returned nor disposed of, they were carried out with the regiment, and afterwards entirely damaged, during the monsoon, in the Company's store cellars at Fort St. George. | | | |
| No. 8. | To paid Messrs. Bishopp and Brummell, on account of bills paid for articles furnished for the expedition; vouched by certificate from Mr. Bownas, chief Clerk and Book-keeper to Messrs. Bishopp and Brummell —— | 1127 | 0 | 0 |
| No. 9. | To paid Messrs. Bishopp and Brummell, the loss on raising the first five companies of the 98th regiment, vouched and certified as the preceding charge | 3100 | 0 | 0 |
| No. 10. | To paid Messrs. Mayne and Graham, the loss on raising the last five companies, or augmentation of the 98th regiment, ordered after the expedition in the first form was laid aside, and when it was intended by Government to be sent to South America by the way of India— | | | |

| | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| in consequence of which the 98th and 100th regiments were augmented, coppered transports were prepared, various arrangements made, and orders for preparation actually transmitted to India, vouched by account current of Messrs. Mayne and Graham — — | | 1049 | 0 | 0 |
| Amount of Principal — | | 13320 | 0 | 0 |
| To interest on that principal sum, from 1st Jan. 1781 till 1st Jan. 1794, being 13 years, at 666l. per ann. | £.8658 0 0 | | | |
| Deduct the sum paid to Messrs. Hallidays and Company, and Messrs. Parters and Company, on account of interest over and above the principal sum due to them, placed to Colonel Fullarton's credit in the above article --- ---- | 733 0 0 | | | |
| | | 7925 | 0 | 0 |
| Total amount now claimed by Mr. Fullarton | | 21245 | 0 | 0 |

With respect to the two charges in the preceding account, the one for 3,100l. paid to Bishopp and Brummell, and the other for 1,049l. paid to Mayne and Graham, Mr. Fullarton conceives, that if the terms on which he engaged to raise the regiment had been fulfilled by Government, he would have had no claim whatever to any indemnification for expences incurred in completing the corps. But, as every thing undertaken on his part was punctually performed, and as he renounced a very eligible situation in the diplomatic service, in order to engage in the expedition to South America, he humbly suggests, that the failure of engagement, which the state of public affairs occasioned on the part of Government, entitles him, if not to such a diplomatic situation as he relinquished, or to the rank in the army which has been withheld from him alone, and conferred on every other officer who ever raised a regular corps, at least to an indemnification for the expences occasioned by the very peculiar circumstances under which the 98th regiment was completed; especially as other corps, raised without any stipulations whatever on the part of Government, and not restricted in point of time, received three guineas bounty per man.

For the unusual dispatch with which the regiment was raised, and the very favourable reports made of it by the reviewing Generals, Mr. Fullarton begs leave to refer to the testimony of Lord Amherst, then Commander in Chief, and of Lord Hawkesbury, then at the head of the War Department.

W. FULLARTON.

A Copy of the REPORT of the Comptrollers of the Army Accounts, relative to a sum of 15,750l. paid to Colonel WILLIAM FULLARTON, in re-payment of the sums disbursed by him in 1780, in raising a corps of twelve hundred men, and other services, relative to a secret expedition, as mentioned in the account of the army extraordinaries.

My LORDS, *Comptrollers Office, 27th May 1794.*

YOUR Lordships' commands, signified by Mr. Long's letter of 14th August 1793, were duly received at this office Wherein Mr. Long transmitted a memorial of Colonel William Fullarton, praying payment of sundry sums disbursed by him for the public service in the year 1780, amounting, with interest thereon, to 21,245l. And signified your Lordships' directions to the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, to take the same into their consideration, and report their opinion thereupon.

The Comptrollers, not being solicited by Colonel Fullarton to the consideration of this business until the 3d of October following, and being unable to enter into the investigation of his claims without sundry papers, which did not accompany the memorial, they, on the 8th of October, acquainted him that they were ready to proceed as soon as the vouchers were furnished—and in this situation the business rested till the 3d of February last, when Mr. Fullarton, in a letter of that date, transmitted sundry papers in support of his claims, and afterwards attended us personally on the subject of them.

Having taken into our consideration as well the papers referred from your Lordships' Board, as those received from Mr. Fullarton · And having had several interviews with the memorialist, and received answers to sundry queries which we found it necessary to make, together with some additional documents, and at length having before us what Mr. Fullarton informs us, "completes all which it will ever be in his power to obtain," We now report to your Lordships on the whole matter, as follows.

Mr. Fullarton, in the memorial by which he has now brought forward this business; and also in a memorial referred to therein, which was addressed by him to His Majesty's Cabinet Ministers in 1787; states, that a secret expedition being intended against the Spanish settlements in South America, a proposition was, on 28th January 1780, made by him to His Majesty's then Ministers, by which Mr. Fullarton and his associates agreed to raise a corps of 1200 men, at their own expence, under certain conditions with regard to rank of officers and subsistence of men—to convey this corps to such place as Government should direct—to furnish certain vessels—and to supply stores, ordnance, and provision, except cannon, for their three largest ships—upon condition of their receiving 30,000l. at certain stated periods; and upon some stipulated regulations for the payment of the seamen, and for the distribution of prize money, &c.—that this proposition was accepted by the Cabinet on 29th January 1780; and that he received directions to proceed in the execution of it with all dispatch. That the conditions were performed on his part by raising the 98th regiment, and by purchasing vessels, stores, &c.; in the execution of which he incurred sundry expences, which, with interest thereon to this time, amount to the sum prayed for in the memorial.—That difficulties arising from what department the money was to be fur-

nished, and the expedition being laid aside, no part of the terms were fulfilled on the part of Government; and he assures us, in his answers to our queries, that he has neither directly or indirectly ever received any sum or sums of money towards the expences he incurred, but has disbursed the whole out of his private fortune.

In support of these allegations, Mr. Fullarton does not produce any original documents, existing at the time these transactions were carrying on.—A copy of a paper, intituled, "Proposition delivered to Lord North, on 28th January 1780."—Of another paper, intituled "The substance of a conversation betwixt Lord North and Mr. Fullarton, on the 30th January 1780,"—and an extract of a letter addressed to Lord North, and dated 2d November 1780, are the only papers exhibited in support of this part of the memorials, which, by their dates, purport to have existed at the time. But Mr. Fullarton, in proof of the authenticity of these papers, and of the circumstances therein set forth, transmits the following original letters, which appear to have been obtained in order to justify the allegations of the memorial addressed to His Majesty's Cabinet Ministers in 1787, and which, though dated so long after the transaction as in 1787 and 1788, verify the circumstances stated in those copies: viz.

1st. A letter from Lord North to Mr. Brummell, his private Secretary, dated 13th July 1788, which mentions—That an expedition was [illegible] the manner stated by Mr. Fullarton—That it was approved [illegible] laid aside, Mr. Fullarton could not have been re-imbursed for the sums he had advanced in the preparation—and, That he seemed to Lord North to have a very equitable claim to repayment.

2d. A letter from Lord Stormont, dated 15th January 1788—which states his perfect remembrance of the proposition being discussed and approved in Cabinet, and a minute taken upon it, copy which was delivered to His Majesty.

3d. A note from Sir Charles Middleton, Comptroller of the navy, dated 1st May 1787, which certifies to the objections to the advancing 30,000l. by the Navy Board.

In addition to these original letters, Mr. Fullarton, in his answers to our queries, states his confidence that your Lordships are perfectly satisfied that the authority under which this business was undertaken existed.

From a consideration of all which testimonies taken together, we are of opinion, Mr. Fullarton has established the authority under which he incurred the expences of which he prays the payment; and that he has not yet been re-imbursed.

The several articles of expence incurred by Mr. Fullarton, as stated in the account annexed to his memorials, are as follows; upon which we shall take leave to report singly; setting forth in what manner they are supported by documents, which are declared by the memorialist "to be all which it will ever be in his power to obtain;" referring to the account itself for the articles more in detail

N° 1.—1785. July, 9th paid Messrs. Halliday, Duntze, and Co. Balance of my acceptance to them, - - - - - 1,200l.—and 423l. interest.

The paper produced in support of this article, is an account current of Colonel Fullarton, with the firm of Halliday, Duntze, and Co. wherein a gross sum of 3,000l., and two small sums, amounting together to 13*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* with 423*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* for interest, are charged to the debit of Colonel Fullarton, and a sum of 1,800l. carried to his credit; making a balance due to Halliday and Co. of 1,623l. 10s. 3d. the money claimed under this head: Which sum, by a separate receipt, dated 9th July 1785, is acknowledged to have "been received of Colonel Fullarton "in full for the balance of his note for 3,000l., dated May 1780, declared and understood to have been granted upon the faith and express declaration of the Minister, that it should be paid by the Treasury, for purposes of public service then in agitation."

As this paper is a mere cash account between Mr. Fullarton and Messrs. Halliday and Co. without any statement of services to which the money was applied, except in two small items, or any apparent connection with the expedition, except what is mentioned in the separate receipt, we should determine it to be incompetent to substantiate any claim against the Public: But as the credit of 1,800l. is declared by Mr. Fullarton to be the money received for the ship Northington, when re-sold—and as it appears by other papers that the bill of sale of this ship to Colonel Fullarton was dated 27th November 1780, and her prime cost 1,800l., and that she was re-sold on 26th February 1781—We are of opinion that there may be allowed, under this article, interest on the said sum of 1,800l. from the 27th November 1780, when the ship Northington was bought, to 26th February 1781, when the money was returned by the re-sale of her, amounting to 22l. 10s.—and as the following sums in the account current may be supposed to relate to the same ship, viz.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. Isaac Grant's bill for [illegible] | — | £. 9 | 17 | 11 |
| Mr. Drew's bill for law charges | — | 3 | 16 | 9 |
| | | 13 | 14 | 8 |

We are of opinion that these sums may also be allowed. And if your Lordships should concur in these allowances, it may be reasonable to add the interest on the former from 26th February 1781, and on the latter sums from 5th July 1785. With regard to any other part of the balance of this account, we conceive there is no ground for admitting it as a claim against the Public. For although the separate receipt states that the money was understood to be advanced for purposes of public service, there is nothing appears on the face of the account to shew it was so applied; and even admitting what is alledged by Mr. Fullarton in his correspondence with us, "that every part of this sum was disbursed for the use of the Public, and on no other account," we may reasonably conjecture, as no other service is mentioned, that it was applied to satisfy some other of the articles of which the memorialist claims re-imbursement.

N° 2.—Paid Messieurs Parkers, for 6,000 pairs of shoes - - - 1,565l.

The purchase of these shoes is vouched by the bill of parcels, dated March 1780, and the payment by receipt of Messrs. Parker and Co. dated 1st November 1785, for 1,565l., including 279l. 11s. for interest, from 1st April 1781 to 13th September 1785.

The Comptrollers having called upon Mr. Fullarton to deliver in an account of the re-sale or other disposal of these shoes, have been acquainted in reply, that when the shoes arrived in London they were put into warehouse, under the direction of Mr. Mayne, and were left in charge of that gentleman when Colonel Fullarton embarked with the regiment for foreign service—That no trace has been found in any of Mr. Mayne's books or papers respecting this business—nor has Mr. Fullarton, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, been able to procure any intelligence upon the subject—and that he is ready to make oath that he never received any reimbursement whatever for the value of them.

If your Lordships shall be satisfied with the above account of the loss of these shoes, the original purchase and payment are well authenticated, and the sum mentioned in this article will be due to Mr. Fullarton, with interest from 13th September 3785.

N° 3.—Repairs of the ship
Northington - - - 770l.

This article is supported by an account current between Mr. Fullarton and Mr. Simon Fraser, wherein the former is charged with sundry items of cash paid by Mr. Fraser on account of the ship Northington, amounting in the whole to 776l. 2s. 2d.—We have called for the several bills of parcels for these items, not only as necessary to verify the charges, but as the dates of payment inserted in the account current are from July 1781 to 9th January 1782, some time posterior to the re-sale of the ship, which was on 26th February 1781; we thought it proper to have them produced, in order to ascertain that the repairs were for the ship Northington prior to the re-sale of her; and not for the ship after being transferred to another service.—Mr. Fullarton however has not been able to obtain these bills for our inspection, but has exhibited a certified copy of a letter from Mr. Mayne to Mr. Fraser, dated 28th June 1781, which we are of opinion may be admitted as proof that the repairs in question were for the ship Northington while intended for the expedition.

If the allowance of this article should be concurred in by your Lordships, we beg leave to remark that upwards of 600l. thereof does not appear to have been paid till 9th January 1782, and the account current was not settled, and the balance thereon paid by Mr. Fullarton, till 19th April 1785, and without any charge by Mr. Fraser for interest; and therefore we submit that there is no ground for an allowance of interest thereon farther back than 19th April 1785.

N° 4.—Paid Phillips, Simpson, and Co.
for loss on beer and casks, - - - 672l.

The paper exhib
and certified by the
taken from the books of Messrs. Phillips and Simpson;" by which it stated that Colonel Fullarton has sustained a loss of 672l. 3s. 8d.

Upon inveſtigation of this paper, we are, however, of opinion, that it does not ſubſtantiate a loſs of more than 222. 3s. 6d. which loſs aroſe by the purchaſe of 700 caſks, and the ſubſequent ſale of 500 of them. It appears that Mr. Fullarton bought of Meſſrs. Phillips and Co. 200 hogſheads of beer, which beer was delivered by his order to Meſſrs. Green and Wiggins, Brewers, at Weſtminſter, in 200 caſks, the whole at the ſame price as Colonel Fullarton is charged by Phillips and Co. for the beer alone. And the value of theſe 200 hogſheads of beer, with the caſks ſo delivered to Meſſrs. Green and Co. not being brought to the credit of the Public in any ſhape, occaſions the difference between the claim made under this article and the ſum of 222l. 3s. 6d. before mentioned.

Mr. Parnell, in a ſubſequent letter to Mr. Fullarton, has ſtated this tranſaction in a different manner; and Mr. Fullarton, in explanation of this article, declares that he never received, directly nor indirectly, any ſum or ſums of money for the 200 hogſheads of beer; and that he is ready to make oath that he ſuſtained a loſs of the whole ſum claimed in this article.

We muſt therefore take leave to ſubmit this matter for your Lordſhips determination; obſerving, that as a ſum of money appears upon Mr. Parnell's copy of the account to have been received by Meſſrs. Phillips and Co. from Mr. Fullarton in the year 1780, the claim for intereſt may be calculated upon whatever ſum ſhall be allowed from 1ſt January 1781, the period mentioned by the memorialiſt.

N° 5.—Loſs on a ſhare of the Golden Eagle privateer - - - 155l.

By the original bill of ſale produced to us by Mr. Fullarton, it appears that on the 17th December 1779 he purchaſed, for the ſum of 155l., one twentieth ſhare of the privateer Golden Eagle; and by a letter from Robert Killick, the Commander at the time of the purchaſe, dated 21ſt June 1793, it appears that ſhe was taken by an American a few weeks after ſhe ſailed. Mr. Fullarton ſtates in his memorial of 1787, that "he took a ſhare in this privateer to induce the owners to engage in the undertaking; but that the ſhip, on her return to England for the purpoſe, became a capture to the enemy."

In reſpect to this loſs, we ſubmit to your Lordſhips our opinion, that there is not ſufficient ground for admitting it as a claim againſt the Public: For, although Mr. Fullarton ſtates that he took a ſhare in this privateer to induce the owners to engage in the expedition, it appears by Captain Killick's letter, that ſhe was fitted out for a cruize after Mr. Fullarton's purchaſe, and was taken a few weeks after ſhe failed. It might therefore haved proved a lucrative ſpeculation to Mr. Fullarton; and as the Public in that caſe would have had no pretenſion to the gain, they ought not, as we conceive, to be burdened with the loſs.

No. 6.—Demurrage on the Trimmers Privateers — £. 3,100.

On this head Mr. Fullarton, in his memorial of 1787, ſtates, that "The Grand Trimmer and Little Trimmer privateers were completely manned, and kept in readineſs for the ſervice." In a letter dated 19th May 1780, unſigned, and without addreſs, but certified to be the hand writing of Mr. Robert Mayne, and exhibited by Mr. Fullarton in ſupport of this article; Mr. Mayne ſtates, that "it is impoſſible to give,

with minutiæ, all the expences incurred on the Grand Trimmer and the Trimmer by their detention for the proposed expedition, which has occasioned disbursements to the owners of great magnitude;" which he enumerates in general, and makes them amount to 3100l. viz.

GRAND TRIMMER.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Advance money paid 160 men, at 7 guineas | £.1176 | 0 | 0 |
| Provisions for ditto, for 120 days, during her detention, at 9d. per day per man | 720 | 0 | 0 |
| Demurrage, wear and tear — | 560 | 0 | 0 |
| | 2500 | 0 | 0 |

THE TRIMMER.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Advance money to the crew | 360 | 0 | 0 |
| Demurrage, wear and tear, and maintenance of the crew for 2 months —— | 240 | 0 | 0 |
| | 3100 | 0 | 0 |

And by another paper exhibited, and signed Henry Smedley and John Shelly (who, Mr. Fullarton informs us, were successively Commanders of the Grand Trimmer) and dated 7th March 1794, those Commanders certify that the said estimate is moderate.

The above are the only documents produced in support of this article. Allowing a credit to them equal to more regular vouchers, it may be inferred from what they state, that the privateers in question were detained for 120 days to the proposed expedition—That a general estimate of the disbursement of the owners on this account amounted to 3,100l. and that this estimate was moderate. There is no proof or even intimation whatever in those papers that Mr. Fullarton was a part owner, or that he paid the money to the owners; it might be a speculation in the owners of these privateers, as well as of Mr. Fullarton himself, to engage them in the expedition then in contemplation: We therefore thought it our duty to call on Mr. Fullarton to produce some receipts or vouchers, to ascertain that this money was actually paid by him on account of this service: In reply to which, Colonel Fullarton acquaints us, that he has no receipts for the sums for demurrage of the Trimmers, that expence having been disbursed by Mr. Mayne, who charged Colonel Fullarton in account therewith, but this account also is not exhibited. Such being the grounds upon which this claim is supported, we must leave it to your Lordships' determination, with this observation, That if your Lordships shall be of opinion to allow this sum on the above-stated evidence, as having been actually disbursed at the time by Mr. Fullarton, it may be reasonable to add the interest thereto, from 1st January 1781.

No. 7.—Paid Mr. Jover, for 30 Rifles — £.153.

The purchase of these rifles is supported by the bill of parcels, with a discharge at the foot of it. And in a letter from Captain P. Drummond, late Paymaster of the 98th regiment, to Mr. Fullarton, dated 24th February 1794; he states his recollection that the rifles in question were lodged in a bomb proof at Madras, and there destroyed by the place being filled with water by the severity of the Monsoons in 1782, and 1783.

We must, however, observe, that the bill of parcels being dated 10th February 1781, affords reason to doubt whether these rifles were purchased for the secret expedition, it having been laid aside before that date. We are therefore of opinion this claim cannot be admitted.

No. 8.—Sundries furnished for the 98th Regiment — £.1,127.

Mr. Fullarton has exhibited, in support of this claim, a bill of parcels, dated January 1781, stating Colonel Fullarton debtor to Samuel Remnant for sundry articles amounting to 1127l. 1s. 3d. with a certificate at the bottom, stating that the said articles were for the 98th regiment, were extra articles, and were paid for by the Colonel for the intended service for which that regiment was particularly raised. which certificate is signed by J. Duberley, assignee to Samuel Remnant's estate.

We are satisfied from the above voucher, that the several articles therein mentioned were supplied for the 98th regiment, and paid for by Mr. Fullarton; but the date of the bill of parcels being in January, 1781, affords reason to doubt whether this expence was any ways connected with the secret expedition for which Mr. Fullarton originally agreed to raise the regiment, which expedition was at that time laid aside. The articles seem rather to be intended for stores for the regiment previous to their embarkation for the East Indies, and many of them are of a nature usually supplied to soldiers, and the value deducted from their pay. We are therefore of opinion this claim cannot be admitted.

No. 9. —Loss on raising the first 5 Companies of the 98th Regiment £ 3,100.

No. 10. —Loss on raising the last 5 Companies of the 98th regiment £.1,049.

By a certificate from the late William Brummell, Esq. Agent to the late 98th regiment, dated 7th March 1794, it appears, "that the balance of Col. Fullarton's recruiting account for raising the first five companies of the 98th regiment, was 3,105l. After paying the expences, and giving credit for the money received for commissions, &c. That it was raised without any levy money from Government, and the balance paid by the Colonel out of his own pocket." And to support the claim for raising the last five companies an account current is exhibited, intituled, "Debtor—William Fullarton in regimental account, with Messrs. Mayne and Graham Creditors." wherein Mr. Fullarton is debited with sundry gross sums, amounting, with two items, for interest to 31st December 1781, to the sum of 6,117l. 3s. 6d. and credited with certain sums received for commission, &c. &c. amounting to 5,067l. 10s. making a balance due from Colonel Fullarton of 1,049l. 13s. 6d. This account is attested on 10th May 1783, errors excepted, by the signature of Neil Malcolm, George Graham, and Mark Sprote, supposed to be executors to Mayne and Graham, and is the only document produced to substantiate this claim.

Upon these two claims we report to your Lordships, that we are satisfied, from Mr. Brummell's certificate, that the expence of raising the first 5 companies of the 98th regiment exceeded the sums received for

commissions, &c. by 3,105l. and that the copy of Messrs. Mayne and Graham, regimental account with Mr. Fullarton, although a testimony far inferior to the other,* may, at this distance of time, and for want of better evidence, be admitted as proof that the extra expence of raising the last five companies, amounted to 1,049l 13s. 6d. in both 4,154l. 13s. 6d. for reimbursement of which Mr. Fullarton appears to have an equitable claim on the Public, it being stated by him that the 98th regiment was raised without any allowance for levy money. The interest of the whole of this sum is claimed from 1st January 1781, of the money advanced by Mayne and Graham, being inserted in the account current, and consequently included in the balance, there can be no pretence for claiming interest on the sum of 1,049l. 13s. 6d further back than 1st January 1782.

Having reported our opinion with respect to interest under each claim separately, it is unnecessary to make any observations on Mr. Fullarton's general claim on that head, inserted at the end of his account, and amounting to 7,925l.

HAVING now laid before your Lordships the manner in which the several claims of Mr. Fullarton are supported, and our opinion of the vouchers exhibited to support them, we must take leave to submit the whole to your Lordships' determination, with the following general observations.

If Mr. Fullarton's proposition of 1780 was laid before the Cabinet Council, was accepted, and orders given to him to proceed therein, and afterwards failed, in the manner we are given to understand from the copies of papers annexed to his memorial of 1787—which circumstances we are obliged to give credit to, upon consideration of the original letters from Lord North, Lord Stormont, and Sir Charles Middleton; but which your Lordships may be able to verify from sources even more satisfactory—it appears that Mr. Fullarton undertook to raise the regiment, and to engage in an intended expedition, upon certain terms and conditions, promising himself reimbursement of his extraordinary expences from the event of the expedition itself. That in performance of his part of the proposition sundry articles of equipment, &c. were provided, and the 98th regiment actually raised without the usual allowance of bounty money, the cost of all which was, as Mr. Fullarton alledges, defrayed from his private fortune, as the doubts which arose out of what fund the imprest stipulated to be advanced should be paid, caused a delay in issuing the same till the intention of sending the proposed expedition was laid aside, and being so laid aside, all prospect was taken away of re-imbursement from the successful events which might have accompanied it. Mr. Fullarton also states, that the rank in the army granted to officers raising regular corps, and half pay, have been withheld from him: so that as far as the documents produced enable us to judge, it appears that Mr. Fullarton fulfilled his part of the proposition of 1780, and has never received any compensation for the expences he was put to in so doing.

In regard to the documents exhibited by Mr. Fullarton to prove his several expenditures and losses, it must be observed that they are almost all of a description far short of those regular vouchers which should be produced to substantiate claims against the Public, and we think there

appears a great deficiency of care and attention, in suffering articles of such certain sale as shoes and beer to be lost, and not brought to some account.

Mr. Fullarton, in reply to these objections, states that his inability to produce better vouchers arises from the hurry in which the business was transacted—to his departure so soon afterwards with the regiment to the East Indies—the lapse of time, 14 years since the transaction—the number of persons dead—and the confused manner in which some of them left their affairs In regard to the delay in prosecuting these claims, Mr. Fullarton accounts for it till 1787, by stating that his continuance upon foreign service rendered it impossible for him to bring them forward before that year: But the reasons why they have not been pursued from that period to the present time do not appear. Objections naturally arise against claims suffered to lay so long dormant; but these, together with the insufficiency of the vouchers, must be submitted to your Lordships consideration and judgement, how far they are applicable to invalidate the present claims.

We subjoin a list of Mr. Fullarton's claims, as stated by himself, and as reported on by us: And when we are informed of your Lordships determination thereon, we shall be able to calculate the interest to any particular day, on such part as may be allowed, on receiving your Lordships' directions for that purpose.

We have the Honour to be, with great respect,

My Lords,

Your Lordships most obedient, and

Most humble Servants,

JOHN DICK.

JOHN MARTIN LEAKE.

# STATE.

| No. | Item | By Memorial, £. | By Memorial, Interest | By Report, £. | s. | d. | By Report, Interest |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. 1. | Balance of Account with Halliday and Co. | 1,623 | from 10 Nov. 1785 | 22 | 10 | 0 | from 26 Feb. 1781. |
| | | | | 13 | 14 | 8 | from 5 July, 1785. |
| 2. | Messrs. Parkers, for shoes | 1,565 | from 13 Sept. 1785 | 1,565 | 0 | 0 | 13 Sept. 1785. |
| 3. | Repairs of ship Northington | 776 | from 1st Jan. 1781 | 776 | 0 | 0 | 19 Apr. 1785. |
| 4. | Phillips, Simpson, and Co. for beer and casks | 672 | ditto | 222 | 3 | 6 | 1st Jan. 1781. |
| 5. | Loss on share of the Golden Eagle | 155 | ditto | Not allowed. | | | |
| 6. | Demurrage of the privateers the Trimmers | 3,100 | ditto | Submitted, with interest from 1st Jan. 1781. | | | |
| 7. | Mr. Jover, for rifles | 153 | ditto | Not allowed. | | | |
| 8. | Messrs. Bishopp and Brummell, for sundries | 1,127 | ditto | Not allowed. | | | |
| 9. | Loss on raising the 1st five companies of 98th regiment | 3,100 | ditto | 3,100 | | | interest, from 1st Jan. 1781. |
| 10. | Ditto on the last five companies of ditto | 1,049 | ditto | 1,049 | | | interest, from 1st Jan. 1782. |

STATEMENT of the Sums directed to be paid to Colonel FULLARTON, in purſuance of Minute of the Board of Treaſury, of 7th of June, 1794.

| Article | | Principal. £. | s. | d. | Intereſt. £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. 1. | Part of the balance of account with Halliday and Co. — — — | 22 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| | Intereſt on ditto, from 26th [illegible], 1781, to 7th June, 1794, at 5 per cent. per annum — | — | | | 14 | 18 | 9 |
| | Remaining part of the balance of the above account — — — | 13 | 14 | 8 | | | |
| | Intereſt on ditto, from 5th July, 1785, to 7th June, 1794. at ditto rate — — | — | | | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| No. 2. | Meſſrs. Parker, for ſhoes — — — £.1285 9 0<br>And for intereſt on ditto, to 13th Sept 1785 — — — 279 11 0 | 1565 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | Intereſt on 1285l. 9s. being the prime coſt, from 13th Sept. 1785, to 7th June, 1794, at ditto rate — — — — | — | | | 561 | 7 | 2 |
| No. 3. | Repairs of ſhip Northington — — — — | 776 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | Intereſt on ditto, from 19th April, 1785, to 7th June, 1794, at ditto rate — — | — | | | 354 | 10 | 3 |
| No. 4. | Phillips, Sympſon, and Co. for beer caſks — — — | 222 | 3 | 6 | | | |
| | Intereſt on ditto, from 1ſt January, 1781, to 7th June, 1794, at ditto rate — | — | | | 149 | 4 | 4 |
| No. 6. | Demurrage of the privateers the Trimmers — — — | 3100 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | Intereſt on ditto, from 1ſt January, 1781, to 7th June, 1794, at ditto rate — — | — | | | 2082 | 1 | 11 |

| | | Principal | | | Interest | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. 9. | Loss on raising the first five companies of the 98th regiment | 3100 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | Interest on ditto, from 1st January, 1781, to 7th June, 1794, at ditto rate | | | | 2082 | 1 | 11 |
| No. 10. | Loss on the last five companies of ditto regiment | 1049 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | Interest on ditto, from 1st January, 1782, to 7th June, 1794, at ditto rate | | | | 652 | 2 | 1 |
| | | 9848 | 8 | 2 | 5902 | 9 | 1 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Principal | £.9848 | 8 | 2 |
| Interest, computed by the Comptrollers | 5902 | 9 | 1 |
| Total | 15750 | 17 | 3 |

# TRANSLATION of the Articles of the Constitution of the Kingdom of CORSICA.

THE Representatives of the free independent Corsican nation, lawfully assembled in a general meeting, and specially authorised to form the present Constitutional act, have unanimously decreed, under favour of the Supreme Being, in manner following:

## CHAPTER I.

*Of the nature of the Constitution, and of its component powers.*

Article I. THE Constitution of Corsica is Monarchial, according to the following fundamental laws.

Art. II. The legislative power is vested in the King, and in the Representatives of the People, lawfully elected and convened.

Art. III. The Legislature, composed of the King, and of the Representatives of the People, is denominated The Parliament. The assembly of the Representatives of the People is named The House of Parliament; and the Representatives are styled Members of the Parliament.

## CHAPTER II.

*Of the number and election of the Parliament, and of its functions.*

Article I. THE number of Members of the Parliament is fixed at two for each pieve (district) according to the division of the territory, which shall be formed under the denomination of pievi (districts). The towns on the sea coast, the population of which shall amount to three thousand souls and upwards, have the privilege of sending two Member to Parliament. The Bishops, who discharge the duties of their sees in Corsica, shall be Members of Parliament.

Art. II. The Members of Parliament shall be elected by every Corsican citizen, who has attained the term of twenty-five years of age, who shall have resided one year at least in the pieve (district) or town, and who are landholders.

Art. III. No person shall be eligible as a Member of the Parliament, if he do not possess six thousand livres, at least, of landed property in the district which he shall represent, and pay taxes in proportion to that amount, if he be not born of a Corsican father, and virtually an inhabitant, that is to say, if he has not been a householder for five years at least in the said district, and if he has not attained the age of twenty-five years complete.

Art. IV. Lodgers, except those who are inmates for life, persons employed in collecting the revenues, the receivers and gatherers of taxes, those who enjoy pensions, or who are in the service of a foreign power, and Priests, cannot be Members of the House of Parliament.

Art. V. The form of election shall be settled by a law.

Art. VI. If a Member of the Parliament dies, or becomes incapable, according to law, of being a Member of Parliament, another Member shall be elected by his district, within fifteen days, by the King's authority.

Art. VII. The House of Parliament has the power of enacting all the acts, which are intended to have force of law.

Art. VIII. The decrees of the House of Parliament shall not have force of law, unless sanctioned by the King.

Art. IX. Any decree, that has not been made by the House of Parliament, and received the King's sanction, shall not be considered as law, nor carried into execution as such.

Art. X. No imposition, tax, or public contribution shall be levied, without the consent of the Parliament, and without being specially granted by it

Art. XI. The Parliament has the power of impeachment, in the name of the nation, of every agent of Government, guilty of prevarication, before the extraordinary tribunal hereafter mentioned.

Art. XII. The cases of prevarication shall be determined by the laws.

## CHAPTER III.

*Of the Duration and Convocation of the Parliament.*

Article I. THE duration of one Parliament shall be two years.

Art. II. The King may dissolve the Parliament.

Art III. In case of a dissolution of the Parliament, the King shall convene another within forty days.

Art. IV. Those persons who were Members of the dissolved Parliament, may be elected Members of the succeeding one.

Art. V. If the Parliament terminates without a dissolution, another shall be convened by His Majesty's command, within forty days.

Art. VI. The King may prorogue the Parliament.

Art. VII. The Parliament cannot be convoked or assembled, but by the King's command.

Art. VIII. The interval between the calling of the House and its prorogation, or in case of not being prorogued, to its dissolution, or if it be not dissolved, until its natural expiration, is denominated the session of Parliament.

Art. IX. The Vice-Roy, or, in case of illness, the Commissioners appointed by him for that purpose, shall, in person, open the session, and declare the reasons for its convocation.

Art. X. The House of Parliament may adjourn itself, and re-assemble, during the same session.

Art. XI. The House shall decide upon the contested elections of its Members.

Art. XII. The Members of Parliament shall not be subject to arrest or imprisonment for debt, during the continuance of their being Representatives.

## CHAPTER IV.

*On the Mode of Deliberation, Freedom of Debate, and Internal Regulations of Parliament.*

Article I. AFTER the opening of Parliament by the Vice-Roy, or by his Commissioners, as is herein before mentioned, the Members present shall unite themselves under the presidency of a Deacon, who shall elect a provisional Secretary from amongst them; they shall proceed to the nomination of a President, and of one or two Secretaries. The Secretaries shall not be chosen from the Members of Parliament, and may be dismissed by a vote of the same.

Art. II. The Parliament assembled in all the before-mentioned cases has the power of passing acts, and of debate, whenever above half of its Members are present.

Art. III. Every Member elected and not appearing shall have notice from the President of the Chamber, to repair to his post within fifteen days.

Art. IV. In case of non-appearance, or of not sending a lawful excuse, satisfactory to the House, such Members shall be condemned to a fine of 200 livres.

Art. V. The Parliament may grant leave of absence, and permit the absence of such Members who solicit it, provided more than one half of its Members remain present.

Art. VI. Every proposition made in Parliament shall be decided by the majority of the Members present. The President, in case of an equal division, shall give his casting vote.

Art. VII. The forms and procedures of enacting laws, and of determining other matters in the House, which may not be fixed by the present Constitution, shall be regulated by the House itself.

Art. VIII. The King's sanction, or the refusal of it, shall be announced in person by the King's Representative in the House of Parliament, or by a special commission, in case of sickness.

Art. IX. The form of the sanction shall be, "The King approves;" that of refusal, "The King will examine." The bills sanctioned by the King are styled acts of Parliament.

Art. X. No Member of Parliament shall be called to account, or punished, by the King's servants or by any other authority, for the opinions manifested or the doctrines professed in the House, except by authority of the House itself.

Art. XI. The President of the Parliament has the privilege of calling to order any of its Members, when he may think proper.

The House may censure, arrest, and imprison any of its own Members, during the Session.

## CHAPTER V.

*Of the Exercise of the Executive Power.*

Article I. THE King shall have his immediate Representative in Corsica, with the title of Vice-Roy.

Art. II. The Vice-Roy shall have the power of sanctioning or refusing the Royal Assent to the decrees of the House of Parliament.

Art. III. He shall moreover have the power to exercise, in the King's name, all the acts of Government which are within the jurisdiction of the Royal Authority. There shall be a Board of Council, and a Secretary of State, nominated by the King; and in the Vice-Roy's orders, mention shall be made that he has taken the opinion of the said Board of Council; and these orders shall be countersigned by the Secretary.

Art. IV. The nation has the right of petitioning, as well the Vice-Roy, as the House of Parliament: The constituted and acknowledged corps of the law may petition in a body; but the other corps in their individual capacity only; and a petition shall never be presented by more than twenty persons, however numerous the signatures may be to it.

Art. V. The House of Parliament may address the King to recal His Vice-Roy; in such an event, the House shall address His Majesty in His Privy Council assembled: The Vice-Roy shall be obliged to transmit the

Addreſs to the King, upon the requiſition of the Houſe, within the term of fifteen days after ſuch requiſition, and the Houſe may itſelf tranſmit it to the King, even through the channel of a deputation; but in every caſe the Houſe is bound to preſent to the Vice-Roy, fifteen days previouſly to the departure of the Addreſs, a copy of the ſame, and of the papers which are to accompany it.

Art. VI. The King has the excluſive direction of all military arrangements, and is to provide for the internal and external ſecurity of the country.

Art. VII. The King declares war, and makes peace: He ſhall not be authorized, however, in any event, nor on any account whatſoever, to give up, alienate, or in any manner prejudice the unity and indiviſibility of Corſica and its dependencies.

Art. VIII. The King appoints to all the offices of Government.

Art. IX. The ordinary employments of Juſtice, and of the Adminiſtration of the public money, ſhall be conferred upon natives of Corſica, or perſons naturalized Corſicans, in virtue of the laws.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Of the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and of the Diviſion of the Tribunals.*

Art. I. Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered in the King's name, and the orders carried into execution, by officers appointed by him, in conformity to the laws.

Art. II. There ſhall be a Supreme Tribunal, compoſed of five Judges and the King's Advocate, and this Tribunal ſhall be ſtationary in Corte.

Art. III. There ſhall be a Preſident, and a King's Advocate, in each of the new juriſdictions.

Art. IV. The functions of the ſaid reſpective Tribunals, their Adminiſtration and Emoluments, ſhall be determined by law.

Art. V. There ſhall be in every Pieve (Diſtrict) a Magiſtrate.

Art. VI. In every Community there ſhall be a Municipality, named by the people, and its functions ſhall be regulated by the laws.

Art. VII. Crimes which deſerve corporal or ignominious puniſhments, ſhall be tried by the Judges and a Jury.

Art. VIII. The King has the power of granting pardon, in conformity to the ſame regulations under which he exerciſes this prerogative in England.

Art. IX. All civil, criminal, commercial cauſes, or thoſe of every other kind whatſoever, ſhall be terminated in Corſica, in the firſt and laſt inſtance.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Of the Extraordinary Tribunal.*

Art. I. There ſhall be an extraordinary Tribunal, compoſed of five Judges, nominated by the King, and commiſſioned to judge upon any impeachment from the Houſe of Parliament, or upon all charges made on the part of the King, of Prevarication or of High Treaſon, but always with the intervention of a Jury.

Art. II. The nature of the ſaid crimes, and the form of trial, ſhall be determined upon by a ſpecial law.

Art. III. The Members of the Tribunal ſhall not aſſemble, but in caſes

of impeachment by the House of Parliament, or by the King; and, immediately after judgement given, they shall be obliged to separate.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Of Personal Liberty, and of the Liberty of the Press.*

Art. I. No person shall be deprived of his liberty and property, but by sentence of the Tribunals acknowledged by the laws, and in the cases, and according to the forms prescribed.

Art. II. Whoever shall be arrested, or placed in confinement, shall be conducted, within the term of twenty-four hours, before the competent Tribunal, in order that the cause of his detention may be adjudged according to law.

Art. III. In case of the arrest being declared vexatious, the person arrested will have a right of claiming damages and interest, before the competent Tribunals.

Art. IV. The liberty of the press is decreed, but the abuse of it is to be amenable to the laws.

Art. V. Every Corsican shall have the liberty freely to depart from his country, and to return to it with his property, conforming himself to the regulations and ordonnances of General Police, observed in such cases.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Of the Corsican Flag, and Navigation.*

Art. I. The Standard shall bear a Moor's head, quartered with the King's Arms, according to the form which shall be prescribed by His Majesty.

Art. II. The King shall afford the same protection to the trade and navigation of the Corsicans as to the trade and navigation of his other subjects.

Art. III. The Corsican nation, profoundly penetrated with sentiments of gratitude, towards His Majesty the King of Great Britain, and the English nation, for the Royal munificence and protection with which Corsica has always been treated, and which is now, in a more special manner, secured to it by the present Constitutional act;

Declares, That it will consider every attempt which, in war or in peace, shall be made to promote the glory of His Majesty, and the interests of the empire of Great Britain in general, as its own; and the Parliament of Corsica will always manifest its readiness and attention to adopt all regulations consistent with its present Constitution, which shall be enacted by His Majesty, in his Parliament of Great Britain, for the extension and advantage of the external commerce of the empire, and of all its dependencies.

## CHAPTER X.

*Of Religion.*

Article I. THE Christian, Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Religion, in all its evangelical purity, shall be the only national religion in Corsica.

Art. II. The House of Parliament is authorised to determine on the number of parishes, to settle the salaries of the Priests, and to take mea-

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ſures for inſuring the diſcharge of epiſcopal functions in Corſica, in concert with the Holy See.

Art. III. All other modes of worſhip are tolerated.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Of the Crown, and its Succeſſion.*

THE Sovereign and King of Corſica is His Majeſty, George the Third, King of Great Britain, and his ſucceſſors, according to the order of ſucceſſion to the Throne of Great Britain.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Of the Acceptance of the Crown and Conſtitution of the Kingdom of Corſica.*

Article I. THE preſent Conſtitutional act ſhall be preſented to His Majeſty the King of Great Britain, and by him to his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot, his Commiſſioner Plenipotentiary, and ſpecially authoriſed for this purpoſe.

Art. II. In the act of acceptance, His Majeſty, and his Plenipotentiary in his name, ſhall ſwear to maintain the liberty of the Corſican nation according to the Conſtitution and the laws, and the ſame oath ſhall be adminiſtered to his ſucceſſors upon every acceſſion to the Throne.

Art. III. The Aſſembly ſhall immediately take the following oath; which ſhall be adminiſtered by his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot

"I ſwear for myſelf, and in the name of the Corſican nation, which I repreſent, That I acknowledge for my Sovereign and King His Majeſty George the Third, King of Great Britain, to yield him faithful obedience, according to the Conſtitution and laws of Corſica, and to defend the ſaid Conſtitution and laws."

Art. IV. Every Corſican ſhall, in his reſpective community, take the preceding oath.

Done and unanimouſly decreed, after three readings, in the General Aſſembly of the Corſican nation.

In Corte, this day (19th June 1794) and individually ſubſcribed in the Aſſembly, by all the Members who compoſed it.

## COPY of General MYERS' Affidavit.

*In His MAJESTY's High Court of Admiralty of England.*

WILLIAM MYERS, Brigadier General of His Majeſty's forces in the Weſt Indies, maketh oath, and ſaith, That he commanded a detachment of the army under the command of Sir CHARLES GREY, employed in the conqueſt of the iſland of Martinique, in the months of February and March 1794; and by that means became well acquainted with the conduct of the planters and principal inhabitants of the ſaid iſland, and particularly thoſe reſident in the town of St. Pierre, and the

country adjacent.—And this deponent farther faith, That on the 6th day of February 1794, Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, as Commanders in Chief of His Majesty's land and sea forces, sent a summons, addressed: "To the Mayor, Presidents of the municipalities, and Citizens of the town of St. Pierre, and the Commandant of the troops," requiring them to surrender upon the terms offered in the Proclamation issued by the said Commanders in Chief, dated 1st January 1794.—And this deponent farther faith, He is informed and believes, that the aide-de-camp sent with the said summons to the town of St. Pierre was not admitted into the town, and that the Mayor of the said town gave the watch-word or signal for resistance.—And this deponent faith, That great resistance was made to the British forces in all their attacks upon the said island, both by the French military force, and the planters and other inhabitants, and that no description of the inhabitants of the said island, to the knowledge or belief of this deponent, joined or gave any assistance to His Majesty's forces in their attack upon the said island, or during their progress in the conquest thereof; nor did any of such inhabitants signify an intention or desire to accept or claim the terms and protection offered by the said Proclamation of the 1st of January 1794: But, on the contrary, all the planters and other inhabitants, in different towns, villages, and other parts of the island, through which this deponent and the troops under his command passed, made all the resistance in their power to His Majesty's forces, and supported the French forces, and assisted in manning and working the forts and batteries erected for the defence of the said island.—And this deponent farther faith, That on the 8th day of February 1794, he, this deponent, and Colonel Sir Charles Gordon, and Captain Rogers, with the detachment under their command, landed upon the said island, near a place called La Jus, near Cas Pilote, the enemy at the time firing on them from the battery, and being, at that time, Master of the Great Road and the Heights above it; and this deponent, and the said Sir Charles Gordon, with the troops under their respective commands, made a movement towards the mountains, and turning round the French force unperceived, with part of the British forces, gained the most commanding point in that part of the country by day break of the 9th day of the said month of February; and this deponent, with his said troops, descending the Heights, took possession of La Chapelle, and a post established by the enemy above it; and upon this deponent's returning to the British columns of troops, it proceeded through very difficult ground to the Height of Berne, above Auce la Haye, the enemy abandoning the batteries of Cayman, and setting fire to the village of Cas Navieres, and keeping a constant fire on this deponent and his said troops from the battery of St. Catherine's.—And this deponent farther faith, That having taken a position which gave him an easy communication with the British transports, on the 12th of the said month of February, this deponent observed the batteries and works of St. Catherine's, and the posts which guarded the first ravines, were abandoned by the enemy, of which the said Sir Charles Gordon took possession, whilst this deponent, with a detachment of troops, crossed four ravines higher up, and seized all the batteries which defended them. And this deponent faith, That the said movement was so successfully complete that the enemy retreated on every side, and the troops under this deponent's command soon took possession of the five batteries between Cas de Naverre and Fort Royal; and the said Sir Charles Gordon and this deponent, with the troops under their command, then proceeded

and occupied the posts of Gentilly, La Cost, and L'Archit.—And this deponent farther saith, That he hath been informed, and believes, that the bay and harbour of Fort Royal had been opened to the shipping under the command of Sir John Jervis by the capture of Pigeon Island: Sir Charles Grey, with the forces under his command, moved forward from Riviere Salee to the post of Brumeaux, and joined Lieutenant General Prescott on the 14th day of the said month of February 1794; and having, as this deponent believes, previously concerted the attack of the town of St. Pierre with Major General Dundas, the said Major General marched the same evening on that enterprise, and took post at Gros Morne, from whence he detached Colonel Campbell with some troops through the woods of Bois le Buc to reach Montigue on the morning of the 16th of February, and proceeding himself towards the heights of Capot and Calebasse, they were evacuated by the enemy. and from the heights of Calebasse Major General Dundas, as this deponent was informed, saw Colonel Campbell at Port au Pin attacked in great force and under a heavy fire from five or six hundred of the enemy strongly posted. —And this deponent farther saith, That Major General Dundas, as this deponent was informed, pushed forward his advanced guard under the command of the Honourable Captain Ramsay, who gained the summit by extraordinary exertions, and fired on the enemy, who were engaged with Colonel Campbell, and silenced their fire; and when joined by additional troops the detachment took possession of Montigue, and Major General Dundas took post on Morne Rouge.—And this deponent farther saith, That he hath been informed, and believes, that on the morning of the 16th day of the said month of February, Major General Dundas observing large bodies of the enemy moving towards his front at Morne Rouge, and forming under a small redoubt near that post, he hastened back, and was instantly attacked by five or six hundred men, when, as this deponent believes, Colonel Campbell was killed —And this deponent farther saith, That he hath been informed, and believes, that the two columns of troops, destined for the attack of St. Pierre, advanced by day break of the 17th of February, the right to La Jeune, the left to the Colonial redoubt; and on the march, Major General Dundas, as this deponent has been informed, received a letter from the Commandant at St. Pierre, to which he returned an answer by a flag · But the Commandant was not to be found, and in the mean time Colonel Symes had landed at Piecheur with some troops near the town of St. Pierre, and entered the town sword in hand, prior to which, a detachment of two companies had been sent by this deponent, who had obtained possession of the said town, which attack of Colonel Symes had been made agreeable to the plan originally concerted for co-operation with Major General Dundas and this deponent. And this deponent farther saith, That in the course of his said march from La Jus to La Coste, and from La Coste to St. Pierre, he did not find any of the planters and other inhabitants of the country, but believes they had joined or were assisting the French forces, or were otherwise employed in resisting the British.—And this deponent farther saith, That in the course of his said march he made particular searches and inquiries for planters or other inhabitants, in order to obtain information, and the assistance of horses and cattle; but this deponent could not meet with any planters or other inhabitants, except women and female negroes, who were the only persons left upon the plantations.—And this deponent farther saith, That in the course of his said march he passed through a village called Cas Pilot, and other smaller villages, which he found

totally deserted by all the inhabitants, except women and female slaves. And this deponent farther saith, That several forts, batteries, redoubts, and other places, taken by the forces sent to attack the town of St. Pierre, were defended by persons firing on the troops landing.—And this deponent farther saith, That a great number of the inhabitants of St. Pierre were employed in manning and defending the forts, batteries, and other places of defence and resistance surrounding and adjacent to the said town, at and previous to the capture thereof, as he has been informed, and verily believes.—That during the whole of this deponent's said march from La Jus, and the attack made upon the said town of St Pierre, none of the planters or other inhabitants of the said island, including those of St. Pierre, ever claimed or intimated the smallest wish or intention to accept the terms and protection offered by the said proclamation of the 1st of January 1794.—And this deponent farther saith, That he commanded His Majesty's forces at St. Pierre, from the capture thereof until the latter end of March 1794, during which time all the property seized and taken on shore at St. Pierre as prize or booty, or as liable to confiscation, was taken, and returns thereof made to the agents for the captors.—And this deponent farther saith, That no complaints were ever made to this deponent, as Commandant of the said forces, nor did he hear of any complaint being made to any other person or persons, that any goods had been taken or seized by the captors, belonging to persons who were entitled to the protection and benefit of the said proclamation; nor did this deponent ever hear of any of the inhabitants of St. Pierre, or other inhabitants of the said island, claim or assert that they were entitled to the benefit thereof; on the contrary this deponent saith, That such had been the universal resistance made by the inhabitants of the said island to His Majesty's forces, that he verily believes they did not consider themselves entitled to claim the benefit of the said proclamation.—And this deponent farther saith, That no claims were made or set up to property taken on shore by or on the behalf of emigrants or persons who were absent from the said island, to this deponent's knowledge or belief.—And this deponent farther saith, That the property so taken on shore from individuals consisted entirely of the produce of the island, and the principal part thereof was either taken from persons stiling themselves agents of the French Republic, or had been produced upon estates in the possession of persons of that description, as he believes.—And lastly, this deponent saith, That the town of St. Pierre having been taken in the manner before stated, and the inhabitants having rejected the summons of the Commanders in Chief, inviting them to accept the protection and terms offered by the said proclamation of the 1st January 1794, and having resisted the British forces to the utmost of their power, the captors considered the property found in the said town as liable to confiscation; but they confined the seizure thereof to the produce of the island only, and the inhabitants were left in the uncontrouled possession and disposal of every other species of property. And that the inhabitants of the said town did not, as this deponent believes, consider themselves as unjustly or severely treated, or as being deprived of their property in breach of the terms of the said proclamation, or of any other terms or conditions to the benefit of which they were entitled.

(Signed) W. MYERS.

Sworn before me, at Portsmouth, in the County of Southampton, the 1st Day of May 1795.
W. GIBBS, Junr, Commissioner.

In the presence of
Ms. GREETHAM, Junr, Notary Public.

## REPORT of the COMMITTEE of the BOARD of AGRICULTURE, reſpecting Mr. ELKINGTON's Mode of DRAINING.

*London, June 5th*, 1795.

PRESENT,

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.
The Surveyor General of Crown Lands,
The Duke of Bedford,
Robert Barclay, Eſq.
Robert Smith, Eſq.
Sir C. Willoughby, Bart.

THE Board having referred to this Committee the conſideration of Mr. Paget's and Mr. Eccleſton's Letters, and of ſeveral certificates on the ſucceſs of Mr. Elkington's mode of Draining, they were read, of which the following is an abſtract.

| No. | Names and Reſidences. | General Obſervations. | Length of the Drain. | Expence. | Number of acres reclaimed. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Thomas Eccleſton, Eſq. Scariſbrick. May 25th, 1794. | Is convinced of Mr. Elkington's proficiency ——Is much intereſted about the diſcloſure, as Mr. E. is ſubject to epileptic fits.—Mentions the great things done by him at Eccleſton and elſewhere.—Elkington has a large family, and is not in affluent circumſtances.--Notices the facility with which ingenious young men, by travelling with Mr. E. may acquire his art. | | | |
| 2. | Mr. Eccleſton, [illegible] 24th, 1794. | Speaks ſtrongly of the vaſt benefit to be derived by a diſcloſure of Mr. E.'s ſyſtem of draining—Mentions a drain of - - | Yards 600 | £. 50 | 60 |

| No. | Names and Reſidences. | General Obſervations. | Length of the Drain. | Expence. | Number of Acres reclaimed. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | the increaſed value *up wards* of 30l per annum.—If the ſame land had been drained according to the practice of the neighbourhood, the expence would not have been leſs than 300l.--Is convinced that the whole deſign may be communicated, and in a ſhort time eaſily comprehended. | | | |
| 3. | Mr. T. Paget. | Where other plans of draining failed, Mr. Elkington's have ſucceeded, in every inſtance, to his full ſatisfaction, and, in many caſes, to the ſurpriſe of his employers.--Expence moderate. | | | |
| 4. | Lord Radnor. | Anſwered completely to my ſatisfaction.—Has applied to him to undertake another job. | | | |
| 5. | Mr. Knowles, Nelſon. | Lands not worth half a crown, improved to 20s. and 40s an acre.—Great ſatisfaction expreſſed in general — — — | 1300 | — | |
| 6. | Thomas Tomalin, (for Mr. Aſtley) Odſtone Hall. | Great ſatisfaction expreſſed in general — — | 470 | — | |
| 7. | Richard Bowman, Fiſherwick Park. | Elkington's the moſt efficacious method.—Cutting about 5s. a perch — | Perch. 172 | — | |
| 8. | Mr. J. Farmer, Carlton. | Land was drowned by water from out of a rock 24 feet below the ſurface — | Perch. 94 | — | |

| No. | Names and Residences. | General Observations. | Length of the Drain. | Expence. | Number of Acres reclaimed. |
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| 9. | Mr. J. Bolding, Tardebig, Worcestershire. | A mere bog of little or no value, now worth 12s. — | — | £. 60 | 48 |
| 10. | Mr. Ed. Tongue, Aldridge. | A bog of little or no value, now worth from 12s. to 15s. an acre — | — | 200 | 150 |
| [illegible] | Mr. H. [illegible], [illegible]mington. | Mr. Elkington's mode surpasses any I have ever seen — Less cutting, and proving a more effectual remedy than other mode. | Yards. 1204 | — | 50 |
| 12. | Mr. J. Hayward, [illegible], Warwickshire. | Land not worth 2s. 6d. per acre, now worth 25s. — | — | — | [illegible] |
| 13. | R. Astley, Esq. Odstone Hall, Leicestershire. | Drained for my brother — when former trials to drain part of this ground had failed. The land worth three times its former value. | — | 50 | 50 |
| | | In my own land drained — formerly of little value, now among the best in my estate: part hilly, part flat meadow; many bogs. Other modes of draining had failed. | — | 63 | 60 |
| | Mr. Moore, Charlcote. | Little Hill Farm, belonging to Mr. Lucy, occupied by Mr. P. Moore — | 480 | — | |
| | | Thelsford Farm, occupied by Mr. George Wallington — — | 792 | — | |
| | | An old pasture farm, occupied by Mr. Benjamin Smith — — | [illegible] | | |